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The Modern Review

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Vol. XXV
No. 1

JANUARY, 1919

Whole
No. 145

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THE MODERN REVIEW

A Monthly Review and Miscellany

Edited by Ramananda Chatterjee

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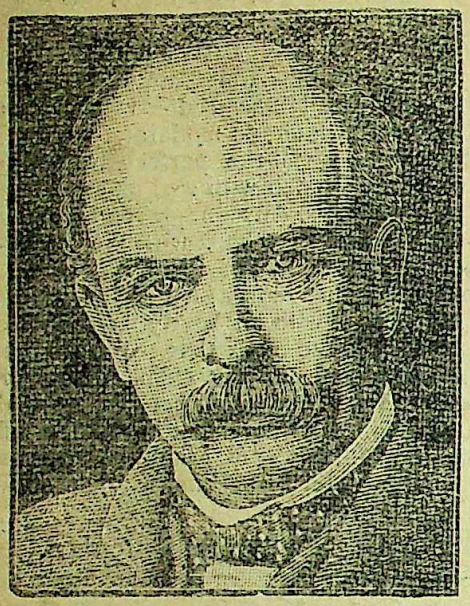

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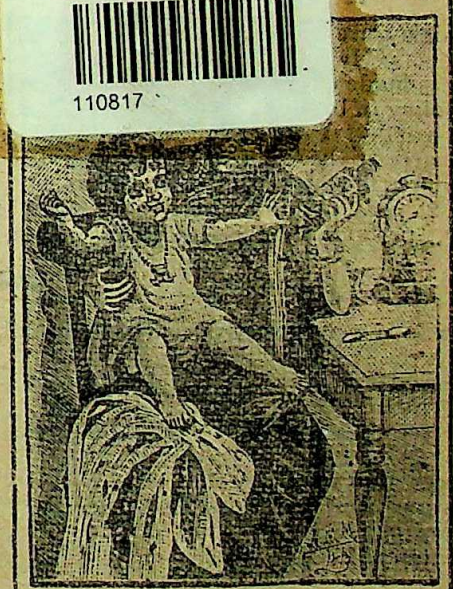

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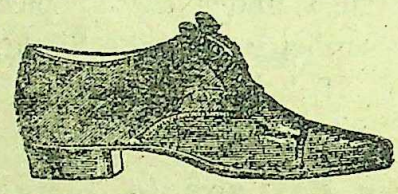

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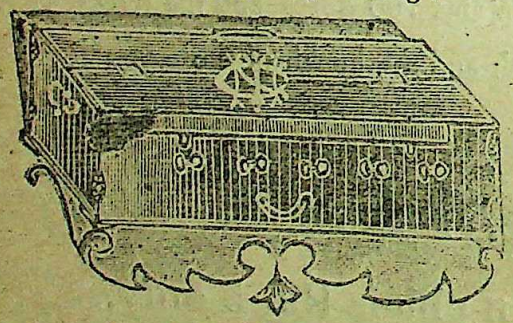

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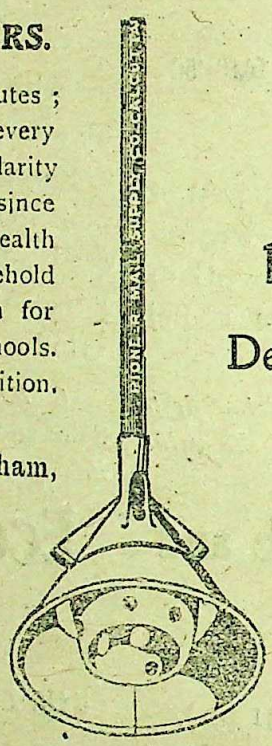

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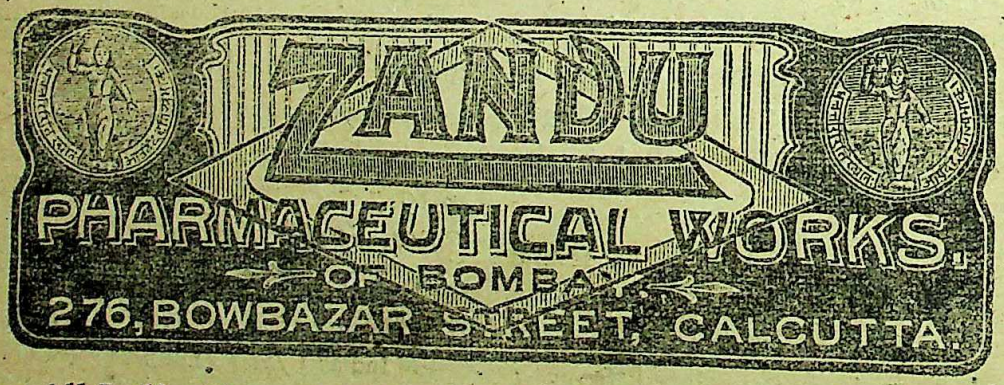

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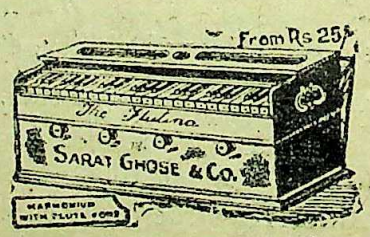

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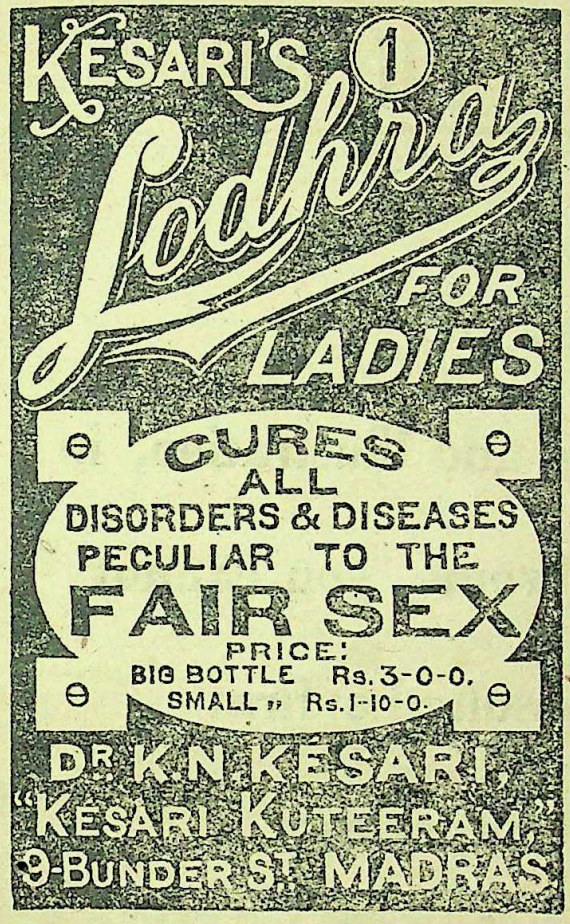

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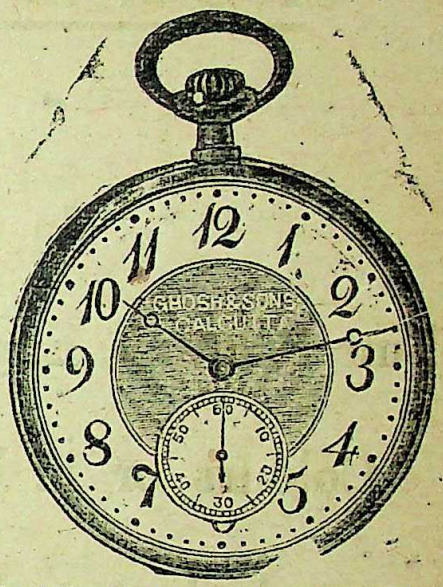

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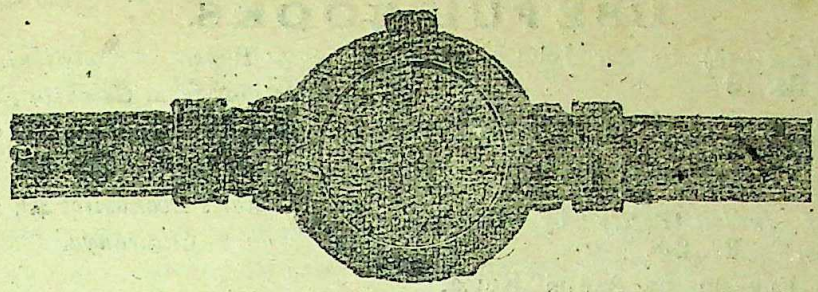

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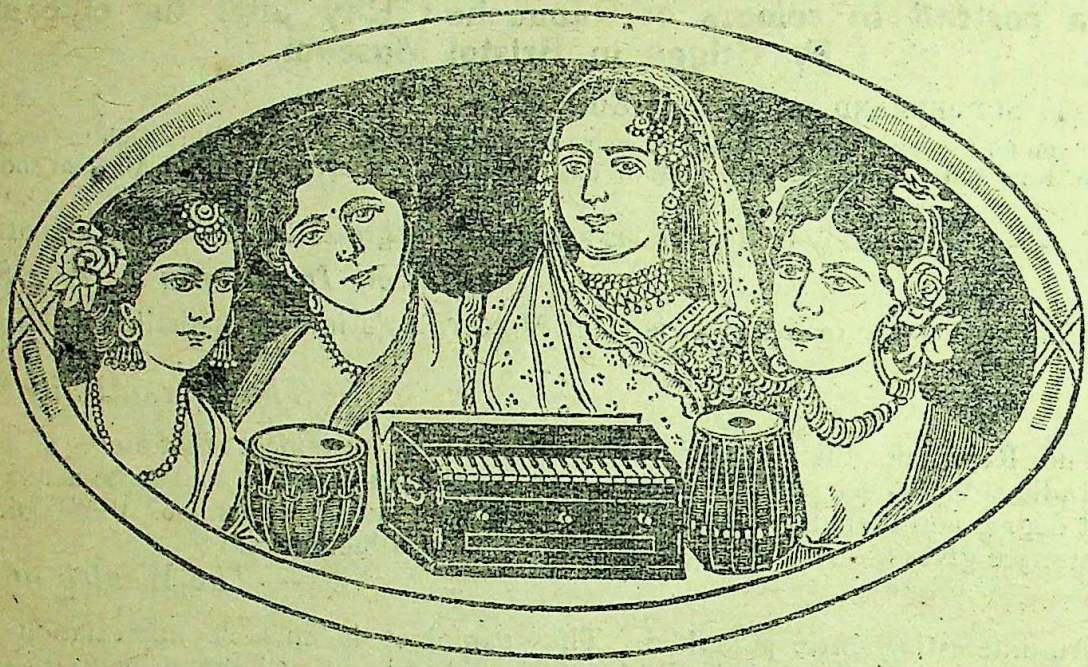

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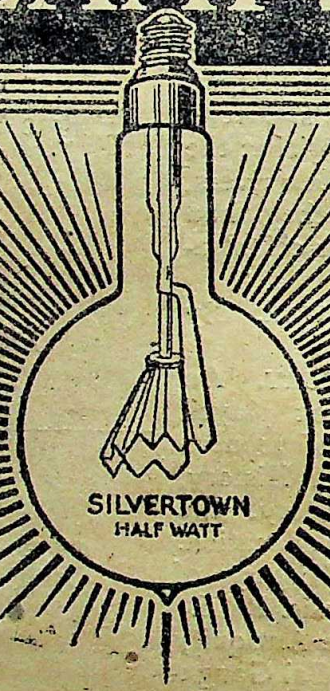

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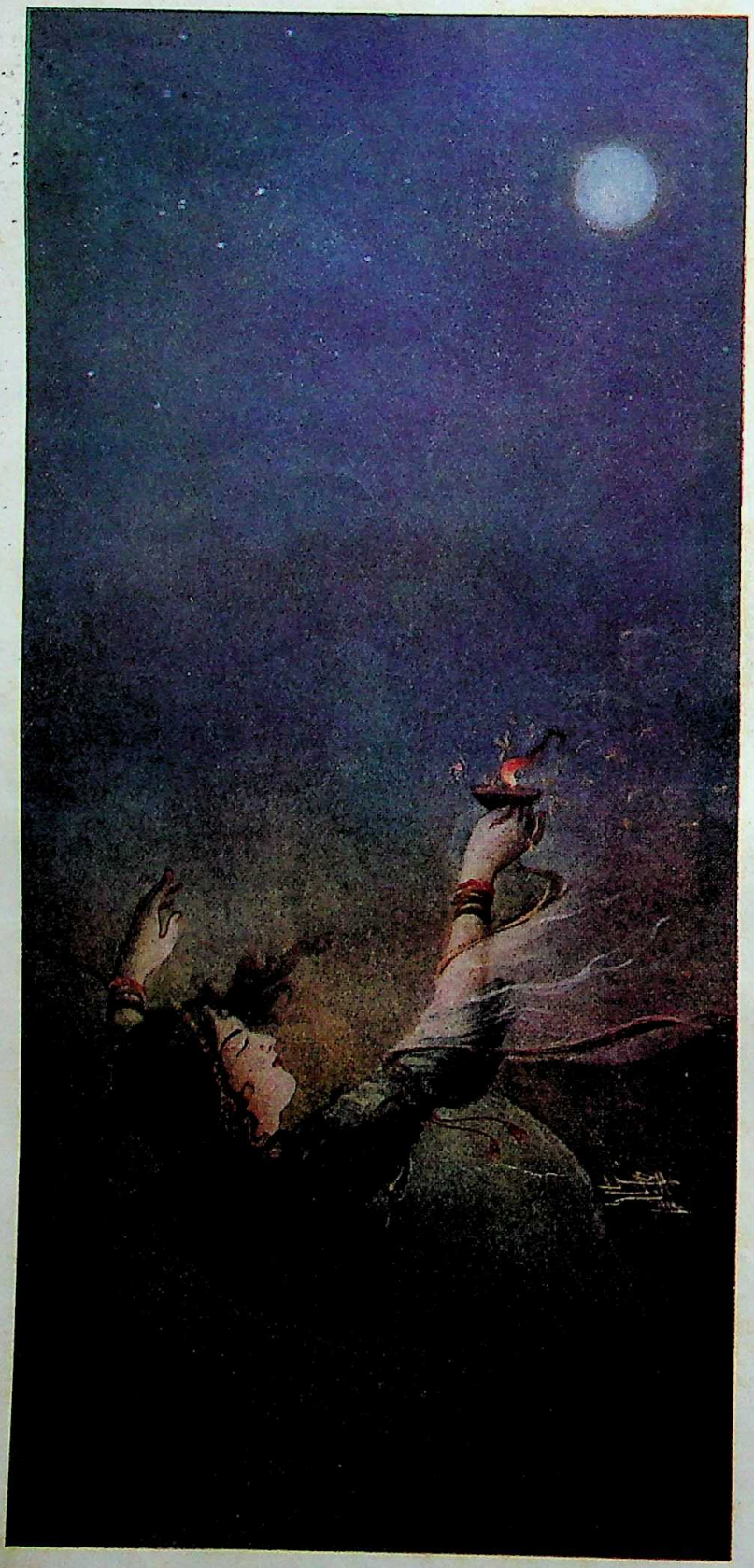

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THE MODERN REVIEW

VOL. XXV No. 1 JANUARY, 1919 WHOLE No. 145

THE PROBLEM OF NATIONAL EDUCATION IN INDIA

By Lala Lajpat Rai.

THERE are certain principles and facts which must receive due recognition from those who engage themselves in formulating a scheme of national education for India. I will suggest a few. The first thing to be noted is that education is a vital basic problem. It is not a side-issue. It is a fundamental fact of life, individual as well as social. Speaking scientifically all life is social, and so is Education, which is the imparting of knowledge by communication. In whichever way you think of education whether in relation to the individual or the society, the fact, the process, the aim and the substance of education is social. It is a social function. Individual and society are interdependent, what is good for the one implies the good of the other.

Education is a means to an end. The end is life and progress, continuous, unending, unhampered. As life admits of no divisions, so progress also is really indivisible into compartments. The division of life into physical, mental, social, ethical and spiritual may be convenient in practice but is more often than not misleading in principle. Life, a healthy progressive life, (that alone is really life), requires a co-operative functioning of all the faculties, with one end. That end is progress.

Life involves change. Progress is change for the better. Human nature, whatever it may include, is potentially progressive. It is not a fixed immutable thing but modifiable indefinitely, though slowly. The law of *Karma* is always working and changing human nature. Individual *Karma* is modified and affected by the Social *Karma* and *vice versa*.

Social progress is the result of the interplay of various factors which, "albeit they cannot be isolated legitimately from the total organic complex of which each is a part, may for purposes of expansion be distributed under such headings as natural environment, improvement in the arts, social character or development of mental outfit." These may finally be reduced "to one common denominator, mind, in which the elements of desires and rational choice become gradually more distinctive and powerful." That man is an abject *slave* of his environments is not true.

Growth in freedom is the test of progress. Capacity to rise above one's environments, by one's own deliberate effort is freedom. "Growth in freedom is a change in which passive adaptation to nature and instinctive subordination of individual to group becomes active control over nature and emergence of the individual with his voluntary identification of himself and his social group as a possible next step."

There is no happiness without freedom. ("To the man not free, there is no happiness.") Freedom here is not the opposite of physical slavery, but also freedom as far as possible from the *bondage* of compelling desires and environments. Growth of freedom in an individual means growth of mastery over self, in every way, though it does not involve his being desocialised. What is true of individuals, in this respect, is also true of an individual social group or a nation. It is not the size of a nation that is the chief determinant in its progress. "Not big populations but *sound, efficient, integrated populations* are potentially progressive." Integration does not mean uniformity or "dead-levelism." It signifies oneness in purpose and oneness in spirit—a spirit of co-operation and co-ordination in all the phases of national life and national activity.

The first aim of all sound education,

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then, should be to teach the individual that the growth towards freedom is progress; that every human being is the master of his own destiny; that neither fate nor *karma* are above control; that the road to progress lies in the voluntary identification of oneself with his or her social group; that the nation is that social group, with which every person should identify himself or herself; that without this identification progress or growth towards freedom is indeed very difficult, if not altogether impossible.

The tendency of popular beliefs and customs and characteristics in India is toward an undue insistence on the driving force of *Kismet* and *Karma*. Our people require to be assiduously and persistently taught that there is no such thing as *Kismet* and that *Karma* is always controllable and manageable by one's own efforts, as well as by changes in one's social environments. Hinduism does not teach a belief in *Kismet*, but its insistence on the driving force of *Karma* is somewhat enervating and emasculating. Greater emphasis should be laid on one's ability to change, override or counteract—in a word to control his *Karma*—by thought and action in this life, * made possible, and supported by social environments.

Mohammedanism too, does not inculcate a belief in *Kismet*; yet it cannot be denied that the current tendency even there, is to rely too much on *Kismet*.

It is also necessary that the importance of social environments be actively promulgated and also that social environments too, require and must be changed progressively.

The old idea, that geography and blood control the social characteristics of a people is being demonstrably disproved and no pains should be spared to free the Indian mind from this superstition, which is finding so much reinforcement by the writings of sophisticated philosophers and historians. Climatic conditions do play an important part in the formation of national characteristics, but their influence, wherever evil or harmful to progress, can be counteracted and modified by active efforts. Similarly too much importance is being given to race, blood and heredity. We are being continually told that not only our geographical surroundings, but our blood inheritance incapacitates us from political progress on democratic lines.

"Inherent differences in 'racial vitality' remarks Professor Todd, "though frequently asserted, are by no means demonstrated." Brain weight, he adds, "corresponds in no way to degree of intelligence. Craniometry is of no value in attempting to fix racial differences. Recent studies in human pigmentation show that it, too, is not a fundamental mark of social character. Skin pigment is a protection against too much sunlight and varies with intensity of sunlight."

The Indian mind has for some centuries been more or less in a state of captivity. The strict regulated life of the *Shastras* and the *Shara*, the rule of the priest, the lack of opportunities for education, the constantly disturbed conditions of the country, the philosopical pessimism of the creeds and the cults, the belittling of life by centuries of monasticism and asceticism, all had for sometime combined together to make life in India static, than dynamic. Voices were from time to time raised against the gross forms of worship and ritual, followed by the people, but they were not powerful enough to make an effective crusade against ignorance. The result is that India of the last 1000 years has been more decadent than progressive often going backward, rather than forward.

The problem before us, so far as it touches our past, is twofold. Our critics and calumniators assure us that we have been and are a "barbarous" people, that "there never was a civilization in India", that our case is that of "arrested progress," and that we have never achieved anything remarkable in the world of thought, or discovery or invention or action. In short that we have been more or less parasites. A radical critic has, in a recent book, denounced what he calls our "national self-complacency," in no measured terms. In the early days of British rule, James Mill, the English radical, and the Christian fathers had done the same. Then with the "discovery" of Sanskrit and the literature contained therein, with the translation of parts of that literature into the European languages, (even though often crude and incorrect), and the bit by bit construction of ancient Indian history, there came a change. The European world began to appreciate the

* The *Yoga-Basishtha* distinctly teaches this. —Ed., *M. R.*

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achievements of the ancient Indians in the domain of thought and knowledge, quite enthusiastically, and the Indians themselves rose one morning to find, that the best minds of the world recognised in them the descendants of men, who were the equals of the former in brain power of every kind. This raised them considerably in self-estimation and they began to use the greatness of their past as a lever and inspiration, for aspirations of greatness in the future. In this they have achieved a notable success. The renaissance in India is its outcome.

In this process, however, *some* of us have lost the sense of proportion. In our anxiety to reply to our critics, tit for tat, we began to make extravagant claims for our ancestors and to trace to India all that is good, true, and beautiful in the world. Even this perhaps would not have mattered, had we not started making extravagantly disparaging statements about modern civilization, thus claiming for ourselves a sort of monopoly in truth and wisdom and art. William Archer's book "India and the Future" is the retort. Now this question of the proper valuation of our civilization and of our standards of life has been complicated by the bearing it has on politics. We suspect quite naturally and not without justification, that the object of our traducers is to affect our national psychology so detrimentally, as to stop us from making claims of equality with the ruling race. The point has been so well explained by Professor Ross of Wisconsin (U. S. A.), in a book on Russia (*Russia in Upheaval*, The Centnry Company, New York, 1918) that I cannot do better than quote his words. They have the additional merit of being directed against Germany. Speaking of certain excellent traits in Russian character, either not noticed at all or belittled by their German traducers, Professor Ross remarks:—

"It is a discernment of these precious traits in the Russian nature that causes all Americans who know them well to prophesy a great future for the Russian after they have come into their own. We recognize that in some ways their instincts are better adapted to a co-operative and democratic social order than are ours. But just at this point appears a significant divergence of opinion between American and German observers of Russia. All the educated Germans I sounded, from Courtland landlords to Lutheran pastors along the Volga, harped on the low state of culture among the Russian masses and their anarchic tendency, called for a firm hand to hold them in, and predicted that an immense time would elapse before they could attain the strength of character, steadiness of purpose, and capacity for self-determination of West Europeans. Generally, "two or three centuries" of tutelage was deemed necessary. On the contrary, Americans with equally full knowledge of the people attribute their backwardness to specific and recently operative causes, such as isolation, autocracy, serfdom, ignorance, and the communal system. They anticipate that under good conditions the mentality of the masses may be speedily improved, and they never put off the date of "arrival" of the Russians later than the end of this century.

Now, the latter opinion tallies closely with that of science. No doubt nineteen out of twenty French or American sociologists—the acknowledged leaders in this branch—would agree that if Russians are vouchsafed a peaceful, democratic development and speedily employ on a great scale such agencies as private property in land, free institutions, schools, and libraries, their great grandchildren may attain any level of culture now in the world. Why, then, do the Germans alone insist that it will take the Russians centuries to "catch up"? Simply because it has been the policy of the ruling element in Germany to encourage the type of social philosophy that makes a backward people distrusted by itself and by the world.

Russia has been Germany's farm. She has been against the emancipation of the masses there, because she wishes to preserve in Russia the widest possible field for German merchants, technicians, opticians, pharmacists, managers, and engineers; also she desires a field for German wares and the investment of German capital. Anything she can do to discourage Russians and to deter them from adopting the institutions that quickly raise a backward people prolongs her farming of them. In a word, the Kultur theory put forth by Germany's professors and publicists in the name of science is but a special poison gas!"

A people constantly belittled by the foreigner, as well as by their own leaders, get no chance of cultivating the necessary qualities of self-respect and self-confidence. Those that lack these qualities are on the surest road to decay and annihilation. Hence the necessity, the absolute necessity, of counteracting the evil effects of those sweeping denunciations of all our institutions. Our critics call us essentially backward, in season and out of season; they harp on the diversity of race, religion and language in India, and insist that we are unfit for progress on democratic lines, or that the progress that we can make must *necessarily* be slow, very slow, so slow indeed that they cannot see the possibility of responsible Government in India in any distance of time which they can foresee. Yet, it is these mentors of ours, who have so far refused even elementary instruction in the three R's to our masses, and have persistently declined to make adequate

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provision for vocational education for our children. It is they who are interested in keeping us tied down to the superstitions of despotic rule. It is our bounden duty to counteract the evil effects of these insinuations and inuendoes by pointing out to our people the glories of our past and the merits of our institutions. But the process of self-praise and the glorification of our past has its dangerous side also. It has the tendency of making us look to the past, rather than to the future, thus sometimes blinding us to the progress which the world has made, since ancient Aryan times.

If modern truths (truth is truth though it is neither ancient nor modern) are to be tested by the sanctions of the ancient times and to be promulgated only if they accord with the teachings of our Rishis, then woe to India. It is quite another thing to find evidences of the modern improvements in the ancient books and use the authority of the latter as an additional argument for their promulgation and acceptance. But to reject them because of their being opposed to, or inconsistent with the dicta of the ancient Rishis, is blocking the road to progress. NO progress is conceivable unless we keep an open mind, and do away with the superstition that all truth was revealed to us in the beginning of the world, and that all that was worth knowing was known to our ancestors, and that they had said the last word on all questions, be they of religion, or sociology or politics or economics or art or even of science. It is essential that we should realize that we are living in a new world—a world quite different from the old in which our ancestors lived, in many respects much more advanced than the latter, in some respects possibly not so advanced. Our progress will depend on our capacity to strike the golden mean, and to preserve a well-balanced attitude towards the past and the present, with the determination to chalk out a future for ourselves greater than our past. Under the present circumstances there is little danger of our opponents succeeding in persuading us to believe that we are an inferior race, or that we have nothing to be proud of in our past, or that we lack the necessary quality of adjusting ourselves to the needs and requirements of the present. On the other hand there is some danger of our being self-complacent by over estimating the merits of our own civilization to the disparagement of the modern. We cannot be too much on guard against this danger. Subject to these observations I am in full agreement with Mrs. Besant, that "National education must live in an atmosphere of proud and glowing patriotism" and that "this atmosphere must be kept sweet, fresh and bracing by the study of Indian literature, Indian history," etc. It is most important then, to consider how to achieve that end, without its harmful tendencies.

As I have already remarked, our problem is twofold. We have to remove the causes, and destroy the influences, that created the atmosphere of despondency and pessimism into which the country was sunk, immediately before the birth of the new nationalist movement. For that purpose we have to construct the history of our past, and to establish by documentary evidence of the best kind, that there is nothing in our heredity which inherently unfits us for the great role to which we are aspiring. On the evidence already published, we can very well defend our past against the calumnies that are often circulated to prove our inherent or ingrained incapacity for great achievements, whether in the domain of thought or action. It is not necessary for us, for that purpose to claim that our civilization was in every respect superior to the modern civilization; nor that our ancestors enjoyed the monopoly of spiritual insight or of divine wisdom. It is sufficient, that at no period of our history, except in the last 200 years, were we in a position of inferiority, either culturally or otherwise to the other nations of the world as they were then. The civilization we developed was noble, lofty and great, our achievements in religion, philosophy, law, sociology, sciences and arts are worthy of being compared with the best of the old world. They do not sink into insignificance even when compared with the best of the modern world. We have no reason to be ashamed of our past. On the contrary we have every reason to be proud of it. But that does not mean that our ancestors have spoken the last word on every conceivable subject.

Humanity is progressing. Human knowledge is advancing. Man's power over nature is increasing. Civilization

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owes us a deep debt of gratitude for having provided it with sound foundations and solid scaffolding, and for having erected the lower stories of the edifice. Our people are inferior to none, either in mental or physical capacities. Given opportunities and favorable circumstances, we can hold our own in competition with any other people of the earth. By co-operation we can make substantial contributions to the progress of humanity. We cannot afford to neglect a single opportunity of impressing all this on our own people, as well as on the foreigners who do not know us well.

Under no circumstances must we allow our people to think of themselves in terms of self-depreciation, nor can we allow the foreigners to condemn us on racial grounds or assume our cultural inferiority. We must keep our heads erect and must continue to cultivate self-respect and self-confidence in ourselves and to instil them in our boys and girls. A man who begins to think low of himself is on the right road to become low. Our mentors in the Imperial Press have been playing that game persistently. In that sense I heartily endorse Mrs. Besant's exhortation to do away with all apologies and explanations on behalf of India, her religions, her customs and her institutions. We owe no apologies and explanations to anyone. Bona-fide friendly criticism we welcome. We are glad to profit therefrom. But general denunciation, based on racial arrogance, racial bias or prejudice we resent; on this point we cannot be too sensitive.

Yet as also already observed we have to be very careful against self-complacency, self-conceit, and an assumption of perfection in our institutions and ideas. Not to be alive to our weaknesses, to the corruption of our social standards, to the degeneration of our religious values, and to the reactionary and even "barbaric" nature of some of our customs, will be a fatal hindrance to progress. We must go to root causes to apply fundamental cures. In our march onward, we shall have to destroy a good deal, before we can put up new structures necessary for our progress and worthy of our position in the family of nations. We cannot assume that everything ancient was perfect and ideal. Some of the ideas held by our ancestors have been proved to be wrong. We have to give them up. Some of their methods were faulty, we have to improve upon them. Some of their institutions, very well suited to their age and condition, are absolutely unsuited to modern conditions of life. We must replace them. We do not want to be a mere copy of our ancestors. We wish to be better.

With that object we have to revalue our standards and ideals. The task requires all our courage and manliness. It needs unity, co-operation, and concerted action. Above all, it needs self-confidence and self-realization, individual as well as national. We will welcome all aid but we will *depend* on ourselves only. It is in this spirit, that we should approach the problem of national education. Assume nothing, analyse every idea, examine every scheme in the light of the day, in the lamp-light of scientific truth. Let our schemes be tested by the most critical tests of the times. Let us compare them with what people are thinking, saying and doing in other countries. After all these processes have been gone through, let us take counsel with one another and decide on our future course. True, we do not want to be English or German or American or Japanese, we want to be Indians; but we wish to be modern up-to-date progressive Indians, proud of our past and aspiring to a greater and a nobler future.

What do we mean by national education? Do we want to distinguish it from local and provincial education; or from denominational or sectarian education? How does education become national? Is it the language which is the medium of instruction, which makes it national, or the agency through which it is imparted, or the agency which controls and regulates it; or the books which are taught or the standards and ideals which underlie it?

Truth is neither local nor national nor even international. It is simply truth. Science and philosophy expound truth. Are we going to reject the sciences and the philosophy of the western scientists and philosophers, because the discoverers of these sciences and the writers of books on philosophy happened to be non-Indians? Are we going to reject Shakespeare, Bacon, Goethe, Schiller, Emerson, Whitman, because they were not Indians? How shall we feel if the Europeans reject everything Indian? Are we going to discontinue learning the modern sciences of medicine,

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surgery, pathology, hygiene, engineering (civil, mechanical, electrical, agricultural and mining), botany, geology, zoology, etc., because they are so much advanced from the things that we have in our literature? Then, what about the modern sciences of navigation, commerce, banking, insurance, etc.? Are we going back to the old methods? Shall we reject the modern improvements?

Last, but not least, what about politics, and civics, and sociology? What is our "national" political system? Let me say once for all, that except for historical purposes, it is sheer and unjustifiable waste of time to insist on the dissemination of theories that have been superseded by and discarded in favor of others proved to be better and truer than the former. For example, it will be sheer folly to substitute the modern treatises on arithmetic, geometry, algebra, trigonometry and kindred subjects, by *Lilawati* or other books on these subjects, found in the Sanskrit language. Our *Arthashastra* may have been excellent in good old times. It may do us good to study it for the purposes of comparison. If there is anything in it which is still valuable we may adopt it, but we will be cutting our noses to spite our faces if we fail to insist on the teaching of the modern and the up-to-date *Arthashastra*, which controls and orders the economic life of the world.

We have of late heard a great deal about the desirability of reviving the *Ayurvedic* and the *Unani* systems of medicine. I have a certain amouut of sympathy with the movement. But if there are any people in India, who would do away with the modern medical colleges and replace modern medicine and surgery by the old *jarrahi*, then all I can say, is God help India. We lose millions of valuable lives, particularly of women and children, because we are ignorant of the modern methods of midwifery and child-nursing. We require a widespread dissemination of these. We cannot go back to the traditional methods of bringing our men and women into the world, and then let them die by hundreds in every thousand, in order to be more truly national.

As to the *Dharmashastra* again, I must say that however desirable it may be for us to be acquainted with our own laws, and social sciences, the current treatises are full of crude, absurd, inconsistent, diametrically antagonistic views and theories. We cannot afford to tax the mental capacity of our children by placing in their hands the current editions of *Manu*, *Narada* and *Apastamba*, without subjecting them to major operations. They *must* form a part of the courses of higher study. They *must be digested* and studied very carefully, because otherwise we shall not be able to found the new social philosophy we need so much, but that does not mean that we can ignore with impunity, a study of the statute-made laws of modern India, or a study of the laws of other countries. A study of the modern laws, of the civics of the modern world, of the forms of government prevailing in other countries, of their politics and economics, is a *sine qua non* of future progress on healthy lines. These things ought to be taught to every boy and girl, even in Elementary schools. It is only their widespread dissemination that will make us politically self-conscious and alert. It will strengthen us in our political aspirations, warn us against pitfalls, vivify our finances, and guide us in our economic readjustments. Again then, what about the modern science of arms, and the art of war? Are we going to re-introduce the bow and arrow, or the match-lock gun, or the fighting by swords and spears? If so, then woe to us.

I have said all this, not because Mrs. Besant meant anything of the kind, but because there are some good people in India, who do, now and then, talk of the desirability of their country leading a "retired," "isolated" and "self-contained" life. They pine for the good old days and wish them to come back. They sell books, which contain this kind of nonsense. They write poems and songs, full of soft sentimentality. I do not know whether they are idiots or traitors. I must warn my countrymen most solemnly and earnestly to beware of them and of that kind of literature. We must realize once for all, that no country on the face of the globe can, under modern conditions, live an isolated and self-contained life, even if she desired to do so. The world will not let us alone, even if we wished to be let alone. A country occupying a space of about two million square miles, with a population of one fifth of the human race, cannot and will not be let alone. If the sons of the soil fail to develop its resources, others will. The

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country must be brought up to the level of the most modern countries not only in politics and economics, but even in thought and life, if we want to keep it for ourselves and our children, and save it from the foreign exploiter. True, we do not want India to become England or France or Japan or America. We want it to remain India. We would not be Indians, if we did not want to remain Indians. But let us understand once for all, that under modern conditions of life the distinction between this country and the others is destined to be much less, than it used to be before the introduction of steam and electricity in human affairs. Climatic, environmental, racial, linguistic, social, traditional and historical distinctions will not be effaced, but they will be considerably reduced both in volume and in kind. The world is tending to become one family. Anyone who aspires or plans to obstruct the process is a traitor to his country as well as to humanity at large. Strong, brainy, powerful, resourceful people have nothing to fear from the process; weak, backward, effeminate, soft, not adaptable people will either be exterminated in the end, or will continue to be exploited by others.

Fundamental human nature is the same all the world over. The differences are mostly social, linguistic, climatic. It is extremely doubtful if racial differences are so radical and so well marked, as they are sometimes represented to be. Linguistic and climatic differences will remain, but social and political and economic differences will disappear or at any rate will be effectively lessened. Let people come to the United States of America and study the problem in this great melting pot of humanity. This great war has proved the intensity of existing national differences, but in my judgment it has also established the oneness of humanity and the probability, in the not very remote future, of world unity and a world culture. The whole world seems to be in the melting pot. Those who doubt it, should travel over the world and see how difficult it is to distinguish men of one nationality from another in the streets of New York, Paris, London, Berlin and Tokio. New York, Chicago, Washington (D.C.) and San Francisco are miniature worlds in themselves; you find all races and nations and languages and cultures represented there. Fair coloured people of all nationalities, living in the same way, speaking the same language, appear to be all alike. Walking in the streets of New York, sometimes it seems that every second man speaks a language other than English, but not knowing all the languages of the world, that fact alone gives you no clue of the nationality of the speakers. One talks of the shape of the nose, of the head, of the colour, of the hair, etc., but reliance on any of these so-called distinctive marks is oftener than not misleading. Dip into the East End avenues of New York and you will be unable to distinguish between an Armenian, a Persian, a Syrian, a fair-coloured Arab, a Russian, a Turk, a Red Indian, a fair-coloured Hindu, an Egyptian, a German, an Italian, a Pole, a Swiss, a Swede, a Norwegian, a Finn, a Hungarian, a Bulgarian, a Dane, a Spanish or a Portuguese, even a light-colored Negro. You can often point out a Chinese or a Japanese, but sometimes you make mistakes even about them. I have seen numerous Chinese and Japanese dressed in European clothes, in the United States, and in Japan, whom it is impossible to distinguish from Europeans. One can have no idea of how fast Japan is being Europeanised. One may deplore it, one may rebuke the Japanese for adopting European manners, but the fact remains that the Japanese could not and cannot help it. The process is almost universal and almost inevitable. How the different races and nationalities living in the U. S. have united to fight out the Germans and have done so successfully, has once for all exploded the old theories of inherited social and national affinities determining a man's character. Even German born Americans or Americans of German origin have fought against Germany under the Stars and Stripes forgetting their old allegiance in favour of the new.

It is true a uniform world will be hideous. It is more beautiful and sublime in its variety. But whether we wish it or not, that variety is going to disappear at least in superficials. No, perhaps I am not right. It will not disappear altogether, but it will be reduced very very appreciably, in the course of the next two centuries. Even in thought and life it is going to be materially altered and affected. In my judgment, the best interests of humanity lie in reducing the differences and

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bringing into prominence the points of contact and the similarities. The culture of the Anglo-Saxon, the *Kultur* of the Teutons, and the civilization of the Latins are all going to shake hands. Their essence will be the same. The ambitions of their professors and savants and politicians may clash and conflict, but their general life will be the same.

The same may be said of Asia, the time is coming near when the Arabs, the Persians, the Hindu, the Chinese and the Japanese will more readily talk of the things common to them, than of their differences. It may seem strange, it may look humiliating, but the unity of Asia is going to be brought about by Europe and European thought. Fear of Europe will unite Asia and then the fear of Asia in its turn will bring about the unity of Europe and Asia. Europe and Asia united, the world becomes one. America is a child of Europe and native Africa is more or less a child of Asia. Both of them in their own ways are going to help the process of assimilation, integration and unity. Out of this world war (or it may be wars) will emerge world unity.

In my judgment it will be folly and madness to try to discourage the study and dissemination of European languages, European literature and European sciences in India. The fact is that we have not had enough of it. Circumstances have so far kept us out of them. We should strain every nerve to spread and disseminate them until every Indian knows at least one European language, has European tools in his hands and easily handles European mechanical appliances. Europe and the world has learnt a great deal from us, we have no reason to be ashamed of learning from them, with the fullest intention of adding to their knowledge and teaching them in our turn.

WHERE DOES INDIA STAND IN EDUCATION?

By Prof. P. C. Roy, D.Sc., Ph.D.

THE *Indian Industrial Commission* has issued its voluminous Report. We hope to notice it in due course mainly from the point of view of a student of science. In the meantime it is worth while to pause for a while to discuss our capacity, and preparedness to take advantage of or profit by the valuable recommendations embodied in the Report.

It goes without saying that the industrial development which we talk so much about cannot be ushered into being like the prophet's gourd at a moment's notice. The historical background of an ancient people prone to metaphysical subtleties cannot be ignored, nor should we forget that the Bengali, or for the matter of that, the Indian brain has been subjected to misuse for the last thousand years and more. As I have said elsewhere:

"True it is that we are wont to take pride in the acuteness of the Bengali intellect as evidenced in the subtleties of disputations based upon the modern school of Nyaya as also of Smriti (of Navadwipa); it should, however, be borne in mind that while the great promulgator of Smriti (Raghunandan) was ransacking the pages of Manu, Yajnavalkya, Parasara and others and laying down the rigid rules of fasting to be observed by a child-widow of nine years of age and in default thereof holding out the terrors of hell fire for her ancestors on the paternal and maternal side; while Raghunatha, Gadadhara, Jagadisa and other mighty logicians were engaged in composing glosses and commentaries on the classical works of logic and were thus adding to the consternation of the pupils of the *tols*; while our astrologers were calculating the omens and prognostications from the cawing of a crow at a particular moment in the south-west quarter; while our pandits were disturbing the peace of the assemblies by acrimonious dispute over the controversy whether the sound raised by the falling of the palm-fruit accompanied it or was an after-effect? I say, while the intellectuals of Navadwipa were thus uti-

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lizing the precious gift of time, in Europe Galileo, Kepler, Newton and other philosophers were unravelling the mysteries of nature and ushering in a new epoch and thus glorifying the intellect of man."*

Remember it is such a people that has to be roused from its torpor of ages and all on a sudden compelled to run a race with some of the most virile and active races of the world !

I just now spoke of our preparedness or rather the reverse of it for the present industrial competition. One of the main factors in the solution of the problem is our progress in education. Where does India stand in comparison with the advanced and progressive nations of the world ? Practically nowhere. Her illiteracy is simply phenomenal. The statistics given below will reveal her position in this respect :—

Percentage of literates— 5·8 per cent.
Percentage of pupils under instruction— 3·1 ,,

In Japan in 1915 the percentage of boys of school age attending school was 98.80 that of girls of school age attending school was 97.67.

The following Statistics will help to throw some light on the place which INDIA occupies in the scale of nations.

WORLD-STATISTICS.

Percentage of population over 12 years of age unable to read and write.

Country.	1840	1870	1900
Germany	18	4	1
Norway		3	1
Sweden	20	3	1
Switzerland	20	5	1
New Zealand		7	4
France	53	15	5
United Kingdom	41	10	6
Australia			9
Holland	30	14	10
United States	20	13	10
Belgium	55	20	12
Austria	79	45	31
Italy	84	53	44
Spain		68	
Russia in Europe	98	85	78

(Quoted in *Encyclopædia of Social Reform*, mainly from Parson's "Civilization Tables").

The following figures relate to *Asia* and *Oceania*.

Population over *ten* years.

Ceylon (All races)	78.3	All ages	1901
Ceylon (European races)	11.9	,,	1901
Ceylon (other than European)	78.4	,,	1901
India	92.5	Population over ten years	1901
Philippine Islands	55.5	,,	1903
Russia in Asia	87.3	,,	1897
Hawaii	36.3	Population over six years	1896
American Negroes	30.5	Population over ten years	1910

(Quoted from *American Cyclopaedia of Education*).

The illiteracy of the population of India is highest in the civilized world.

Let us now see where we stand as regards the university and higher scientific technical education.

Total number of pupils undergoing University education—60,000.

EXPENDITURE IN ARTS COLLEGES ;—1916-17

Total expe nditure	Govt. Grant	Percentage of Govt. Grant to total expense.
Rs. 71,03,748	27,18.764	38 per cent.

EXPENDITURE—UNIVERSITIES—1916-17

University	Total income	Govt. Grant	Percentage of Govt. Grant to total expense.
Calcutta	18,87,433	3,88,385	21 per cent.
Bombay	3,96,205	55,000	14 ,,
Madras	5,12,271	1,03,000	20 ,,
Punjab	3,94,749	87,850	24 ,,
Allahabad	3,17,014	99,400	32 ,,

Technical Colleges :—

Total Number of Pupils—1,319*
Total expenditure Rs. 8,26,731.

It should be understood here, that the "Technical Colleges" in our country simply represent the colleges of mechanical and civil engineering, etc.

Let us see what provisions and mighty efforts England, America, and Germany are making to improve the position of University and higher technical education. Prof. R. A. Gregory writes in a recent issue of *Nature* :

The financial provision made by the State for university, medical, and higher technical education in the United Kingdom is about £500,000, annually. Of this amount England and Wales receive about

* Bengalee Brain and its Misuse.

* The tables are culled from the latest quinquennial report on education by Mr Sharp.

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£300,000, Scotland about £84,000, and Ireland about £100,000. The total annual income of all the universities and university colleges in the British Isles including the universities and colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, is about £2,000,000, that of universities and colleges in the United States is £20,000,000, and of Universities in Germany £1,800,000. Particulars of the incomes of institutions in the United States are given in tables 8 to 12.

8.—Income of universities, colleges and Technological Schools of the United States (1913-1914) :—

	Amount £	Percentage of total
For tuition and other educational services	4500,000	22·5
From invested funds	3500,000	17·5
Donations and subscriptions	2700,000	13·5
Grants from State or City	6000,000	30·0
United States Government Grant	1000,000	5.0
Other sources	2300,000	11·5
	£20,000,000	100·0

The incomes of individual universities in the United States are very high in comparison with those of most of our universities. Seventeen universities have each an annual income equal to, or in excess of the total Parliamentary Grants to universities and colleges of England and Wales, and nine have incomes equal to, or in excess of, the total Parliamentary Grants to university and higher technical education in the whole United Kingdom. The incomes of these United States universities are shown in Table 9.

9.—Annual incomes of seventeen universities in the United States 1913-14 :—

University	...	Income
Cornell University	...	£1300000
Columbia ,,	...	1300000
Harvard ,,	...	860000
Chicago ,,	...	660000
Minnesota ,,	...	600000
Wisconsin ,,	...	600000
Illinois ,,	...	560000
California ,,	...	500000
Yale ,,	...	500000
Michigan University	...	£440000
North Western University	...	300000
Wellesley College, Mass.	...	300000
Missouri University	...	300000
Washington University, Missouri		300000
Princeton University	...	300000
Ohio State ,,	...	300000
Pennsylvania ,,	...	300000

Five states of the U. S. A., four of them with populations of about two millions each, gave grants to universities in 1913-14 exceeding the total Parliamentary grants to universities and colleges of England and Wales. These are shown in Table 10.

10.—State Grants to five universities in the United States :—

State	Population	Grant
Minnesota	2000000	£500000
Illinois	5600000	400000
Wisconsin	2300000	400000
California	2400000	300000
Michigan	2800000	300000

The benefactions to universities and colleges in the United States are similarly far in excess of those devoted to such institutions in the United Kingdom. The total amount of gifts and bequests to universities and colleges in the United States in the year 1913-14, excluding grants by the Federal Government, different States, and municipalities was more than £5000000.

Of this amount nearly £4000000 was for endowment, giving in a single year, if invested at 5 per cent., an increased endowment income of £200000, or double the income derived from all the endowment funds of the whole of the modern universities and university colleges of England and Wales. The chief gifts in 1913-14 are shown in Table 11. In addition forty-five universities, colleges and technological schools each received gifts above £20,000.

11.—Private benefactions to universities of the United States, 1913-14 :—

University		Benefactions
Cornell University	...	£800000
Harvard ,,	...	400000
Chicago ,,	...	300000
Yale ,,	.	200000
Washington ,,	...	200000
Columbia ,,	...	200000

The gifts and bequests to universities and colleges in the United Kingdom in the year 1913-14 amounted to about £200000.

The incomes of the colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts in 1913-14, excluding the grants for experiment stations, amounted to £7000000, made up as shown in Table 12.

12.—Incomes of Agricultural and Technical Colleges, U.S.A. :—

Sources	Amount	Per cent.
From States	£3600000	52
Federal Government	700000	10
Tuition fees and endowments	2700000	38
	£7000000	100

The total income of these technical colleges is thus nearly ten times that of the whole of the universities and colleges in England and Wales in receipt of Exchequer Grants, and 60 per cent. is derived from State or Federal Grants in comparison with 40 per cent. from Parliament and local authorities combined in the case of universities and colleges of England. It may be added that the normals State expenditure per annum on higher agricultural education in England and Wales is about £20000 and £35000 for agricultural research, or not much more than a single State in America receives for similar purposes.

The incomes of twenty-one German universities in 1913-14, not including the technical high schools, amounted to nearly £1800000 ; and of this the State provided £1500000 or more than 80 per cent. of the total. The universities with incomes approaching £100000 or more are shown in Table 13.

13.—Incomes of Eight German Universities.

University	Income	State Grants	Per cent.
Berlin	£246000	£205000	81
Leipzig	231000	190000	82
Breslau	112000	82000	73
Halle	111000	74000	67
Bonn	100000	75000	75
Kiel	99000	65000	66
Gottingen	94000	50000	53
Konigsberg	92000	72000	80

Some of the points brought out by the foregoing tables may be stated as follows :—

(1) In proportion to population, the United States has more than twice as many students of university standard as are in England ; Scotland has more than

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three times as many; and Germany nearly three times as many.

(2) There are only 5000 full-time students of science and technology in the United Kingdom in comparison with nearly 17000 in Germany and 34000 in the United States.

(3) The total income of universities in the United States amounts to about £20000000 and that of Germany to nearly £1800000. The total income of all the universities of the United Kingdom is about £2000000.

(4) Eighty per cent. of the total income of German universities is derived from State Grants, in comparison with 34 per cent. contributed in Parliamentary Grants to the modern universities of England and Wales.

(5) Thirty per cent. of the income of universities in the United States is derived from invested funds and donations, in comparison with 15 per cent. in the modern universities of England and 6 per cent. in those of Wales.

(6) The tuition fees at universities of the United Kingdom form a much higher percentage of the total income than they do in the United States and Germany.

(7) Nine universities in the United States have individual incomes exceeding the total amount granted annually by Parliament to universities and institutions of like standard in the United Kingdom.

(8) Five States of the United States give grants to their universities exceeding the amount of Parliamentary grants to universities and colleges of England and Wales.

(9) Private benefactions to universities and colleges in the United States amount to more than £5000000 annually; in the United Kingdom they do not average one-twentieth that sum.

(10) The colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts in the United States have a total income of £7000000, or ten times that of the whole of the modern universities of England and Wales.

(11) The University of Berlin receives annually from State funds a grant nearly equal to the total annual Parliamentary grants to the universities and colleges of England and Wales.

It will be evident from these facts that in the domain of higher education the United Kingdom compares very unfavourably with the United States and Germany. No doubt one reason for this is that in America and Germany there has been a greater demand for highly trained men than in the British Isles, where posts for such men have been few, salaries low, and prospects poor. Conditions are, however, improving; and the industrial research associations being formed in connection with the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research, as well as associations established on the lines suggested by the Whitley Report, need for their successful operation the employment of men capable of undertaking research. The conditions of industrial development and the competition of other countries make it essential to secure an adequate supply of trained workers of this type.

Increased grants to universities and technical institutions are needed to enable the tuition fees to be reduced and to ensure that the staffs are paid salaries commensurate with the high qualifications demanded. The present aid given by Parliament is in no way adequate to modern needs, and compares very unfavourably with what is available in the United States and Germany. The grand total of all Parliamentary grants to universities and technical colleges of university rank in the United Kingdom is about £500,000, whereas the Federal and State grants in the United States amount to £7,000000., and in Germany to nearly £2.000000. The provision made by Parliament for higher education is thus obviously not that which should be expected of a state which intends to maintain its position among leading powers.

An able writer has very aptly said that the world to-day is one vast market in which men of every colour, race and creed struggle fiercely for livelihood. In the keen competition India has to enter the lists armed with the primitive weapons—arrows, bows, swords and the buckler—against powerful nations equipped with the most up-to-date weapons, *e.g.*, maxim guns.

We must bestir ourselves. There is not a moment to lose. I hold no brief for the Government of India. Its parsimonious attitude towards the educational grant in the budget shows that it has but a poor conception of its duties and responsibilities towards the teeming famished millions entrusted to its care. It will not, however, mend matters if we rest contentedly indulging in mere wanton criticism of the Government policy. The heavy burden of £145,000,000 of war contribution thrown upon India will seriously cripple her energy for years to come and the claims of increased grants for education will receive but scant attention. New sources of income to meet the crying demands of education will have to be tapped; the rich endowments attached to the temples, as also the *wakf* property, should be rendered available for this purpose. I believe incomes amounting to crores of rupees are locked up in this manner. They are simply frittered away and are wasted in absolutely unreproductive ways. The Religious Endowments Bills introduced by the late Ananda Charlu and Sir Rash Behari Ghosh met with no response from our leaders. On the contrary, the cry of "religion in danger" was raised by some of the reactionary journals. I can well understand the jealousy of allowing a foreign government—alien in race and creed—to interfere with such affairs. But surely it should not be difficult so to arrange matters that only *local* committees thoroughly representative of the Hindu, Mahommedan, Jaina and other communities would have control over the management of the funds. Then again as in England and America there must be a continual flow of gifts and bequests. We require the whole-hearted co-operation of

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the Government and the people. The more Tatas, Palits, and Ghoses we have among us, the better. But we must bear in mind that many a mickle makes a muckle. Every one of us can do something to promote the cause of education; and this something we must do to the utmost of our capacity.

THE TEACHER

He is called by the Unseen to shape the ages unborn.
For even in the eyes of the starving waif dwelleth the light of the last victory.
He will pray morning, noon and night, for he of all men shall trust in his guide.
None knoweth the richness of the gifts he giveth, for they come from the Unfailing Fountain.
None knoweth the wealth of his reward, for it shall continue unto the End.
He turneth aside them that would assail the innocent, and leadeth forth a faithful host.
In the time of his great rest he shall chant the song of them that have never wrought destruction.

E. E. SPEIGHT.

NATIONALISM*

"COSMOPOLITANISM or Humanitarianism, 'The Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World,' is too ineffective an ideal at present... Its strength may be greater in the near future, but at present it is not a political force"—thus wrote Mr. C. Delisle Burns in his learned essay on Political Ideals in 1915. Those who would demur to this by reason of what they have in mind about the idea of universal brotherhood to be met with here and there in Indian religious literature, and also by the toleration of other faiths on Indian soil since ancient times, would do well to remember the *practical* exclusiveness of the Hindu which went the length of prohibiting sea voyage for fear of cultural contamination and which, within historic times, did not open the ranks of even the despised Sudra to the foreign settlers whom he was too weak, for want of a cohesive principle, to eject. The Socialist movement with its communistic organisation and equal opportunities for all, has made some headway in Europe, but the ideal of Nationalism, the political movement for national autonomy which, in the words of Lord Morley, is perhaps the most marked of the agitations of the nineteenth century, still holds the field in Europe and elsewhere, though it is increasingly recognised that there is no panacea for human needs, and other dreams will follow the realisation of even the most glorious that we could now conceive. Just as Individualism recognises that there is an invaluable and distinct core of personality in each man which it is the purpose of civilisation to develop, so Nationalism recognises that there is some special quality in every group which it would be well for the sake of the whole of humanity to preserve, for the evidence of the past shows that when a race is deprived of its own political life its work is less valuable, and that when a race wins political independence its art and science contribute to the general progress of civilisation. Those who live in continuous contact develop a special conception of what is admirable in character and valuable in life, and such

* *Nationalism*: By Sir Rabindranath Tagore. Macmillan & Co., London. 1918. Extra Crown 8vo. pp. 135. 4s. 6d. net.

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conceptions are embodied in institutions and supported by custom and expressed in literature and the other arts. By allowing each such group of people scope for developing its peculiar characteristics, humanity at large is benefited by the preservation of so many distinct types. This is the justification of the nationalist ideal, and India which pleads for the preservation of its cultural characteristics and for the right to make its own peculiar contribution to the progress of civilisation, can least of all afford to scoff at the principle underlying this ideal, and it is not on Nationalism, as thus understood, that Sir Rabindranath hurls his anathemas, but on something very different, though masquerading under the same name.

The Nationalism on which the great Bengali sage pours the molten lava of his scorn is the spurious variety of it which is indistinguishable from Jingoistic Imperialism, of which the egregious insolence of Kipling is the most outrageous manifestation in literature. It is not the nationalism which is the ideal of oppressed and divided nations, the nationalism of which Mazzini was the apostle, of whom Morley says that "no other man of his century ever united intense political activity with such affluence of moral thought and social feeling." It is the nationalism of the strong races, in whom group morality, provided the glorification of the nation be the object, sanctions the perpetration of deeds which would shock the individual conscience. To those who have read the collection of essays published under the names of *Bharatvarsha* and *Atmashakti*, the thoughts and opinions expressed in the present volume will not appear new, and if one re-reads them now, in the light of the Great European War which is just over, he will be astonished at the prophetic vision of the poet, who almost foresaw the conflagration. This rare gift, that of making a true forecast of the future, is the outcome of a correct appreciation of the main currents of European politics and social evolution, and of the moral canker at the root of western civilisation, and it is this canker which Sir Rabindranath sums up under the name of Nationalism and exposes with all the wealth of imagery, brilliance of suggestion, and vigour of denunciation at his command.

This 'organised gregariousness of gluttony, commercial and political,' which passes by the name of Nationalism, is 'a cruel epidemic of evil that is sweeping over the human world of the present age, and eating into its moral vitality'; 'there are few crimes which it is unable to perpetrate'; it is 'the apotheosis of selfishness.' 'The Nation has thriven long upon mutilated humanity.' 'The cult of the selfworship of the Nation has grown in ascendancy'; 'the individual worships with all sacrifices a God which is morally much inferior to himself.' Under the influence of its fumes the whole people can carry out its systematic programme of the most virulent selfseeking without being in the least aware of its moral perversion.' 'The Nation of the West forges its iron chains of organisation which are the most relentless and unbreakable that have ever been manufactured in the whole history of man.' 'The unspeakable filth which has been accumulating for ages in the bottom of nationalism' has been lighted up in all its lurid horror by vivid flashes of terrific explosion, where the author, burning with indignation and his whole moral nature and outraged humanity rising in revolt against its insolent pretensions, bursts forth in passages like the following:—

"The vital ambition of the present civilisation of Europe is to have the exclusive possession of the Devil. All her armaments and diplomacy are directed upon this one object. But these costly rituals for invocation of the evil spirit lead through a path of prosperity to the brink of cataclysm. The furies of terror, which the West has let loose upon God's world, come back to threaten herself and goad her into preparations of more and more frightfulness; This gives her no rest, and makes her forget all else but the perils that she causes to others and incurs herself. To the worship of this devil of politics she sacrifices other countries as victims. She feeds upon their dead flesh and grows fat upon it, so long as the carcasses remain fresh,—but they are sure to rot at last, and the dead will take their revenge, by spreading pollution far and wide and poisoning the vitality of the feeder. Japan had all her wealth of humanity, her harmony of heroism and beauty, her depth of self-control and richness of self-expression; yet the Western nations felt no respect for her till she proved that the blood-hounds of Satan are not only bred in the kennels of Europe but can also be domesticated in Japan and fed with man's miseries. They admit Japan's equality with themselves, only when they know that Japan also possesses the key to open the floodgate of hell-fire upon the fair earth whenever she chooses, and can dance, in their own measure, the devil dance of pillage, murder and ravishment of innocent women, while the world goes to ruin. We know that, in the early stage of man's moral immaturity, he only feels reverence for the God whose malevolence he dreads. But is this the ideal of man we can look up to with pride? After centuries of

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civilisation nations fearing each other like the prowling wild beasts of the night-time; shutting their doors of hospitality; combining only for purpose of aggression or defence; hiding in their holes their trade secrets, state secrets, secrets of their armaments; making peace-offerings to each other's barking dogs with the meat that does not belong to them; holding down fallen races which struggle to stand upon their feet; with their right hands dispensing religion to weaker peoples, while robbing them with their left,—is there anything in this to make us envious? Are we to bend our knees to the spirit of this nationalism, which is sowing broadcast over all the world seeds of fear, greed, suspicion, unashamed lies of its diplomacy, and unctuous lies of its profession of peace and goodwill and universal brotherhood of man?"

Again:

"The political civilisation which has sprung up from the soil of Europe and is overrunning the whole world, like some prolific weed, is based upon exclusiveness. It is always watchful to keep the aliens at bay or to exterminate them. It is carnivorous and cannibalistic in its tendencies, it feeds upon the resources of other peoples and tries to swallow their whole future. It is always afraid of other races achieving eminence, naming it as a peril, and tries to thwart all symptoms of greatness outside its own boundaries, forcing down races of men who are weaker, to be eternally fixed in their weakness. Before this political civilisation came to its power and opened its hungry jaws wide enough to gulp down great continents of the earth, we had wars, pillages, changes of monarchy and consequent miseries, but never such a sight of fearful and hopeless voracity, such wholesale feeding of nation upon nation, such huge machines for turning great portions of the earth into mince-meat, never such terrible jealousies with all their ugly teeth and claws ready for tearing open each other's vitals. This political civilisation is scientific, not human. It is powerful because it concentrates all its forces upon one purpose, like a millionaire acquiring money at the cost of his soul. It betrays its trust, it weaves its meshes of lies without shame, it enshrines gigantic idols of greed in its temples taking great pride in the costly ceremonials of its worship, calling this patriotism. And it can be safely prophesied that this cannot go on, for there is a moral law in this world which has its application both to individuals and to organised bodies of men..... This public sapping of ethical ideals slowly reacts upon each member of society, gradually breeding weakness, where it is not seen, and causing that cynical distrust of all things sacred in human nature which is the true symptom of senility."

Addressing Japan, he utters the following grave warning:

Where the spirit of western nationalism prevails, the whole people is being taught from boyhood to foster hatreds and ambitions by all kinds of means—by the manufacture of half truths and untruths in history, by persistent misrepresentation of other races and the culture of unfavourable sentiments towards them, by setting up memorials of events very often false, which for the sake of humanity should be speedily forgotten, thus continually brewing evil menace towards neighbours and nations other than their own. This is poisoning the very fountainhead of humanity. It is discrediting the ideals, which were born of the lives of men who were our greatest and best. It is holding up gigantic selfishness as the one universal religion for all nations of the world. We can take anything else from the hands of science, but not this elixir of moral death. Never think for a moment that the hurts you inflict upon other races will not infect you, or that the enmities you sow around your homes will be a wall of protection to you for all time to come. To imbue the minds of a whole people with an abnormal vanity of its own superiority, to teach it to take pride in its moral callousness and ill-begotten wealth, to perpetuate humiliation of defeated nations by exhibiting trophies won from war, and using these in schools in order to breed in children's minds contempt for others, is imitating the West where she has a festering sore, whose swelling is a swelling of disease eating into its vitality.

India is being governed by this abstract being, the nation:

"But we, who are governed, are not a mere abstraction. We, on our side, are individuals with living sensibilities. What comes to us in the shape of a mere bloodless policy may pierce into the very core of our heart, may threaten the whole future of our people with a perpetual helplessness of emasculation, and yet may never touch the chord of humanity on the other side..... In this reign of the nation, the governed are pursued by suspicions; and these are the suspicions of a tremendous mass of organised brain and muscle. Punishments are meted out, which leave a trail of miseries across a large bleeding tract of the human heart; but these punishments are dealt by a mere abstract force, in which the whole population of a distant country has lost its human personality..... The benefit of the Western civilisation is doled out to us in a miserly measure by the Nation, which tries to regulate the degree of nutrition as near the zero point of vitality as possible. The portion of education allotted to us is so raggedly insufficient that it ought to outrage the sense of decency of a Western humanity..... While depriving us of our opportunities and reducing our education to the minimum required for conducting a foreign government, this Nation pacifies its conscience by calling us names, by sedulously giving currency to the arrogant cynicism that

> The East is east and the West is west.
> And never the twain shall meet."

The Spirit of the West is in conflict with the Nation of the West, and "wherever in Asia the people have received the true lessson of the West it is in spite of the western Nation."

But in the European War "the death-throes of the Nation have commenced. Suddenly, all its mechanism going mad, it has begun the dance of the Furies, shattering its own limbs, scattering them into the dust. It is the fifth act of the tragedy of the unreal..... The veil has been raised, and in this frightful war the West has stood face to face with her own creation, to which she has offered her soul. She must know what it truly is. She had never let herself suspect what slow decay and decomposition were slowly going on in her moral nature....."

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As for us, 'we of no nations of the world, whose heads have been bowed to the dust,' we 'never could blindly believe in the salvation which machinery offered to man, but we held fast to our trust in God and the truth of the human soul.' 'The civilisation, whose basis is society and the spiritual ideal of man, is still a living thing in China and in India.' 'I believe that it does India no good to compete with Western civilisation in its own field. But we shall be more than compensated if, in spite of the insults heaped upon us, we follow our own destiny.' 'Man in his fulness is not powerful, but perfect.' 'By knowing the laws of the material universe you do not change your deeper humanity.' 'A mere knowledge of things can be had in a short enough time, but their spirit can only be acquired by centuries of training and self-control.' "What is merely modern—as science and methods of organisation—can be transplanted ; but what is vitally human has fibres so delicate, and roots so numerous and far-reaching, that it dies when moved from its soil."

".....there are grave questions that the Western civilisation has presented before the world but not completely answered. The conflict between the individual and the state, labour and capital, the man and the woman ; the conflict between the greed of material gain and the spiritual life of man, the organised selfishness of nations and the higher ideals of humanity ; the conflict between all the ugly complexities inseparable from giant organisations of commerce and state and the natural instincts of man crying for simplicity and beauty and fulness of leisure,—all these have to be brought to a harmony in a manner not yet dreamt of."

If the book under review had nothing but evil to say of western civilisation, however wise or true might be his denunciations, the author might well have been charged with an inadequate appreciation of the vasteness and complexity of his theme, though he might perhaps have thereby pleased the orthodox or extreme section of his educated countrymen the most. But Sir Rabindranath is too great a man not to feel drawn to greatness wherever it may be found irrespective of race or clime, and so he can say :

"I must not hesitate to acknowledge where Europe is great, for great she is without doubt. We cannot help loving her with all our heart, and paying her the best homage of our admiration—the Europe who, in her literature and art, pours out an inexhaustible cascade of beauty and truth fertilising all countries and all time ; the Europe who, with a mind which is titanic in its untiring power, is sweeping the height and the depth of the universe, winning her homage of knowledge from the infinitely great and the infinitely small, applying all the resources of her great intellect and heart in healing the sick and alleviating those miseries of man which up till now we were contented to accept in a spirit of hopeless resignation ; the Europe who is making the earth yield more fruit than seemed possible, coaxing and compelling the great forces of nature into man's service. Such true greatness must have its motive power in spiritual strength. For only the spirit-of-man can defy all limitations, have faith in its ultimate success, throw its searchlight beyond the immediate and the apparent, gladly suffer martyrdom for ends which cannot be achieved in its life time and accept failure without acknowledging defeat. In the heart of Europe runs the purest stream of human love, of love of justice, of spirit of self-sacrifice for higher ideals. The Christian culture of centuries has sunk deep in her life's core."

Again,

"The West could never have risen to the eminence she has reached if her strength were merely the strength of the brute or of the machine. The divine in her heart is suffering from the injuries inflicted by her hands upon the world—and from this pain of her higher nature flows the secret balm which will bring healing to those injuries..... The East has instinctively felt, even through her aversion, that she has a great deal to learn from Europe, not merely about the materials of power, but about its inner source, which is of mind and of the moral nature of man. Europe has been teaching us the higher obligations of public good above those of the family and the clan, and the sacredness of law, which makes society independent of individual caprice, secures for it continuity of progress, and guarantees justice to all men of all positions in life. Above all things Europe has held high before our minds the banner of liberty, through centuries of martyrdom and achievement,—liberty of conscience, liberty of thought and action, liberty in the ideals of art and literature."

Therefore, though 'the East has her contribution to make to the history of civilisation,' though 'India is no beggar of the West,' "the West is necessary to the East. We are complementary to each other because of our different outlooks upon life which have given us different aspects of the truth. Therefore if it be true that the spirit of the West has come upon our fields in the guise of a storm it is nevertheless scattering living seeds that are immortal. And when in India we become able to assimilate in our life what is permanent in Western civilisation we shall be in the position to bring about a reconciliation of these two great worlds. Then will come to an end the onesided dominance which is galling."

To bring about this reconciliation, "The thing we in India have got to think of is this—to remove those social customs and ideals which have generated a want of self-respect and a complete dependence on

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those above us,—a state of affairs which has been brought about entirely by the domination in India of the caste system, and the blind and lazy habit of relying upon the authority of traditions that are incongruous anachronisms in the present age..... Life departed from her social system and in its place she is worshipping with all ceremony the magnificent cage of countless compartments that she has manufactured." We must remember that 'political freedom does not give us freedom when our mind is not free.'

"The general opinion of the majority of the present day nationalists in India is that we have come to a final completeness in our social and spiritual ideals, the task of the constructive work of society having been done several thousand years before we were born, and that now we are free to employ all our activities in the political direction. We never dream of blaming our social inadequacy as the origin of our present helplessness, for we have accepted as the creed of our nationalism that this social system has been perfected for all time to come by our ancestors who had the superhuman vision of all eternity and supernatural power for making infinite provision for future ages. Therefore, for all our miseries and shortcomings, we hold responsibe the historical surprises that burst upon us from outside. This is the reason why we think that our one task is to build a political miracle of freedom upon the quicksand of social slavery..... We must remember whatever weakness we cherish in our society will become the source of danger in politics. The same inertia which leads us to our idolatry of dead forms in social institutions will create in our politics prison houses with immoveable walls. The narrowness of sympathy which makes it possible for us to impose upon a considerable portion of humanity the galling yoke of inferiority will assert itself in our politics in creating the tyranny of injustice. When our nationalists talk about ideals, they forget that the basis of nationalism is wanting. The very people who are upholding these ideals are themselves the most conservative in their social practice..... And when we talk of Western Nationality we forget that the nations there do not have that physical repulsion, one for the other, that we have between different castes. Have we an instance in the whole world where a people who are not allowed to mingle their blood, shed their blood for one another except by coercion or for mercenary purposes? And can we ever hope that these moral barriers against our racial amalgamation will not stand in the way of our political unity? Then again we must give full recognition to this fact that our social restrictions are still tyrannical, so much so as to make men cowards..... The social habit of mind which impels us to make the life of our fellow beings a burden to them when they differ from us even in such a thing as their choice of food, is sure to persist in our political organisation and result in creating engines of coercion to crush every rational difference which is the sign of life. And tyranny will only add to the inevitable lies and hypocrisy in our political life.....the educated community of India has become insensible to her social needs. They are taking the very immobility of our social structures as the sign of their perfection,—and because the healthy feeling of pain is dead in the limbs of our social organism they delude themselves into thinking that it needs no ministration. Therefore they think that all their energies need their only scope in the political field."

But the pity of it all is that while the average Hindu reader will gloat over those passages in the book where western nationalism is denounced and Eastern spirituality extolled, and will just tolerate those other passages where the greatness of European civilisation is pointed out, judging from the reception which the author's essay 'As the Master Wills'* met with among his countrymen, the same reader will take little heed of the above pregnant passages which, more than any denunciation of European civilisation, we should, in our own interest, lay to heart; and words of the truest patriotism will pass for mere social heresies, and we shall continue to be proud of all that we should be ashamed, and India will probably remain where she was in the matter of social emancipation.

* A translation of this essay is to be found in "Towards Home Rule" part III, under the heading, "The Right to be One's Own Master."

A PATRIOTIC HINDU.

THE FLOWER

Beyond the noise of the town, beyond the dust of the village road, we found
ourselves in a pasture of Sun-reaching grasses.
Suddenly there shone between us a flower of such transcendent morning loveliness
that we forgot all else.
Which of us saw it first I know not, nor whether thou didst know the tremor of
my heart ere that new-born light in thine eyes flashed into mine.
But mutely we clasped hands, and bowed as to an altar.
Long ages seem the short months since we parted for ever, thou and I,
yet very happy is my heart that we left that beautiful flower
blossoming in its loveliness beyond the sight of the eyes, beyond the orbit of time.

E. E. SPEIGHT.

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A GREAT HINDU HISTORIAN IN PERSIAN

I. Family History.

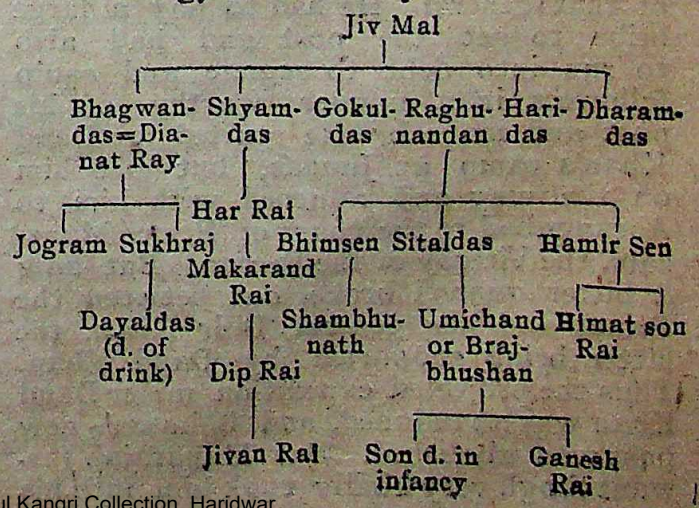
THE complete official history of the reign of the Emperor Aurangzib (1657-1707 A. D.) was written from State papers and personal recollections by Muhammad Saqi Mustaid Khan only three years after that Emperor's death. It is invaluable for dates, names of persons and places, the proper sequence of events, and official changes and administrative regulations. But it is a small volume, devoting only ten pages to the affairs of one year of the reign of a sovereign who was one of the most active and ambitious rulers of the world and effected such momentous changes in Northern India and Southern India alike. A chapter of this work is therefore usually a dry list of official appointments and changes (exactly like the Government Gazettes of the present day) and a bare summary of events following one another in rapid succession. It tells us nothing about the real circumstances under which the events took place, their true causes and effects, the condition of the people and the state of the country.

For these latter points the most valuable contemporary history of Aurangzib is the *Nuskha-i-Dilkasha* written by a Hindu named Bhimsen, who was a hereditary civil officer of the Mughal Government, passed his life in the Mughal cities and camps of the Deccan, and visited most places of India from Cape Comorin to Delhi. This work contains very important, and often unique information about many historical personages and events of the time and topographical details. The British Museum, London, has a complete manuscript of the *Dilkasha*, hastily but correctly written (*Or.* 23.). The copy belonging to the India Office Library, London, is less correct and covers only the first half of the book, ending abruptly with the capture of Golkonda in 1687. (No. 94, Ethe's Catalogue 445.). The Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris, has another and a complete copy. (Suppl. 259, Blochet's Catalogue 602.) No other MS. of it is known to exist. An abridged and incorrect English translation of a part of it was published under the title of *Journal of a Boondelah Officer*, in Jonathan Scott's *History of the Deccan*. (Shrewsbury, 1794.)

Bhimsen's father, Raghunandandas was one of the six sons of Jivmal, a Kayastha of the Saksena section, the other five being Bhagwandas, Shyamdas, Gokuldas, Haridas and Dharamdas. Of these Bhagwandas rose to the highest position then open to a Hindu. He was appointed *Diwan* (Chancellor) of Mughal Deccan with the title of *Dianat Ray* (=Baron Honesty) in 1657 and accompanied Aurangzib from the Deccan during his march northwards to contest the throne of Delhi, and lived at that capital with the court till his death in 1664. He had every expectation of being appointed chief Diwan of the Empire, but when Aurangzib confined his old father in Agra Fort (June 1658), Ray-i-rayan Raghunath Rai Khatri, the Assistant Diwan, who had been doing all the duties of the Imperial Diwan, deserted to the prince, and his timely treachery was rewarded by his being given the post of the chief Diwan of the Empire, though without the title. Thus Dianat Ray lost his highest hope.

Raghunandan was *musharraf* of the Imperial artillery of the Deccan, a post which he resigned about 1670, in order to pass his old age in religious meditation, dying at Aurangabad in 1674.

Genealogy of the family :—



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II. EARLY LIFE.

Bhimsen was born at Burhanpur on the Tapti (the capital of Khandesh) in Samvat 1705 (1649 A. D.), and at the age of eight he left this place to join his father at Aurangabad. That was an eventful year (1657). The crown of Delhi was changing hands and the boy retained a vivid recollection of the "rumours of war" in Northern India that agitated the citizens of Aurangabad. At the age of ten he paid a visit to the Nasik caves and Trimbak fort in his father's company. The death of Dianat Ray at Delhi (1664) dashed down to the ground all the hopes of high promotion cherished by his family. His eldest son Jogram was appointed by the Emperor *musharraf* of the Elephants,—no very high post; but died in a few years. Then Sukhraj, the younger son of Dianat Ray, was appointed *musharraf* of the Imperial Drink and Betel leaf Departments.

At Aurangabad Bhimsen received his education in Persian from his ninth to his fifteenth year, under the care of his father. Then, for seven years he acted as his father's deputy. Raghunandan was growing old and weak, and felt himself unable to attend his office and do his duties as *musharraf* of Artillery. Fearing that the Emperor would be angry if he heard that Raghunandan was staying at home, while his office work was being actually done by a youth of 21, he resigned (1670).

Young Bhimsen had now to look out for some employment and turned to many patrons of his family, but in vain. At last he secured the post of *musharraf* of muster and branding of horses in the division of Daud Khan Quraishi, immediately under Mir Abdul Mabud, the Paymaster (*bakhshi*) of that general. He had to pay a large bribe to get the post and had also to run into debt to engage and equip followers in a manner worthy of his post and mansab. He started for Daud Khan's camp at Junnar, but met him on the way and returned with him to Aurangabad to the court of Prince Muazzam, the Viceroy of the Deccan. But now a bitter quarrel broke out between the Prince and his general Dilir Khan, the latter being supported by Daud Khan. Thus the projected expedition under Daud Khan was abandoned, and Bhimsen's new post was abolished. But Maharajah Jaswant Singh very kindly took him into his service, and they set off together northwards to the Tapti in pursuit of Dilir Khan. Bhimsen took this opportunity of revisiting his birthplace Burhanpur, and then returned to Aurangabad, Sept. 1670.

III. OFFICIAL EMPLOYMENT.

A few days afterwards, Daud Khan was detached by the Prince to intercept Shivaji on his return from the second loot of Surat. Bhimsen accompanied this army as clerk (*peshdast*) to the Bakhshi in addition to his former post, and was present at the battle of Vani-Dandori in which the Mughals were defeated by Shivaji with heavy slaughter. Then he went with Daud Khan's force to Nasik and Ahmadnagar.

After some time the Khan marched to Ankai Tankai (near the Manmad junction) to check the Marathas who were active near the forts of the Chandor range, such as Dhodap. Thence he hastened into Baglana to raise the siege of Salhir. During this march our author was separated from the army and in great danger of being cut off; but he was saved by Nur Khan, a Muhammadan mercenary of the Maratha army, who had formerly been befriended by his father at Aurangabad. Daud Khan arrived too late to save Salhir from being captured by Shivaji, but continued fighting near the Chandor range for some time and took the fort of Ahivant.

A letter now arrived from the Emperor accepting the Prince's recommendation that Bhimsen should be appointed *musharraf* of *muster and branding*. Jaswant had induced the Prince to make this proposal. But through the machinations of the Hindu favourites of Mahabat Khan, the new commander-in-chief of the Deccan, the post was conferred on a son of Brindaban (the son of Dara's diwan). The cup was thus snatched away from the lips of Bhimsen and he had to pass a long time in unemployment and distress, but his high-placed friends helped him with money.

After a time Bahadur Khan, the new Viceroy of the Deccan, (1672) gave that post to Bhimsen and he held it for many years afterwards.

In the course of the pursuit of the Marathas who had raided Ramgir (110 miles north-east of Haidarabad) in Nov. 1672, Bhimsen had a marvellous adventure with a *darvish* which reads like a romance. For the next two years he made much money and lived in great happiness

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and comfort ; "even great nobles could not live in that style" as he brags ! But a succession of bereavements overtook him soon afterwards : he lost his uncle Gokuldas (a few years earlier), his brother Sitaldas, and his father Raghunandan, then Har Rai and Har Rai's father Shyamdas.

For a long time Bhimsen had been childless. So, he adopted as his own, a son of his younger brother Sitaldas, who was born in 1671 and named Umichand by the astrologers and Brajabhushan by our author. In 1678 this little child was married.

In 1686 Bhimsen, tired of work, left his office duties in the Imperial army to be discharged by his agents (*gumashtas*) and went to live with his family at Naldurg, a fort 25 miles north-east of Sholapur. Here in 1688 a son was born to him and named Shambhunath ; but Brajabhushan, whom he had adopted as his son, continued to be cherished as a member of his family, like his eldest son.

IV. Serves Dalpat Rao Bundela.

Soon afterwards, Bhimsen left Naldurg and joined the Mughal army at Sholapur. At this place he was taken into the service of Dalpat Rao, the Bundela chieftain of Datia and an important general in Aurangzib's army, as his private secretary and "man of business". Lands yielding Rs. 12,000 a year were given to him as his salary, evidently in Bundelkhand. [Bhimsen does not seem to have resigned his post in the Imperial army.] The connection thus begun continued till Dalpat's death eighteen years later.

In the company of Dalpat Rao, who was lieutenant to Aurangzib's foremost general Zulfiqar Khan Bahadur Nusrat Jang (the son of Asad Khan), our author marched through jungles to Jinji (in the South Arcot District) in 1691. The siege of this fort by the Mughal army was soon abandoned (for a time), and Dalpat with Bhimsen went to Wandiwash and then to Madras for treatment under the celebrated European doctors of the place. The Rao was not cured and returned after losing much money. The Italian traveller Niccolas Manucci, who had set up as a doctor without any medical knowledge, says that Dalpat's agent was deceived by a selfish middleman and did not consult him but went to some other quack, and hence his failure ! (*Storia do Mogor*, ii. 298, 435).

The business of Dalpat Rao brought Bhimsen from Madras to the Imperial camp at Brahmapuri on the Bhima river, 18 miles south-east of Pandharpur. After finishing it, he returned quickly to Jinji, only to come to Naldurg again for the marriage of his son Shambhunath (celebrated at Haidarabad.) Soon after going back to Jinji he retraced his steps and travelled to Agra on a mission of Dalpat Rao, and on his return he stopped at Naldurg. To this district Dalpat Rao came after the fall of Jinji in 1698, and our author joined him. During the journeys of these eight years, Bhimsen visited most of the famous temples and cities of the Madras Presidency and Northern India, and he has left short but extremely valuable descriptions of them as they were two hundred and thirty years ago.

About the middle of 1698, a Mughal army was sent to besiege Panhala, a fort 10 miles north of Kolhapur. During the enforced idleness of the siege, Bhimsen began to write his History in his tent at the foot of Panhala. But the long wars of Aurangzib had made the Deccan desolate, famine and disorder raged everywhere ; the government seemed to have collapsed. It was not safe to live amidst such anarchy. Bhimsen, therefore, sent his whole family from Naldurg, at first to Aurangabad and then to Dalpat Rao's capital Datia (1706).

V. Last Years.

Next year Aurangzib died; his third son Azam crowned himself in the Deccan and set out with his army to seize Delhi and Agra. But at Jajau, 20 miles south of Agra, he was defeated and slain by his elder brother Bahadur Shah I. (8 June 1707.) On that fatal field, a cannon ball passed through the body of Dalpat Rao killing him and wounding in the arm Bhimsen, who was sitting on the same elephant behind the Rao. Our author, though wounded, burnt his master's body at Dhamsi, 16 miles south of Agra, and then retired to Datia with all his hopes crushed. To make matters worse, a war broke out between the two sons of Dalpat for the *gadi*. Bhimsen in disgust left Datia with his family and came to Gwalior. As the right-hand man of Dalpat, who was a most influential partisan of Azam Shah, Bhimsen had been created by that prince a commander of five hundred, and he

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would have risen still higher if his patron had triumphed at Jajau.

But now he was thrown out of employment and put to great distress for his daily bread. After trying in vain for a post under Bahadur Shah I., he succeeded in getting his sons Brajabhushan and Shambunath enrolled (as petty clerks) in the service of Prince Khujista Akhtar Jahan Shah, through the kind help of Ray-i-rayan Gujar Mal, and returned home to lead a life of religious meditation. We know nothing of his death, nor of the after history of his family. But the genealogical tree given above may be a means of tracing his living descendants, if our readers at Datia, Gwalior, Burhanpur and Aurangabad make inquiries and write to us.

VI. As a writer.

The value of Bhimsen's History lies in his extensive and accurate personal observation and his position. As a clerk in the Mughal army of the Deccan and the friend of many generals and other high officers, he secured correct official information and learnt many a State secret, while his situation at a distance from the throne and the fact of his History not having been written for the Emperor's eyes placed him above the temptation to omit or disguise facts discreditable to the Government or write a fulsome eulogy on the Emperor and his courtiers. He is thus free from the worst defects of the official histories of the Mughal emperors. Bhimsen knew the truth and could afford to tell it. He has also given true sketches of the characters of the various historical personages of the time and pointed out their defects. His reflective mind and Hindu creed enabled him to look with the eyes of a neutral spectator at the events of Aurangzib's reign and to narrate their true causes and effects. Above all, his account of many incidents of the Mughal warfare in the Deccan is as valuable as the reports of the "Eye witness" in the present European war. Indeed, he is our only source of detailed information about them.

Things which the pompous official historians of the day scorned to mention,—such as the prices of food, the amusements of the people, the condition of the roads and the social life of the official class,—are described here only. For Deccan history, in the late 17th century, he is invaluable.

The character of Bhimsen as a man is unfolded in his Memoirs without any disguise. We see his weakness, but we also see his strong fidelity to friend and master, his devotion to his kith and kin, his love of children and his devout faith in Hinduism. Bhimsen was a charming character, tender, unpretentious, frank and serene, loving social gaiety but also deeply touched by sorrow. If it be true that "the style is the man," then we must highly praise this master of a simple business-like prose, in which there are no useless flowers of rhetoric, no profuse wordiness, no round-about expression but plenty of accurate observation and concise but clear statement of all essential points. These are rare qualities in a Persian writer.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

A PATH OF FEAR

I tremble when I move among a world
Of men.....This world so bubbles with His name
That it may chance, along with it He moves
Insignificant through the many crowds.

I hold my friends in utter love and grow
One with their hearts in burning sympathy,
Believing blindly that my radiant King
Lives secret in the circle of my friends.

The myriad travellers that pass me by
Upon the road of life, I warmly greet.....
I sometimes wonder if the King of Kings
Is in their midst a beggar in disguise.

When I appoint new servants to attend
Upon me and my thousand daily needs,
I treat them with respect and richest love
For O ! it may be that the Master-King
I yearn to serve and learn, hath come on earth
To serve and know me in my poor abode
And call me Master like a faithful slave.

HARINDRANATH CHATTOPADHYAYA.

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WHY I TRANSLATED "INDIRA" AND OTHER STORIES

THE Bengali novelist, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, hardly needs an introduction to English readers. His *Kapal Kundala*, translated by the late H. A. D. Phillips of the Indian Civil Service, his *Poison Tree* and *Krishna Kanta's Will*, rendered into English by Mrs. M. S. Knight, are in every circulating library. Translations of others of his works into English and into many of the principal Indian languages have been published in India, among them the now famous romance of *Ananda Math*, which contains, together with other occasional verses, the *Bande Mataram* hymn, which has made its author the Rouget de Lisle of Indian Nationalism, as the hymn itself has become the Marseillaise of those Indian patriots who dream of a Hindu India wholly, or almost wholly, independent of foreign control. The novelist, therefore, is well known to all Europeans who take an intelligent interest in modern India, and perhaps a new translation from his works requires a few words of explanation or even apology.

My explanation shall be brief and simple. I have found that European readers of translations of Bankim's novels, attracted to their perusal by the high reputation the author enjoys in India, have usually been disappointed. This was partly due, no doubt, to the difficulty of making an adequate translation from Bengali into English. Bengali is a language of Hindus, its literature borrows words freely from the Sanskrit scriptures, and no one who has even an elementary knowledge of the Hindu religion will deny that Sanskrit words have a religious connotation and allusiveness wholly lacking to their dictionary equivalents. It is difficult therefore to translate even a romance written by a Hindu without making additions which throw doubts on the translator's faithfulness to his original, or, in the alternative, supplying explanatory notes which break the thread of the narrative and distract the reader's attention. But this explanation seems to imply a criticism of the competence of previous translators, a criticism which I am neither willing nor qualified to make. But there is another and a less equivocal explanation. The novel is, after all, a borrowed form of literary art in India, and is there still in its infancy. An Indian novelist when read by Europeans endures a comparison with the most successful performances in a style of composition which has been practised and improved during many generations of men in the West. Again, English readers may have felt an uncomfortable sense of the absence of an Oriental atmosphere and Oriental phraseology such as their previous incursions into Eastern literature may have led them to expect. In any case, the fact remains that to obtain a full enjoyment of Bankim's work as a novelist, you must read him in the original Bengali. He is a great master of style. If he wishes to express simple pathos, he will make the most subtle and moving use of the plainest and humblest vernacular. If he writes in an ironical vein, he will clothe his satire in sonorous Sanskrit polysyllables, and thus, by some trick of contrast, give his satire singular point and penetration. In descriptive passages, he will use all the resources of poetical diction in a language which only learned to use prose for literary purposes from the Romantic novelists of Europe. It may well be that the Bengali novel is practically untranslatable.

But story-telling, as distinguished from novel-writing, is an indigenous and an ancient art in Bengal as in other provinces of India, and, as might be expected, the leading novelist of Bengal is a born story-teller. His shorter tales, written with a quick and unhalting readiness of narrative, present fewer difficulties to the translator than his more elaborate fictions. They are just such tales as every Anglo-Indian child has heard from ayah or bearer, adapted to the tastes of an adult and educated audience. They point no moral, and elucidate no social or political theories. In them the author gives free scope to a typically

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Oriental fancy, and writes of the romantic situations which still delight the Indian imagination. In translating three of Bankim's shorter tales, I hoped that western readers might be pleased to be introduced to the novelist in a more homely and more truly indigenous garb, might sympathise with his inherited taste for moving and, indeed, marvellous situations.

Another justification I have for making these translations is the illustrations which I owe to the kindness of Mr. Avanindranath Tagore, the distinguished artist and Principal of the Calcutta Art School. The picture * prefixed to the tale of Indira is the work of Mr. Nanda Lal Bose, who needs no introduction to European admirers of the new Bengal School of painting. The two other illustrations † are designed by Mr. Surendra Nath Kar, a young artist whose taste and talent are very admirably exhibited in the pretty picture of Radharani, clasping her jungle garlands to her breast as she sits at the foot of the towering Juggernath car.

The tales, in the original, are told in such simple and straightforward fashion that I have not thought it necessary to render them into English words that required any excessive effort of style. They are to be read simply 'for the story', for the glimpse they give of the romance that survives in the vivid imaginations of the novelist's ingenious race in spite of social restrictions which, to westerns, would seem to be an effectual bar to romantic relations between the sexes. I refrain from making further explanations and apologies, and I trust that the readers of this little book will find ample reward for a sympathetic and indulgent perusal of tales which continue the ancient tradition of the Indian story-tellers of old time.

To the three romantic and imaginative tales which are perhaps the best proof of Bankim Chandra Chatterji's essentially oriental temperament and genius, I have added a short specimen of his sarcastic humour. His sketch of the erudite tiger was written when Bengal was being initiated into Western methods of conducting public business by means of congresses, councils, committees. I hope the European reader will allow that the novelist's satire, if it is pointed is also not without urbanity and good-humour. If he laughs at the vanities and inconsistencies of Western races, he is quite alive to the weaknesses of his own people, and has an equally keen enjoyment of their amusing foibles. His satirical writings may serve to show that he would not have approved of the wholesale condemnation of Western arts and sciences, the uncompromising adulation of eastern tradition which sometimes passes for enlightened patriotism in India. He would have recognised, I think, that the shortest way to a better understanding between East and West lies through a fuller comprehension on both sides. Much of the present vogue of his novels is due to political prepossessions, and must necessarily be ephemeral. But even his political influence is partly due to a general recognition of his literary talent—a talent exhibited in many forms, in fiction, in poetry, in essays on the most varied subjects, political, social, literary, and even scientific. This talent, which some of us would call genius, will give him a high and permanent place in Indian literature, long after the present political and social evolution of the more advanced Indian races has given place to new problems and other aspirations. We do not read Swift and Addison now on account of their political ideas, and are apt to forget that they regarded themselves as politicians first, and were less convinced of the importance to humanity of their work as literary artists. Bankim from this point of view, is an interesting study. In every-day life, he was a subordinate official, one of the admirable "deputy-magistrates" who have done much humble but valuable work for the British administration in India. In this capacity, he won the title of Ray Bahadur which is commonly conferred on industrious and efficient Hindu officials. He was heartily convinced that British rule was a beneficent alternative to Mahommedan dominion, but, being a pious and patriotic Hindu, it pleased him to think that the mission of the English in India was to prepare the way for a truly indigenous, a Hindu government over his native land. This prepossession naturally coloured his imaginative work in prose and verse. If his now famous "Bande Mataram" hymn asserts that Bengal "has seventy millions

* Included in "Indira and other stories."

† One of these is to be found in "Indira and other stories" and the other in Picture Albums, No. 1.

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of throats to sing her praise, twice seventy millions of hands to fight for her," and so assumes that the whole population, Mussalman as well as Hindu, is prepared to join in some common patriotic movement, and this in a quasi-historical novel describing a Hindu rebellion against Mahommedan oppression, we must admit that satirists may themselves have their genial inconsistencies, may perhaps smile at their own ineradicable prejudices and inherited aspirations. I can only trust that the four tales I have translated may give European readers some conception of a singularly interesting personality, one of the most characteristic products of the mixture of the European leaven with the once seemingly dormant activities of Hindu belief and Hindu speculation. It was European teaching and example that woke new hopes and aspirations in educated Hindus. One of the earliest and most important results was the revival of literature in Bengal. It is only fitting that we should try to know what Bengali literature is, and how it affects the imaginations and ideals of our Begali fellow-subjects.

J. D. ANDERSON.

SPIRITUAL CONTEMPLATION IN INDIAN ART

FOR the right understanding of the Arts or artistic crafts of any nation one of the first essentials,—if not indeed the very first,—is *sympathy*. Sympathy with a capital S, intense, having the whole weight of its deeper meaning behind it: the power to suffer with, to experience with, to feel with.

It is next to impossible to obtain an intelligent grip on things without this intense sympathy. And it must reach, if possible to the length of actually living the life, or at least closely observing the life and customs of the people whose art is being studied. This is a matter of almost common experience among those who move within that charmed circle of activity which may be termed art connoisseurship, composed of men either critics, specialists or delvers in research, who pose as authorities. Such men know, as only they *can* know, what an amount of absolute rubbish, (there is really no other word for it), is thrown at the public, not only in the press but even in weighty, informative books which have a vogue and whose authors have a name.

It is really surprising, and I expect many of my readers have noticed it, how often a reputed authority on a subject will fail from arriving at a correct estimate of its worth and meaning entirely through the lack of this very same mysterious power of sympathy.

On the other hand there are those whose more sensitive souls possess that happy genius for getting at the heart of things, who often almost subconsciously and without effort learn exactly those important fundamentals which lie at the root of all just interpretation of life.

It is the lack of this power of interpretation as much as any other factor which has been the direct cause of that general want of understanding, among European nations, of the basic principles underlying the arts of Asiatic peoples.

See how, even to this day, Chinese art is neglected and misinterpreted,—because misunderstood. See how Japanese art has been likewise subjected to neglect until her own sons have come forward to interpret it. How much sympathy is there with the archaic but expressive art of Thibet? How many realise the magnitude and importance of the ancient art of the sand-buried ruins of Khotan? The authorities at the British Museum could tell how few, except *savants*, have been to see the precious relics of the Stein collection. And why? Because they speak in a language which at present very few can understand.

To approach nearer home to Europe we may cite as an example Russia, until recently quite neglected. Neglected to that extent that it has been the present writer's privilege to be the first, for close on sixty years, to write in any European language except native Russian, on such a subject as Russian architecture. From

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my own experience I can say that even now, owing in great measure to its Asiatic blend, it is an unknown country even to the cultured.

This attitude,—this indifference if you will,—may be summed up in that one fundamental failing,—lack of sympathy.

Now if this is so as a general matter of fact, it is doubly so in the case of India and its arts, crafts and life. What does the average European,—nay, what do the thousands who pass through or spend some time in this land of the Deodar, know of its inner life,—its meaning? Very little; almost, I venture to say, nothing at all. It is probably only one in many thousands; one in the course of many years, who comes with that truly wonderful gift, a sympathetic soul,—the essence of genius,—which allows them, and them alone, to enter into the spirit of things and so read the riddle of Indian ideals.

It was just this happy genius, for instance, that underlay the life and work of the late Sister Nivedita, and which was the secret of that power which endeared her to the hearts of all India.

Considerations of this nature have been occupying my mind frequently since my arrival in this country; and being cut off from my usual course of studies, I have turned to the task of gaining an insight into the basic inspirations of Indian art. I may say in paranthesis that I have for years been familiar with what is probably the finest collection of Indian art objects in Europe. I refer to the celebrated Indian collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. So I may say that my *eye* was tolerably well acquainted with the wealth and beauty of India's art before ever I dreamed to set foot upon her shores. But, and hear is the lacuna which was inevitable, it was beyond my power,—beyond the power perhaps of anyone in like circumstances,— to understand, to sympathise.

What was requisite was that one should live, move and pass one's days in this wonderful land of sunshine-illumined ancientness,—to see its monuments as it were *in situ*; to see its crafts practised and its craftsmanship exhibited amid its motley surrounding of native "local colour" which gives to them life and soul.

And even more than this it was needful that one should know the people themselves, to get at their thoughts, their feelings, their aspirations,—even their sorrows and their grievances. For, as the arts of to-day are culturally descended from those of the golden age of classic India, so, too, the people of to-day have just those same spiritual aspirations and mystic traditions which are the manifestation of that "spiritual contemplation" with which Indian art is saturated.

I wonder how many of my present readers have realised this truly important fact,—that this spirit, which produced such wonders as the Kailasa of Ellura and the caves at Ajanta is dormant in the Indian people still. It is not however enough that you should realise it merely. It is not enough that, realising it, you should endeavour to make the whole of India realise it. But the great need, it seems to me, of the immediate future is that you should, after realising it in your own soul, so translate it with warm sympathy, backed of course by sound knowledge, that Europeans should thereby be educated to perceive it. Until this is done the European and the Asiatic minds will remain as the poles asunder.

In speaking then, of spiritual contemplation in Indian art, I am, I believe, laying a finger, timidly but with conviction, upon the secret push-button (to use an electrical simile) which shall some day set the shrines of India's art and life ablaze with warmth and light.

The task of constructing a comprehensive theory of Indian art is not for such as I,—who am but a bird of passage among its wonders. But it is to be done by someone some day and should be done preferably by a son of India itself. *My* purpose is but to press this button in an experimental way, (as a child would the electric push), in the hope that by so doing it may be discovered to you how a great deal could be achieved towards the interpretation of India.

We will then throw the stone into the bowl of night, but, instead of putting the stars to flight we will endeavour to bring them out in glory.

Art is essentially expression,—expression of thought, emotion or soul-experience. It is the outward materialisation of spiritual impressions influenced by environment, nationality, cultural development and even such mundane matters as climate or a great catastrophe. All or

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any of these by stimulating thought and directing it into certain determinate channels give as a sequential result a spirit of individuality.

Environment then, taking so direct a part in influencing the individual, must perforce play an important role in the development of national art. Stimulating as it does individual thought, it quietly and unobtrusively works its will upon the soul of a nation, creating a national spirit, which in its turn demands a national expression.

So, in the art of India we should find an echo,—or rather (to be modern) a phonographic record, of India's national experience. And we are not disappointed. For a moment let us enquire what we should expect to find ingrained in the national subconsciousness of India. If my theory is correct, it should give us the key to the spirit of Indian art.

India perhaps more than any other nation of the East has kept its pre-historic memory. Its folklore, its mythology, its religion, are of extreme antiquity; and although to an extent modified in the course of centuries, (the inevitable result of cultural development), they still bear unmistakable witness to the pre-history of its life. The whole environment of the early races, the partial fusion of which has produced in the progress of time the modern types, must have affected profoundly the deeply serious strain in the autochthonous mind. The makers of its laws, the expounders of its beliefs,—its philosophers, its poets,—the creators of the ancient national mind, must have been deeply imbued with that contemplative manifestation of natural religion which was the foundation of Hinduism and its offshoots Buddhism and Jainism.

This native contemplativeness modified to some extent no doubt by Aryan, Scythian and Mongolian influences, is still the prime element in the art as in the life of this land.

From the very earliest ages jungledom must have been the home of mystic powers, threatening and grim. All its awe-inspiring mystery and haunting suggestion of perpetual menace,—the immanent proximity of the grimness of death, and the realisation of the frailness of tenure held on life amid the ever present possibilities of an encounter with adverse powers, must have had due effect. Encounters with wild animals and deadly reptiles, the cruelty of the sun, the pestilent pool, mosquito-haunted,—the whole atmosphere of their environment was to the early race a menace.

The reverence for the silent invisible menace of the jungle and for all such sources of awe inevitably encouraged the instinct to visualisation, for those powers which are imperfectly understood are invariably dreaded, and, as a sequential result, are personified, because they must be propitiated. Thus the personification of the great unknown becomes deified or identified with one or other aspect of deity and consequently revered as a revelation of the manifestation of God.

Spiritual reverence therefore comes into life as an attitude towards a sublime concentration of the mysterious. It is to be expected consequently that in the monumental arts of a country with a pre-history such as India's, there will be found a current of deep seriousness.

And we are not disappointed. Wherever we turn we find Indian art imbued with a deep strain of spiritual contemplation.

In speaking of the arts of India one naturally turns to the monumental rather than to the lesser arts although these too come within our cognisance. But the twin sisters in the service of the Gods,—architecture and sculpture,—will naturally be the best examplers of my remarks. Architecture, as employed in raising a fitting dwelling-place for a God: sculpture, as forming so eloquent a channel of emotional expression; surely they, of all others are the most worthy of our contemplation.

In the fabric of the temples, in the artistry of stone the *vale* of God is manifest for all time. It is after all a most fitting tablet for such holy scripture. The temples, whether cut from the living rock or raised at immense pains and great skill by unknown masters of art, are everlasting testimonies to the emotion of an ideal. The "Gospel of Indian Ideals" is here written for all time in works of genius fired with spiritual impetus which make all the world wonder though so few can appreciate.

Yes, few can appreciate at present. But it will not ever be so. I venture to think that Indians will more and more perceive the great value of their heritage as time goes on, and some day there will arise some great soul that, in a moment,

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will touch with a magic wand the thousand pinnacles of glory in the edifice of art and the western world at last will understand, saying, "Here is India's Soul laid bare, India's History,—India's Love; we have been blind, but see!"

If ever this most desirable thing should come to pass, and I believe it must, I venture to predict that, under one name or another, there will be found one outstanding quality in India's soul. I have borrowed the phrase "Spiritual Contemplation" because it so exactly fits, but I have read into it my own interpretation. I have looked upon things with a poet-eye, and mark you, often the dreamer sees further into the heart of things than the dry-as-dust, who measures and calculates and philosophises. It is the *soul* we want to get at,—the soul, even of an unornamented tope; not its height, its circumference or whether a Greek coin has been dug up so many feet from the summit.

These same topes, so characteristically Indian, the earliest known of which are well within the historic period, are nevertheless a survival from Neolithic times. They prove that the pre-historic consciousness was still in these Asokan days, a tradition strong enough to decide the form of these structures. But, whereas the tumuli of the Turanian races found in Etruria, Lydia and among the Scyths of the Northern Steppe are mere grave-mounds, these topes of India are an exaltation. They are no longer grave mounds but already in these early days are elevated to the dignity of a religious symbol. And as such they are to be considered a good illustration of the pre-historic memory exhibiting unconsciously that spiritual contemplation of which I write in its most primitive aspect.

That it *is* here primitive must be allowed; but, even in this early period, it is really most telling in its intensity.

How emphatic is the insistence of isolated mass wherever found! And when intentionally displayed, as in the case of the topes, it is so evidently forceful that, as with the Pyramids, they stand forth impressive thoughts embodied in cyclopean form. They are silent compelling insistences on the mystic and the contemplative. They are an epitome of the spiritual aspirations of their period,—of deep religious emotion expressed immensely.

Whether these topes were ever, as some think, adorned with painting or carving in relief, (there is exquisite carved ornament for example on the Sarnath tope near Benares), it matters not. The mere form is impressive,—an union of grandeur with extreme simplicity of design which is telling in the extreme.

From the mere mound, marking a revered spot or commemorating some great event, we may pass for a moment to the altogether unique temple at Buddha Gaya,—a structure exhibiting a straight pyramidal form which, although restored by Burmese craftsmen in the fourteenth century, still retains its essential originality. Here we have the same striking embodiment of isolated and impassive contemplation. The same spirit which vivifies, for example, the colossal dolomite Buddha of Anuradhapura in Ceylon, which dates from the same period. In the sculpture the contemplative spirit is naturally more evident. The great figure seated in deep meditation, removed completely from the frailty and changefulness of mere humanity, is interiorly instinct with a great and overmastering dispassionateness. One feels intuitively that it is the symbol of some marvellous inward development,—some great power, the secret of which is but half spoken by the inanimate stone. It is so wonderfully carved that it is a veritable force to control men's minds and hearts and wills.

As with the topes, so too is it with those most wonderful of all India's wonders,—the rock-hewn cave-temples. These, whether Buddhist, Hindu or Jain, are alike eloquent with the same feeling. They are monuments of India's greatest art,—her architecture,—and it would be impossible for me in the short space at my disposal to notice exhaustively these remarkable works of the older India, the earliest of which antedates Buddhist times.

The fervour of contemplative thought is evinced in a still more impressive form in these structures than in the topes. Their names alone will serve lovers of Indian art to call up their outstanding wonders. Ajanta, Ellura, Nasik, to mention only three, are world-renowned. It is truly astonishing when we come to think of it what mentality must have gone to the conception of such a structure as the Kailasa at Ellura, even

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though, as has been suggested, the Pattadaikal temple may have served in some measure as a model. Here we have a temple complete, not only interiorly as is the case with most, but exteriorly also, in every part. It is of superb design and hewn out of the living rock. Take a small piece of easily worked substance, such as wood, and see how very difficult it is to carve even a simple relief. Yet at Ellura we have a gigantic carving of remarkable beauty and wonderful executive skill, perhaps the most enormous piece of carving in the world fashioned out of a single block, so to speak.

It is stupendous and yet full eloquent of that contemplative spirit of religious fervour which I am exemplifying. The whole artistic heritage of India is here embodied in this temple of Dravidian age. It is an enduring monument to the spirit of the Indian nation. Its like will never again be raised. Such an undertaking could not have been, without the whole heart and soul of the people were in it. And it is that heart and soul that I am persuading you to appreciate,—to get *en rapport* with,—so that you may in every possible way interpret it and the national idea in it at one and the same time.

One has only to mention these celebrated rock-cut temples in order to conjure up the whole mystic wonder of their conception. A facade cut in the face of the rock, the giant window, horse-shoe shaped, which is almost hypnotic in its dominating controlment. Facing one, one realises that the emotion raised prehistoric as it is in its origin is only slightly removed from that experienced by the aboriginal devotee who, standing in sight of some natural cave, peered into its mystic depths peopling it with wonder as the habitation of a God. Again it is the prehistoric memory; and the darkness of the interior cave is comparable in its possibilities with the dark mystery of the jungle itself at night.

The Tiger Cave at Saluvan Kuppan is a most telling example of what is meant by the silent menace of the jungle. It is almost uncanny in its grotesque conformation. Like a great beast waiting for its prey the great rock crouches there, impassive but eloquent,—a manifestation of the soul of a people who have realised that "where the shade sleeps there is God."

We here touch upon a particular phase of another element of striking power in Indian art,—significance of gesture. The peculiar conformation of this rock within whose bosom the temple has been made closely resembles the crouching attitude of the animal from which it takes its name. But throughout the field of Indian sculptural art this significance of gesture is evident; and wherever seen it is invariably instinct with motive,—spiritual contemplation, religious fervour.

In the earlier period only mortals were depicted in sculpture; but in the rock temple at Ajanta we see Bhagabat occupying the most prominent position on the dagoba in an attitude of striking impassivity. This example testifies again to the remarkable instinct for spiritual effect,—brought out perhaps unconsciously by the artist,—that is so dominating a force in Indian architecture. It is felt again in the great cave at Karli with its heavy-columned nave, its commanding dagoba of wood at the apsidal termination and its massively ribbed roof. The *tout ensemble* gives an overmastering conception of stability of thought and reposeful contemplation.

If we turn to the structural temples, the same feeling permeates all of the more celebrated of them. The lavish sculptural decoration of their exteriors has a tendency to distract from the one central idea of grandeur of mass. It is the play of fancy overlying the sterner manifestation of religious extacy. In no other nation's art perhaps is this *trait* so evident but a parallel is found in the profuse decoration of the Mayan remains of Central America.

Well known examples need scarcely be more than mentioned. The Kailasanadha at Kanchipuram, a Pallava structure of great beauty, the Subrahmanya built by the Chola king Raja-raja and consequently one of the earliest of structural temples of Southern India. Not only is the latter temple superbly proportioned but it is covered with most exquisite ornamentation carved by a sculptor of greatest skill. Beautiful as it is in its minuteness, it takes not one atom from the feeling that this temple is a grand conception, a forceful expression of national consciousness,—not austere, but intensely contemplative. Other splendid examples are seen in the Kesava temple at Somnathapur, the Minakshi temple at Madura,—the older

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portions of which are very fine,—the Virupaksha at Pattadakal and so forth.

We have known the contemplative aisles of European cathedrals with their speaking silence; we have stood within their hallowed precincts and pictured how they must have grown year by year beneath their builders' hands. We have traced historically the continuity of wonderful human effort towards an ideal as, say, in the great Duomo at Milan, or Rheims, or Canterbury. We have reconstructed theoretically the old walls of the Peruvian Tiahunacu or the Sofiiski Sobor at Kiev; and it is impossible not to realise therefrom that the temple-builders of India were like the rest of men, who laboured for the glory of God. They were after all but the instruments in the hands of the collective body of the nation, who, by their command of the necessary means of expression, gave eternal voice to the national spirit of contemplative repose. These craftsmen, feeling within them the divine afflatus, were men whose whole heart was in their work. They built not for vainglory, nor even worthy renown, for not a name comes down to us of India's architects of the past. They worked entirely under the emotion of the spirit. The men who built the shrines of India's Gods came to the task fresh from communing with the manifestations of God in nature. Imbued with a spiritual insight of rare depth they wrested from life the deep seriousness, touched with fatality that is tragic, which they have translated in their art and left for all the world to wonder at.

For those who are qualified by the needful gift of insight there is a great work to be done for the art of the East and particularly for the art of India. It is a work that may well occupy the serious work-time of a life. There is a high destiny for those sons of India who can become the exponents of India's heart through the medium of her art. The task is one of great importance and one moreover that the western world is waiting for. Too few understand,— two few appreciate the significance of,—the wonderful works of India's past.

The present attempt to strike the key-note on which its harmonies are based,—this endeavour to point the way for those who have more time at their command, is strictly tentative. At the same time it is my conviction that the basic note is one of striving to express that impassive grandeur of concentrated repose, which, for want of a more fitting name, I have termed spiritual contemplation.

CYRIL G. E. BUNT.

AMERICAN HOTELS

AMERICANS are so fond of travelling and are so much in the habit of giving dinners at a hotel rather than at their home that the United States may fairly be described as a country of hotels. They are an important institution. Indeed, they are as essential to American life as electric lights, telephones, railroads. or moving picture theatres.

In metropolitan cities, like that proud, surging, baffling city of New York, there are stately hotels twenty-five stories high with half a dozen passenger elevators and with a thousand rooms flooded with mellow lights from electroliers. I have known of hotels where there are over three thousand people, yet where a crowd is unknown. The whole place seems to be noise-proof. There is a perfect blend of quiet and comfort, as if the hotel is run on rubber tires with ball bearings. In the winter the buildings are heated by steam heat, and in the summer they are kept by a process of cold air as breezy and exhilaratingly cool as an ocean liner. The large halls are finished in art bronze, rare woods, and various colored marbles. The ceilings are beamed and panelled with artistic relief designs. Golden rotundas with their mozzanine balconies, magnificent cafes with choicest meals from spotless kitchens, inviting buffets and splendid sitting and bed rooms with tufted rugs, crystal chandeliers, costly furniture, and floral embellishments, give one a sense of delightful luxuries. Yet these mammoth

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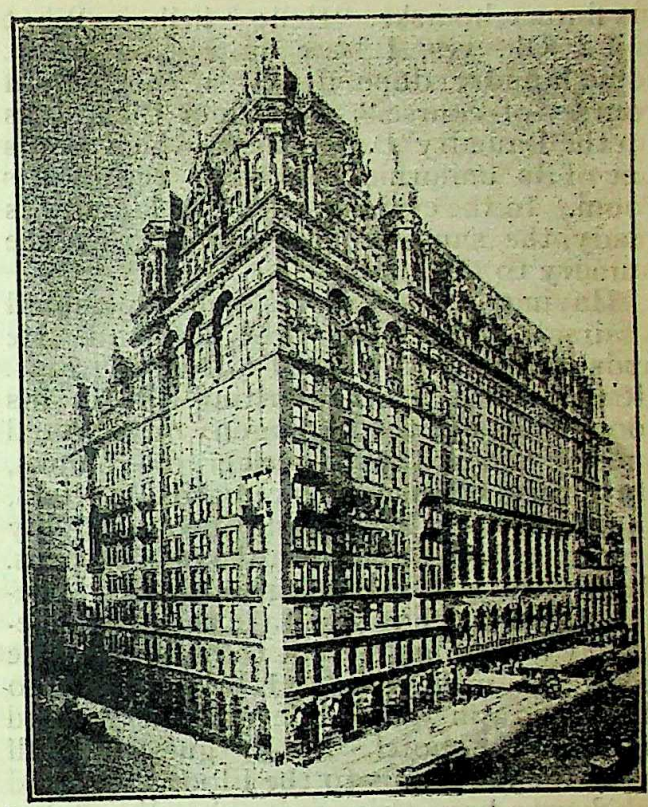
hotels are more than a mere mass of stone and steel, a tangle of pipes and wires, a jumble of pictures and statuary, brocades and tapestries, rooms and dishes. Great hostelries as represented by Waldorf-Astoria or Biltimore of New York, Hotel Puritan of Boston, Willard of Washington, Delmonico or Bellevue-Stratford of Philadelphia, Grunewald of New Orleans, Rice of Houston, Blackstone or Hotel La Salle of Chicago, Hotel Utah of Salt Lake City, Hotel St. Francis or Palace Hotel of San Francisco have a delightful element of human service which makes an American feel that he is "at home", away from home. They can provide him with all the essentials of a luxurious American home without its attendant care and worry, without the burden of housekeeping.

Let us follow a guest as he comes into an elaborate hotel. At 9 A. M. when he turns into the main entrance, the Doorman in a gorgeous livery makes a bow, takes his luggage, presses an electric button, and a Bellman hurries to meet the guest. The Bellman, who is also clothed in livery and also profuse in courtesy, relieves the Doorman of the luggage, and politely escorts the guest through the spacious lobby to the Room Clerk's desk. The rates range from six rupees a day for a single room to five hundred rupees a day for one single suit or seven hundred rupees a day for a state suite with a dining room in connection.

As soon as the guest has picked his room and signed his name to the hotel register, he sets in motion a maze of machinery, though it be "all un-beknown to him". After the registration, the Room Clerk writes an arrival slip which is handed to a Bellman. He inquires of the guest if he is expecting any mail or telegrams addressed to him in care of the hotel. If the guest states that there may be something for him, he goes after it to the Mail Clerk at once. The Bellman then takes the guest to a luxurious lift, which is called in America elevator, and they are "shot up" to the desired floor within a few seconds.

Upon arriving on the floor, the Bellman hands the arrival slip to the Floor Clerk who makes note of the name on her rack sheet opposite the number of the room assigned to the guest. But the Floor Clerk? She is a clerk stationed on every floor of the hotel to look after all



HOTEL ASTOR.
A popular hostelry of New York.
Its cyclopian size is remarkable.

the troublesome details of the guests in their busy American existence. She takes the place of the private secretary in the office, or the social secretary in the home. Her responsibilities range from receiving and announcing callers to getting a valet to sew buttons on trousers.

After the Bellman has seen that the guest is comfortably settled in his room, he inquires if there is anything else to be done. He may need a "man" to pack and unpack his effects or to wait upon him continuously. In case the guest does not arrange for the valet service, he proceeds to unpack his baggage himself.

He finds that he has several soiled shirts and collars to be laundered. Just then he discovered a little card in the bureau drawer calling attention to the hotel laundry service, and stating that "any laundry bundles sent in before ten o'clock in the morning will be delivered the same day." It being half past nine, he steps to the telephone in one corner of the room. He "rings up" the operator who responds in a soft telephonic voice, "Number? number?" "I want the Floor Clerk." He is immediately connected with the clerk of

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his floor who asks, "Hello ? hello ?—What is it ? Oh, yes, I hear now—You want some laundry done up—This evening—of course—of course." The Floor Clerk calls up the Laundry Department, which sends one of its uniformed maids to the guest's room. In the evening when the laundry is ready, the same woman brings down the laundry to the guest.

Having disposed of his several personal affairs, he now looks over the mail. He finds it necessary to send a few telegrams. He sits down at the writing desk in his room, pulls out the mahogony drawer and finds it stocked with telegraph blanks, stationery, correspondence cards, blotters, an individual calender, and also a supply of pen holders and several kinds of pens. He writes several telegrams, and telephones for a "boy" to take them. Immediately a Bellman is sent to his room. He takes the messages, and brings them to the telegraph and cable station located right in the hotel. If the guest himself bring the telegrams to the Floor Clerk and ask her to have them sent, she dispatches them through the pneumatic tube to the telegraph office. At any rate, in sixty or seventy seconds after the guest has written his telegrams, they are being transmitted over the wires.

In the afternoon the guest may have a few friends drop in for a social visit. He may wish to give them some cigars ; but finding that he has none in his cigar case, he goes to the telephone and is connected with the Room Service Department, which promptly fills his orders. When the guest orders anything served in his room—that is, food, cigars, or certain kinds of drinks —he is not connected with the Floor Clerk, but with the officer in charge of the Room Service.

It may happen that the guest may wish to entertain his friends at a theatre. Where will he get his theatre tickets ? He finds that he can buy theatre tickets for any of the theatres in the city, in the lobby of the hotel. He secures his tickets, steps to the front door, and calls for a hotel cab to take them to a theatre. It is not necessary, of course, for him to go outside of the building for his entertainment. A ball room and a theatre on the second floor furnish amusement for the guests. Almost every night the hotel gives a dance or a theatrical performance.

After enjoying a pleasant evening at the theatre, he returns to the hotel with a lady. He invites her, according to the usual American custom, to an after-theatre supper. They are served an excellent meal amid the delightful surroundings of the hotel cafe. The delicious meats and gravies, the tender vegetables, the dainty salads, the crisp, hot biscuits, the fancy tea and coffee, the flaky pies and wonderful cakes, the fruits and jams and jellies, are all spread out before them in such a lavish and tempting variety that their only trouble lies in choosing between them. At dinner or at tea the function of talking is more important than the function of eating. Every one, foolish or wise, must carry his own weight in conversation. Silence is a deadly thing to be carefully avoided. Keep the conversational artillery rumbling on, is the demand of the table ettiquette. For the most part they talk nothings; they retail spicy bits and attractive nonsense. One of the features of the fashionable hotel restaurants is the music balcony, where embowered in dwarf palms the orchestra plays music. The guests sit and chat. They do not realize how fast the time flies, and when they are ready to leave, it is after midnight. His lady friend departs, and he goes to his room.

When he walks into his room, and turns on the electric lights, he is delighted to find that no detail for his comfort has been omitted. The bed covers have been partly turned back, the snow-white pillows tastily arranged, and the furniture in the room cozily placed with a big comfort-inviting, peace-impelling easy chair near the reading lamp. He notices that the discarded clothing he had thrown around rather carelessly when he hurriedly dressed up for dinner, has been nicely folded away by the chambermaid; his suit hung up in the clothes closet, his solied linen and his laundry bundle placed in the dresser bureau, and his toilet articles, brush, comb, hand mirror, nail file, manicure scissors—neatly arranged on the dresser. When he goes into the adjoining bath room, he finds it fresh and clean; towels, hand soap, bath soap, wash cloths, are all supplied plentifully. Oh, what a comfort to be in such a place !

The guest then prepares to retire. He tells the telephone operator in the office that he wishes to be awakened at seven

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thirty in the morning to catch the early train. He undresses, dons his pink silk pajamas, opens the windows, puts out the lights and gets into bed. At about three o'clock in the morning he is aroused from his sleep by the sharp ringing of the telephone bell. Annoyed at being disturbed at this unearthly hour, he picks up the telephone receiver, and asks what is the trouble. The reply comes from the other end, "This is the Telegraph Clerk speaking; we have just received a telegram for you. Shall I send it up to your room or read it over the phone?" "Read." He learns that it is a wire from home asking for immediate instructions on a matter of great importance. Instead of feeling irritable for being awakened from his slumbers, he is more than pleased to be able to answer the telegram promptly, which he does by dictating the reply over the telephone to the Telegraph Clerk. At half past seven he is again awakened by the telephone bell. He takes up the receiver, and a pleasant feminine voice greets him, "Good morning! you asked us to call you at half past seven." "Oh, yes: I remember! Thanks."

Our guest dresses, goes down to the lobby and inquires of the elevator starter where he may get a railroad time table. He is referred to the railroad ticket office, located just inside the main entrance of the hotel. When he walks in, he is surprised to find the ticket office complete in every detail. He asks the clerk if he can purchase a ticket to his home town, and is told that he can complete all his arrangements there, including ticket, reserved berth, and the checking of his baggage. The clerk also explains to him that the entire amount may be charged to his hotel account, so that he may settle the total bill when he gets ready to leave.

Everywhere in the hotel a guest finds his wishes law. In everything there is thoughtful anticipation of all his wants, even before he is conscious of them. Billiard hall, gymnasium, children's playrooms, library, music room, barber shop for men, beauty parlor for women, Turkish baths, huge swimming pool with constantly changing water, wireless station on the roof of the hotel to catch friends out at sea—here are accommodations that cater to every exigency and condition of life. Just to show how complete a modern hotel is, there is even a hospital with an operating room, as perfect as science can make it, to take care of emergency cases. Skilful doctors and nurses are already there to look after the wants of the guests that may need aid. The average patron of the hotel never knows anything about this hospital; but he will find it when he requires it.

To come back to our guest. After he has paid his bill at the Cashier's window, he is handed a small envelope containing his railroad ticket. He then inquires where he can secure the services of a porter to bring down his baggage. The Cashier has a push-button at his desk which signals the Porter's Department, and in a moment a porter arrives. He gets the baggage, and puts it into the hotel taxicab. The guest leaves the hotel with only the most pleasant recollections of courtesy, of perfect service. He is sorry to go; but he looks forward, as I have had many a time, with fond anticipation to a return visit. And as he drives down to the railroad station, he thinks perhaps of Shenstone's famous and pathetic lines:

Whoe'er has travell'd life's dull round
Whate'er his various tour has been,
May sigh to think how oft he found
His warmest welcome at an Inn.

"The duty of an innkeeper," says Thenardier in Victor Hugo's immortal *Les Miserables*, "is to sell to the first comer, food, rest, light, fire, dirty linen, servants, fleas and smiles; to stop travellers, empty small purses, and honestly lighten larger ones; to charge for the open window, the closed window, the chimney-corner, the sofa, the chair, the stool, the bench, the feather-bed, the mattress, the straw-bed; to know how much the mirror is worn, and to tax that; and by the 500,000 devils, to make the traveller pay for everything, even to the flies that his dog eats!" That certainly was very naive of the amiable French boniface. But the duty of the American hotel manager, who also expects his patrons to "pay for everything" they get, is vastly more complex and arduous. The manager is at the head of a highly efficient organisation of employees. The position of a director of a skyscraper hotel, which has anywhere from twelve hundred to two thousand employees on the pay-roll, may be likened to that of the commander of an army. The work of the establishment, done with the smoothness and regularity of clock-work, is divided into various

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departments. Each department has its own chief, to whom the employees of the department are responsible, and the chiefs in turn, are under the constant supervision of the general manager of the hotel.

Of the various departments of a hostelery, the most important is naturally the kitchen. The chef, whose salary in the largest establishments ranges from two thousand to four thousand rupees a month, presides over the culinary department. He has not infrequently in his charge fifty assistant chefs, and altogether eight or nine hundred men and women working in the kitchen. And this, too, in a machine-made hotel, where the cooking is done by gas and electricity, and the potatoes are peeled and the dishes are washed, not by hands, but by machinery!

An old-established custom of America is tipping. "To tip or not to tip" is a question which is invariably answered in the affirmative. The bell-boy, the waiter, the porter, the girl who takes charge of your hat while you go into the dining room should be tipped—liberally and cheerfully. I have seen in print somewhere the statement that New Yorkers pay three hundred thousand rupees a year in tips just for having their hats checked while they go to eat in hotels. In a few American States—a very few—tipping is illegal. The custom of tipping, however, is so strong that the law against tipping is more honored in the breach than in observance. Some time ago President and Mrs. Wilson were travelling in a part of the country where there was an anti-tipping law; but Mrs. Wilson gave as a tip to the waiters of her table a sixteen-rupees gold piece. The State Attorney General declared that the tipping was unlawful. He ruled, however, that the waiters might be allowed to keep the gold piece as a souvenir—only as a souvenir!

State University of Iowa,
Iowa City, U.S.A. SUDHINDRA BOSE.

THE BRIDGE

Ten thousand bridges have I crossed, but this one I cannot,
Many a forbidden field have I wandered in the days when all things turned to laughter, but over there are meadows that are for ever free.

Sweet is the song of the lark, happy the piping of waterfowl, for whom the crossings of life are as a swift thought of man.

Triumphant is the sunlight, glorious the blue air of the mountains and the far lowlands, and such we deem are part of heaven.

Water, air, sunlight and sweet birds,—beyond the regions of all these would I pass by this bridge.

Yet I may not, nor ever may.

For the souls of them that are unborn are moving to life in their unutterable beauty over those crystal arches.

But very glad am I that the rumour of this immortal transit has wakened my heart from its dreaming.

E. E. SPEIGHT.

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IS INDIA CIVILISED?*

"IN every way, the coming assault on Hindu civilization will be the greatest which it has ever had to endure in the whole course of its long history." Thus does Sir John Woodroffe sound the tocsin of alarm, and he illustrates his warning by citations from Mr. William Archer's recently published book, "India and the Future", which he then proceeds to examine and refute:

"Just as bodies of races physically conflict, so do their cultures. Victory over the soul is greater than that over the body... Dominating races must necessarily affect others. Those who complain of it waste their time in what is futile. Instead of complaint they should maintain themselves and their own. Failure to do so is a biological sin." "It is necessary for all to defend with sincerity what is of worth in the inheritance got from their forefathers if they would escape the death which shadows degenerate descendants."

The active defence of Indian culture, called "Aggressive Hinduism", by "that man of upstanding courage, Swami Vivekananda," is the action of all sincere believers. There is a strong political basis of this cultural attack:

"In days, which though past are not old, superior force was considered sufficient justification for dominance and there was no need to seek any other. The times have changed; and it is now considered necessary to satisfy, or at least allege to the public conscience that political dominance or control is necessary in the interests of the servient people themselves," [in other words, the dominance is sought to be justified by the alleged cultural superiority of the dominant race]. "... it is obvious that if it can be established that India ... is not civilised but barbarous, that is an argument against her capacity for political autonomy. If her face can be made ugly, religiously, morally, intellectually and socially and in every other way, then the British people will not like the look of it."

Accordingly from the dawn of history up to the outbreak of the great European War, western nations have vied with one another for the right to impose their cultural superiority on weaker peoples and to carry the white man's burden in Asia and Africa, 'if the carrying of it produces a profitable wage.' The real truth however is that "the universal assertion and adoption by all peoples of the noble and essential principles of Her [India's] spiritual civilization would lead to a world-peace." In this cultural conflict, therefore, "India's Dharma is to stand by Her cultural inheritance and to repel all assaults upon it."

In India the British Government was placed on the horns of a dilemma. To let Indian civilization alone or to impose European culture on India was equally fraught with danger. In the one case:

"If the people be left to themselves, as I understand is more or less the case in the Dutch Indies, there is always a certain danger from the continuance of interests, aims, and ideals alien to those of the rulers." "On the other hand if the ruling race educates its subjects in its own culture, it must follow that in the degree such culture is acquired a claim to equality and governance will be made by the latter which the former may not, at any particular moment, be disposed to concede."

The remedy is to make the cultural conquest "so complete as to render political control (which in fact can be no longer kept) unnecessary for the furtherance of the former ruler's interest."

But the claim of cultural superiority on the part of the West is, according to Sir John Woodroffe, hardly tenable:

"Those Easterns who, after this war, will read the books which each of the contending parties have written against the other, will find a store of material with which to confound the pretensions of each. Meanwhile any intelligent Indian who has passed a few years in Europe, can make a case against it of barbarism and wrong in the form of crime (let the criminal statistics be compared), vice (intemperance, sordid prostitution, white slavery and sexual perversities unknown in this country of which Elphinstone wrote 'Their freedom from gross debauchery is the point in which they appear to most advantage and their superiority in purity of manners is not flattering to our self-esteem'*), cruelty to children and animals, ... lack of cleanliness (the Anglo-Indian taught his home-people the daily bath), evil customs and social injustice (such as regards the latter the grinding and "sweating" of the poor), vulgarity (which scarce exists here), irreligion†, crude religion, and many a superstition, political aggression and so on, all of them the more odious because parts of an organised system which is predominantly to-day (as contrasted with the Christian past) a worship of mere material success."

* "Is India Civilised?" By Sir John Woodroffe. Madras, Ganesh & Co. 1918. Pp. 227. Price Rs. 2.

* Elsewhere Sir John Woodroffe says: "The Hindu insists on marriage for all men and women in the world both in the interests of the conservation of the race, and as a safeguard from the sexual errors which abound amongst men, and are now commencing to affect women, in the West."

† Mr. William Archer in his book says: "It has sometimes seemed to me that the one great advantage of Western Christianity lies in the fact that nobody very seriously believes in it."

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On the other hand,—

"The East has been the home of all the greatest spiritual teachers. India has taught that the Universe is in its ultimate ground spirit; that what is material is the expression of the Eternal Spirit in time and space; that Man is essentially either that self-same Spirit or a part of, or akin to it; that the Universe is governed by a Just Law which is the very nature of its true expression; that all Life is sacred; that Morality is the law of humanity, which is the master of its destiny and reaps only what it has sown; that the universe has a moral purpose, and that the social structure must be so ordered as to subserve it; and many another sublime Truth which is the warrant of Her high civilisation, which may yet bear fruit not only in India, but throughout the world, thus justifying her claim to be the Karmabhumi." "Let us look at the matter broadly and freely and then we shall see that as a matter of fact there is no religion which more justly and logically balances the claims of the life of the world and the life of spirit as does Hinduism..... How supremely beautiful and balanced this ancient ideal was, none can know but those who have studied it and fathomed the profound principles on which it rested; principles which harmonised the World and God in one whole. This glory has to-day largely passed like others. Nevertheless it remains a wonderful vision which only a truly civilised people could have seen and practised."

Yes, 'this glory has to-day largely passed,' and it is well for us Hindus to dwell more on this aspect of the matter, and seek out the causes of this decay, though our foreign admirers may prefer to contemplate that side of our civilisation which presents to them, in the words of Sir John, "a pageant of antique beauty." The author recognises that though the general character of Indian civilisation is spiritual, "in India, as elsewhere, the bulk of the people are ordinary men and women occupied with the usual thoughts and cares of all such the world over."

"..... It may be conceded that there is racial vanity in India as elsewhere. There are, for idstance,—a considerable number of people who without reason give themselves airs; for instance, those who are always talking of their great Shastras and yet never read them and those who, being in a futile way materialists themselves, have Western materialism always on their lips as if all Westerners were benighted in spiritual darkness. An Indian writer *.....said ...'Most of us are as materialistic as most Westerns, with this difference that we are feebly and languidly materialistic on a small scale whilst they are strongly and energetically materialistic on a large scale. But the real question is, are we living up to it? It should also be considered whether we are as ready as Western idealists are to admit our fault and reform ourselves.'"

* In the *Modern Review*. We regret to have to observe that while one or two extracts in the book from some particular magazines have been duly acknowledged, of the various quotations made from this magazine and the Japan Magazine none has been similarly acknowledged.

Sir John Woodroffe admits that some of Mr. Archer's criticisms are not without ground, and among the extracts quoted by him the following seem to us to come under that category:

"The Indian people have always [we should substitute 'often'] gravitated towards the lower rather than the higher element in religion; towards the form rather than the substance; towards the letter rather than the spirit." "Wherever you turn [we should say 'in many parts of the country'] you meet repulsive performances of piety." "What she [India] wants is restraint."

"Hinduism as a popular religion [we should add 'largely'] consists in the cult of a monstrous folklore oppressing and paralysing the imagination." It preaches "the unreality of the world, detachment from terrestrial interests, the unimportance of the life of the moment compared with the endless chain of past and future existence: all doctrines which lead to the enfeeblement of volitional individuality."

Sir John Woodroffe propounds a question which is of the most vital interest to us in several places of his book (pp. 109, 162, 247), but hardly suggests the answer, though it is the most important thing for us, situated as we are at present, to know. He says:

"Though there is an answer, it is not unnatural to ask why, if a civilisation is of value, it has not kept its people free? Why, if it possesses an uplifting religious doctrine, does it not raise them from political subordination and the lack of virile side of the morality which such subordination implies?"

Again,—

"One may argue as one will as to the greatness of Indian civilisation, but the fact will remain that the Indian people have been, and still are, a subject people governed by foreigners; a fact which, it will be contended, is inconsistent with the possession by them of true morality. For on the world-path (Pravritti Marga) a free and independent spirit which looks to itself to do the work of the self and does it with courage, vigour and adherence to racial ideals is morality. In short, a complete and free manhood is true morality and those who are politically and culturally subject, by that very fact have it not. Freedom, again, is the sign of true spirituality. That glorious word Svarajya-Siddhi involves in its fullest sense the effective rule of the self by the self in all the planes, spiritual, mental and material....."

All that we have by way of direct answer from the author is extremely meagre and disappointing, for he only says:

"The fault lies not so much (if at all) with the principles but is due to neglect and wrong application of them."

But perhaps the author's meaning will be clearer from the following passages:

"What is wanted is power (Shakti). It is wonderful to see how throughout the world in East and West, this idea of Power is spreading concomitantly

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with the consciousness of man's Essential Divinity. If there be one people whose doctrine (whatever their practice) preaches self-reliance, it is India..... Power (Shakti) is physical or material and psychic or mental, and spiritual. This Shastra teaches that man is a Magazine of all power..... With the mass of men we must commence with the gross physical vehicle (Sthula Deha). The first fact we notice is the weakness of the body. This is due to the great poverty of the mass of the Indian people. And so food is lacking. Food is Power, for it is the material source of both physical and psychic power. *Annam* is Brahman..... Ill-nutrition induces disease. As I write some 30,000 deaths have taken place in a week in India from Plague, and some 10 to 12,000 weekly from Malaria..... Consumption, too, is rapidly spreading..... If food be wanting and if the body be unhealthy, the mind becomes weak. For the mind is fed by food. Without health and strength of body there is listlessness, sadness and lack of will and energy. Let India be fed and these will disappear..... Then in the renewed body mental power will generate..... The evil has lain in the fact that the Power of the West, working in a weakened Indian body, tended to overlay and suffocate the Indian soul..... the true function of English civilization is to act as a blister to rouse India from this inertia."

Again, in accounting for Indian Pessimism, the author says :

"There is in fact a great deal of sadness in India. Any people who are inherently great and have achieved much but have fallen and are subject to foreign rule must be sad. If they were not, they would be ignoble. And then they are materially miserable through poverty and disease. Probably few English readers are aware that as I write this there are over 30,000 deaths a week from plague and over 10,000 deaths from malaria, not to count other diseases, such as diabetes and consumption which is in the towns commencing its ravages. We speak of the mortality on the battle front. But what of this ? Again the country is very very poor. A large part of it never know what it is to be sufficiently fed. Everywhere there is a lack of food."

So India must be fed, and she must be self-reliant. In other words, she must devote her attention, for the present, to the acquisition of wealth, and cultivate the 'virile side of morality' common among the free nations of the earth, and wanting, in Sir John Woodroffe's opinion, in the Vaishnavite Cult.

"If.....Mr. Archer understood the highest thought of India, he would know that it teaches that man is *not* dependent on any outward extra-cosmic power but on himself and self ; that it as completely affirms as any other doctrine the claims of reason and the freedom of human spirit, and that it is 'utterly free of any penitential supplicatory abjectness.' If such a charge can be made at all, it is against Christianity and those kindred forms of Indian dualistic beliefs which makes man a supplicant before, and dependent on, some Power which is not himself." "It is curious to note how the so-called 'progressive' nations of the West have been self-reliant in fact, notwithstading a religion which, in its purely Christian form, preaches humility, self-abasement and dependence, and how India has been lacking in self-reliance despite the fact that the highest form of its religion teaches that man is the master of his destiny, that he is essentially one with the Cosmic Power (Prapancha Shakti), and that complete autonomy (Swarajya-Siddhi) is his goal."

The last stage of spiritual advance is self-sacrifice for the sake of others, but

"The sacrifice must be a conscious sacrifice. If a nation sacrifices itself ignorantly, as the weaker nations are doing, it will fall into a state of individual struggle and then disappear. There is, I may add, no merit in the lamb or the goat who goes in ignorance to its slaughter. In every stage there must be strength and power ; a will which determines its end ; a will for self and others ; or a will for others at the cost of oneself. Be ever strong. Meanwhile and until the world as a whole has advanced beyond the era of conflict each people must at least defend itself against aggression and show that manliness without which our common human nature is disgraced. Without such defence the guardians of the great Eastern tradition are in peril from (to use the words of the late sociologist Mr. Benjamin Kidd) 'the dark, efficient and terrible West'."

In the days of India's spiritual greatness, India, it is necessary for us to remember, was, as Sir John Woodroffe points out, also great in the material sense :

"... An historical survey of India shows that she has (as one might have supposed) produced all varieties of human character. India which is religious also produced.....the Charvakas and the Lokayatas ; materialists and sensualists who denied the existence of God, reviled the Vedas and the priests as frauds and cheats ; sought enjoyment only in life leaving at death 'as many debts as possible.' India which produced ascetic defamers of women in the style of the Christian Fathers also worked out a scientific scripture of Eroticism—the Kama Shastra, wrote sensuously conceived literature, carved recondite obscenities on its temples, and painted similar scenes for the incitement of its passions, which it satisfied in many forms of sensual enjoyment both on this, and (as the Magician) the superphysical plane. The same India which in the person of the Sannyasi fled from the world to the forest also glorified that world in sumptuous art. India was meditative and yet gave birth to men of action celebrated as warriors and statesmen, and a people who governed themselves practically and with success. Those who say that this country has never known self-government do not themselves know their subject. As M. Barthelemy Saint Hilaire said : 'In no country in the whole world has communal autonomy been so developed.' ..... There are also a class of political writers who repeat that India 'likes to be ruled' meaning thereby autocratic government. Such also know nothing of the Hindu Spirit or History. The Hindu Kings were not autocrats. Their will was as much subject to the general Dharma as were the people..... India has produced men successful in industry and commerce ; though it is often forgotten or unknown that from the date of Greek and Roman civilisation until about the close of the eighteenth century India was renowned for its artizanship and industries. 'The wealth of Ormuz and of Ind' was proverbial. Pliny in fact complains of the drain of gold from Rome to India which furnished the former Imperial Capital

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with some of its splendours..... India was also not without Her men of science with outward directed mind; limited necessarily as their achievements were if compared with those of our time. .....the difference between Asia and Europe in the matter of the so-called exact sciences dates from about three hundred years back which is the age of experimental and inductive science. It was during this period that the cultural superiority in this particular respect of the Modern West was established; nor was that superiority great until much later when during the nineteenth century the application of steam to production and transportation effected the parting of the ways of East and West ushering in 'Modernism' with its new world-politics, social institutions, science and philosophy, giving Eur-America its alleged superiority over Asia. If, however, we compare the Indian contribution to exact positive and material culture with parallel contemporary developments amongst the Greeks, Greco-Roman, Saracen, Chinese and mediæval Europeans the Hindus can make at least an equal and, in some respects, a superior claim to that made by these peoples in respect of scientific culture. In fact, the trend of modern scholarship is towards establishing the Hindu source of Greek science..... 'The Hindu intellect has thus,' he [Prof. Benaykumar Sarkar in the *Modern Review*] rightly says, 'independently appreciated the dignity of objective facts, devised the methods of observation and experiment, elaborated the machinery of logical analysis and true investigation, attacked the external universe as a system of secrets to be unravelled, and has wrung out of nature the knowledge which constitutes the foundations of science.' It is quite an error to suppose that the Hindus have had no achievements beyond those in Metaphysics and Religion (in which they are generally admitted to have been pre-eminent): and still more so to suppose with Mr. Archer that they have spent the long ages of their history 'in gazing upon their navel'."

Sir John Woodroffe's book is throughout thought-provoking, and replete with interesting passages, but we trust the summary of the main arguments given in the long extracts we have taken the liberty to make from it will give a fair idea of the whole. We have only one word of caution to utter to our countrymen before we take leave of the book, which is typical of a kind of literature of which fortunately, with increasing knowledge and sympathy, we are having a larger and larger output in these days. Sir John Woodroffe is an Englishman, and his standpoint, in spite of his eulogies of Indian civilisation, must be widely different from what we have inherited from our forefathers. We should therefore take care to see not only where we of the East excel the West, but where the West excels us. Imitation has been said to be in one sense the great conservative force, for one imitates the foe for the purpose of overcoming him. If we want to survive the cultural attack of the West, we must not only hold fast to all in which we excel, but assimilate every thing in which the West excels us. The fear that in following the latter course we shall be demoralised and denationalised is a groundless apprehension. As Sir John Woodroffe says, "Some Westerns now realise that though their inventions and their forms may be readily accepted, the spirit of the Eastern remains; and that, no matter how much externals may be altered, men retain certain unalterable qualities and ideas which are rooted in climate and environment; and more deeply (I may add) in their inherited Sangskāras." Sir John launches into a long discussion of the caste system in the course of which he says all that can possibly be said in its favour, but nevertheless he cannot ignore the fundamental distinction between the inflexibility of caste and elasticity of class divisions in India and the West respectively, and winds up with the warning: "Indians who protest against distinctions being made against themselves should remember that their caste system assumes the same principle." Those on whom Sir John's eulogiums will drop like manna from heaven should also ponder what he has to say on these and kindred subjects, for as we have said, we should remember that as a Western his outlook on these matters must be very different from ours. The fundamental difference between Eastern and Western civilisations has been well expressed by Sir John where he says that the social aim of Indian civilisation has been self-conquest and liberation for the individual spirit and that of the modern West has been largely the conquest of the external environment. The aim of the West has therefore been to make the world a better and a happier place to live in, and nobody can gainsay how necessary it is for India which is so poor and so sad, to imitate the West in this respect. Sir John also says 'what is wanted [in India] is Power, that is, manly self-reliance, 'the virile side of morality.' It would be well for India if, instead of cultivating a blind racial vanity for which Sir John's book will furnish ample materials to the unthinking bigot, we concentrate our attention on these other lessons preached by him, for only by so doing, we feel convinced, we would make a right use of the truths it contains.

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THE NATIVE STATES AND INDIAN NATIONALISM

By K. Madhava Panikkar, B.A. (Oxon), M.R.A.S.

Of the many and varied problems with which Nationalist India would be faced once Swaraj is attained, the problem of our Native States is the most complicated and at the same time the most necessary of solution from a political point of view. The number and variety of Indian principalities, their widely different status and power, the methods of their present government, and their future development, all these are so entwined with the development and progress of India as a whole that the problem of our princes emerges from among the maze of our post-Home-Rule politics with an importance and significance of its own. Our purpose in this essay is to discuss the main lines on which a Nationalist Indian Government would deal with this problem.

One or two main facts have to be noticed at the outset. The Native States of the Indian Empire consist of nearly one-third of the area and one-fifth of the population of India. It is therefore with no insignificant part of the Empire that we have to deal: it is with the masters a part of the country whom even the foreign conquerors had thought fit to conciliate and who perhaps among themselves share all the ruling traditions and characteristics of proud and powerful aristocracies. Secondly, in speaking of the Native States of India we seem to assume a uniformity at least of character. This is a mistake against which we have to guard. Though the Nizam of Hyderabad and the Nawab of Madan Palli are both spoken of as feudatory princes and are classed in common speech as belonging to the same genus, a political student would do well to avoid the fatal mistake of assuming a uniformity of sovereign rights among the Native States. Indeed no view of the relationship of the Native States to the Empire is so mistaken as that which is implied in the term feudatory princes. The relations of feudal chieftains to their sovereigns are clear, definite and uniform. The relations of Indian States to the imperial power are neither definite nor clear, nor indeed uniform. They are always based on some treaty or engagement and around that diplomatic instrument a veritable labyrinth of conventions and tacit understandings has grown up. The famous resolution of August 21, 1891, laid it down that the principles of international law have no bearing on the relations between the Government of India as representing the Queen Empress on the one hand and the Native States under the sovereignty of Her Majesty on the other. On the more considerable instances there is as Sir Henry Maine points out in a minute written as the Law Member of the Viceroy's Council, always some treaty or engagement. The right of sovereignty is thus divided, but the proportion of that division depends upon the individual state and on the treaty by which it is bound. Between a Rao Sahib of Kathiawar principality and a Nizam of Hyderabad there is room enough for all grades of dependence.

It is not our purpose in this Essay to review the gardual change in the relation between the Native States and the Imperial Government, a change which has, it need hardly be said, been in the direction of growth of Imperial rights and indeed a decline of independence on the part of the States. From the point of view of Indian nationalism such a change is on the whole beneficial. The unity of India is more emphasized and the fundamental fact that the Native States are no separate kingdoms but provinces of India with a different form of government invested with important rights is more insisted upon, by such a change in the relations than if the tendency had been otherwise and the Native States got complete freedom except international position. That such is the case can be seen from the position of Afghanistan and Nepal. Both of these countries are integral parts of India but the fact that they are allowed complete freedom and isolation tends to

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obscure the fact that they are parts of India from the eyes both of their sovereigns and their subjects. This gradual growth of Imperial unity in India is a capital fact. The closer contact and more intimate union has made a clearly defined policy with regard to the Native States quite an essential element in any Nationalist programme.

It has been the stock argument of every Anglo-Indian journalist against self-government that the Native States and their rulers would not tolerate such a development. We shall see later what truth there is in that assertion. The point at present to note is the undoubted fact that Native States have been slow to awake to the call of nationalism and their rulers the most conservative in their opinions with regard to political progress. The Nationalist himself had not till lately given any consideration as to what the possible opinions of these potentates and their people will be. Self-government they considered to be a matter which touched only those parts of India which are under Britain. They did not consider, at least it was not their effective conviction, that the Native States belonged to India. In fact the National Congress practically ignored them, as all *bourgeois* movements are apt to forget everything but their own immediate interest. They had not seen the Golden Vision of an India one and united with no distinctions of British, Indian, French and Portuguese; they had not fully recognised the wonderful unity of India which lies hidden beneath the diversity of her manners, customs and people. They left the Native States out of their programme or watched administrative experiments in the more progressive of them with mingled feelings. The result was that the Native States in their turn let the Congress and the National movement alone, or gave a ready ear to Anglo-Indian politicians ever ready to discredit any independent effort in India.

The Congress movement thus either did not appreciate the position of the Native States, or was guided by a false policy which considered that British India alone mattered. Any way the partial failure of the movement is certainly due in a great measure to the indifference with which they treated the aristocracy and to the lack of a clearly defined line of action with regard to the Native States.

It is only after the growth of the Federalist or Home-Rule party that a more or less clear policy with regard to the Native States has been enunciated. The effect of it has been instantaneous. The Native States do not now consider themselves as separate entities whose ambition it is to become independent at the earliest possible moment. A change of attitude has taken place within the body of Ruling Princes in India analogous to the change that took place in the English baronage after the reign of Henry II. Our princes have now definitely given up the ambition of ruling independent little states and have taken the role of Constitutional Aristocracy who, while they have limited sovereign rights in their territory, have also a part to play in the development of Indian polity and the management of Indian policy. Of this more later.

The achievement of Self-government by India then would mean not merely an Indianisation of the administrative machinery of British India, but the development of an Indian polity in which ALL INDIA will be equally included. The process, it is true, must begin with a transformation in British India. The rest must be by gradual evolution. Home-Rule will come more or less as an administrative act. The development of a National Indian Empire can only be worked on elaborately laid lines of policy. During that period of development a variety of problems is bound to arise which relate to the position of the Native States with regard to the Imperial Government at Delhi.

The first question that would face us is this: What right have the people of British India over the Native States? The suzerainty of the British Crown over them is comprehensible. By right of treaties, by right of conquest, or by right of tacit understanding which the parties do not dispute, the British Crown has established an Imperial sway over the Native States. They are bound as subordinate allies to the British Nation. When the central government of India passes into Indian hands, can it still claim with any shadow of moral justification such a suzerainty over the Native States? If "responsible and representative government" is established in India, are the Native States bound to acknowledge it as the paramount power? It is quite

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evident the people of British India have no claim to superiority over their brethren in the Native States. What then would be the relation between the National Indian Excutive at Delhi and the different States of India?

The extreme Nationalists arguing on the analogy of Italy might mostly advocate a clean sweep of these principalities. India one and indivisible might be their fixed aim. "Of what use," they might ask, "are petty rajas tyrants to those under them but obsequious and cringing to those above? Do they in any way contribute to the richness of Indian life? Sweep them off the board, these burlesque kings aping the life and manner of royalty, these phantom potentates with their toy armies and their crowd of favourites. Of what use are they except to live and grow fat on the revenues extorted from those who have the misfortune to be governed or rather to be tyrannised over by them?" "Political dispossession alone can," they might say, "cure India of the curse of these proud and irresponsible parasites."

These arguments, though offensive in form, have a certain weight. The petty principalities tend to become personal estates with all the oppression following on a government based on a proprietary analogy. Their governments are zennana-ridden. There politics are merely back-stair intrigue. Favouritism and corruption reign supreme. The smaller the State is, the worse generally is its condition. There are of course, well governed exceptions. But though the smaller States are generally misgoverned, the solution of wholesale annexation is absolutely impracticable and inexpedient. The sentiment of personal attachment is very strong in India and any administration that tries to set that factor at nought imperils the safety of the Commonwealth. A striking proof of this, if proof were wanted, is the veneration with which ancient ruling families like that of the Zamorin of Calicut are treated not only by the common peasantry but by the less ancient though more powerful princes. It is a historical fact of indubitable significance that the annexation of Oudh, Nagpur and Jhansi were among the chief causes of the Great Rebellion of 1857. The clean sweep programme enforced either by a gradual application of some new "doctrine of Lapse" or by the immediate annexation by a stroke of the pen of all the Native States at once, is bound to create dissensions, civil wars and interminable strifes which would leave the central government ineffective in every way. Such a policy either implied or declared would mean only an invitation to rebellion, a fact which British policy since 1857 has steadily kept in mind. A rebellion to support the cause of dynastic claims is the most formidable of all rebellions, for the hostile movement is lead not by unpopular or unknown leaders but by descendants of generations of kings, homage to whom is a matter of daily feeling amounting almost to veneration.

The goodwill of our princes is essential to our success. Jealous and disunited as they are, our princes are capable of combination and resistance if they suspect inimical intentions in the central power. They are combustible material, proud of their honour, name and their tradition. This is the supreme lesson which the British Government learnt by the Great Rebellion of 1857. The recognition of this fact is what has lead the British Government to flatter the pride of our princes by salutes and orders of chivalry, to reward them with honours and titles and to connive at their irregularities as long as such irregularities did not affect the security of the British Government. But if a combination of these princes would be so formidable a menace as to necessitate such a uniformly conciliatory policy, even to the British Empire in the plenitude of its power, how much more so would it be at that critical era of our national development when from out of the chaos of degeneracy resulting from a century of foreign rule nationalist statesmen were groping their way to the establishment of a stable and settled state? The Nationalists could not afford to alienate the ruling blood of India. This alone makes the programme of "thorough" absolulely inexpendient.

If such a policy of absolute extermination is impracticable and inexpedient, are we to go to the other extreme of perpetuating the division of India into 700 states on the one hand and into the presidencies and provinces on the other. The National Congress in its indifference seems to have held to this view. "There they are and therefore let them be" is the motto

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of these people. They do not stop to ask if the fact of existence is in itself a sufficient justification for its continued existence. They forget to question whether the process by which they came to be and methods by which they continue to be, warrant us to adhere to a policy of wholesale conservation. Anyone who looks at the problem closely will agree that the past history or the present position or even the future prospects of these States do not argue in favour of a preservation of territories of a few square miles and privileges sufficient to oppress the people but not enough to afford room for efficient government. No one who has given any time to the consideration of the problem of Native States would recommend a guarantee and preservation of all the petty chiefships.

How then are we to reconcile these two points of view? A policy of complete dispossession is absolutely impracticable and on the whole inexpedient; a policy of wholesale preservation seems on the other hand to be nothing but the conscious perpetuation of a bad system. Between these two extremes wherein does the path of true statesmanship lie? That is the problem which Nationalist India would have to solve in the process of her transformation into a real *Indian* Empire. This is the stone on which the genuineness of Indian statesmanship will be tested.

The position of the Native States, at least that of the bigger ones, is that of self-governing units within the British Indian Empire. Their relation is to the Viceroy as the representative of the British Crown. But it must be remembered that their relationship does not end there. These are not separate States in a continent but parts of a political entity and thus they have obligations to India as a whole. The Maharaja of Bikanir speaking in London expressed this truth when he spoke of Indian States as parts of the Indian Commonwealth united to it not only by political ties but by natural and moral obligations. Thus the argument of the Anglo-Indian journalists who try to intimidate the process of self-government by pointing out that the relations with the Native States would be dissolved by it is virtually false. The Native States of India do not consider themselves as being different from the rest of the Motherland. Any solution of the problem of self-government in India necessarily includes a re-adjustment of the relationship between the National Government of that portion of India which is now directly under British control and the Native States. The problem we have to solve is how that re-adjustment will come.

In attempting any solution it is well to remember that in the relation of the States to the Empire there is no absolute uniformity and that the suzerainty of the British Government at least in the bigger States is defined by some treaty or sunnud. As the bigger States of India, such as the Nizam's Dominions, Mysore, Kashmir and Jammu, Gwalior, Baroda and Travancore are all thus safe in the enjoyment of a limited constitution, and as most of them realise their own responsibilities, it is evident that a uniform policy with regard to all the Native States would be quite unfair. It is with regard to smaller chiefs and lords of a few square miles that we should have a uniform policy. It is there that all the misgovernment of petty tyrants is clearly seen. It is such States that make the name of Indian Rajas odious to all nationalists. How else could it be. These tiny principalities, where rigid virtue is considered reprehensible as implying a tacit censure on the conduct of those in authority, where corruption prevails as the normality of conduct, where law is but organised chicanery and the execution of it venal and arbitrary have given an opprobrious classification even to well-governed States whose rulers feel the responsibility of authority. That is the natural result of the policy of protected principalities. Even at the time of its enunciation clearsighted statesmen had anticipated this deplorable result. Sir Arthur Wellesley (later the Duke of Wellington) was doubtful of the benefit of guaranteeing the full authority of minor States. He wrote thus in a minute:—

"These alliances had always been formed in a moment of extreme weakness and generally after the Native and dependent State had been conquered. The Native States having in every instance contracted these alliances in a moment of weakness in which, of course, all the powers of their government were paralyzed, they have invariably been under the necessity of calling for the assistance of the British protecting government for the support of their authority..... Here then the door was necessarily opened to the interference of the British Government in every concern and the result was increased weakness in the Native States, jealousy of this interference and disunion bordering upon treachery."

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One thing therefore emerges out clearly from this discussion. Whatever policy we determine to adopt with regard to our Native States, *it must not be a policy of pomp without power or of power without responsibility*. It is easy to sneer at the 'indolent security of hereditary princes,' but in an enlightened country such indolent security can exist only when it is divorced from responsibility as it is today in the Native States. Let us by all means have a variety of governmental institutions ; only let us see that there is no flagrant misgovernment. Let us not only guarantee the existing power of the greater Native States but invite them to share in the greater responsibilities of Imperial Government.

If such is our policy with regard to the major States, what treatment do we propose to mete out the minor ones ? To me it seems clear that a mediatisation of the lesser ones is the only practicable policy. We cannot preserve our 700 principalities with any show of reason. In such a case our Empire would become a museum of obsolete political curiosities. A line of difference must somewhere be drawn and I think that any chief whose territory does not consist of more than a certain number of square miles ought to be mediatised. In that case they should retain their titles and their social rank and lose only their sovereign rights. It is inconceivable how any political system can allow small principalities with no geographical, linguistic or national *raison d'etre* whatever to go on exercising the rights of sovereignty. Such a mediatisation would do them no harm. They join the ranks of Zemindars and in that way gain a fuller life and a wider field for their activities and talents than ever their little States could afford. Their addition would give the Zemindars more weight ; and if we may allude to a point of historical analogy such a combination would give an irresistible power to the higher aristocracy as indeed the combination of the *Minores Barones* with the knights of the Shires did in England in the 13th century.

But is not such a policy an attack on the sacred rights of property ? Would not such a policy create distrust in the minds of the bigger princes ? In the fate of their weaker brethren, will they not see their own ultimate end ? Such arguments seem to me to be entirely fanciful. Mediatisation of princes is no attack on property. Those who maintain it to be so, argue that sovereignty is a matter of proprietorship. Sovereignty depends upon the conscious will of the community. The logical basis of the authority of a small chief is the formal will of the Indian nation enacted through the King Emperor. In this case the King Emperor or his agents consider his or their own will to be identical with the will of the community. The microscopic minority of the Indian population over whom this Chief rules has also its say, but it should be remembered that they do not exist as a separate entity but only as a part of the Motherland. Therefore the mediatisation of a prince is not the violation of the sacred rights of property.

If such a policy gives rise to serious distrust in the minds of the greater princes it is manifestly suicidal. But it is only a superficial view that sees in the mediatisation of petty chiefships a grave danger to the security of states like Mysore and Hyderabad, which exist not by the sufferance of the community, but by the valid argument of historic tradition, by the moral justification of good government, and most of all by the conscious desire of their own population. A national Indian Government would have no more moral right to abolish them than they would have to abolish it. As long as the obligations to the Empire are not forgotten, the people of the Native States have the clear and definite right to settle their own form of government.

The argument for the mediatisation of the minor principalities is threefold. First that the chieftainships which we propose to mediatise are too small for effective good government without the co-operation of a bigger authority. Secondly the present division into numberless states is an unnecessary multiplication of governing agencies each necessitating numerous ornamental and dignified institutions for which an extremely impoverished country like India could ill afford to pay. Thirdly, whatever benefits our culture might have received from the existence of these minor States in the preservation of our arts and crafts and the cultivation of our learning and the development of our vernaculars at a time when India was under the heel of foreign conquerors, such work would have at the time when India becomes free and

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self-governing none of that importance which it had before and would not indeed be sufficient reason for a division of sovereignty into such minute particles. Also their national work as *noblesse oblige* in patronising arts and science, as founders of educational institutions, etc., can be done better when they are freed from the cares of administering their petty States. Thus it seems to me that a policy of mediatisation, while it ensures the chieftain every dignity and influence which noble tradition and social rank can bestow, while it secures him the free and unmolested enjoyment of his central possessions and personal wealth, while it opens for him wider scope and greater opportunity for his talents, frees him from the onerous task of being responsible for the welfare of his subjects in cases when he had not the power if he is able, frees him also from the sense of humiliation which every conscientious prince feels when he recognises his own impotence and the vanity of pomp without power and of degenerate luxury without either.

The argument that India could not afford to pay for such a multiplicity of governing institutions requires greater elaboration. At present in India there are 700 Native States. A valid justification can perhaps be made for the existence of a score among them. Such States as Mysore even under a national government, would have to be administered as a separate province. But many small States could be named which would scarcely claim the right to a separate administration, if they were directly under the British government. The various institutions in such States, therefore, are quite an unnecessary multiplication of institutions. Why should any of them, for example, have a separate chief court of Judicature, a different postal system, and even an insignificant military force? Under a national government it would most possibly be administered by a divisional officer and the amount of money saved to the National Exchequer which is now spent in maintaining a duplicate government would be considerable indeed. If a modest lakh of rupees a year could be saved by the abolition of the separate government of each small State we would bring to the National Exchequer an additional revenue of Rs. 100,000 per State. India could not indeed afford such a huge sum to be wasted in maintaining pageant shows for the dubious privilege of possessing hundreds of ruling princes. Therefore from every point of view, from the points of view of good government, popular welfare, national economy, a general mediatisation of smaller principalities seems to be an imperative necessity.

It has been pointed out that the people in the Native States do not take much interest in national politics, and that they are generally indifferent to the fate of British India. To a certain extent this is true. The bigger Native States enjoy self-government in all internal matters, in some cases even more than what even the Dominions have. They have not the same economic grievances which the people in British India complain of. They are lightly taxed comparatively to British India. The economic drain, the legal exploitation, the practical monopoly of higher offices by foreigners and the many galling and humiliating disabilities resulting therefrom which form the mire out of which the lotus of Nationalism has sprung are almost wholly absent in the major States. But the people of the Native States are entirely united in supporting the Nationalist demand for Home-rule. They recognise that their own outlook is now limited; their own activities circumscribed, their own abilities without proper field of action, and that such it would remain as long as British India is not self-governing. They recognise clearly that their own weal or woe is bound up for ever with the fate of the rest of India and a limited provincial outlook to-day is treason to the Motherland.

Such a sentiment has awakened not only among the people of the Native States but also among their rulers. The Maharajas of Bikanir and Mysore, not to speak of the Aga Khan and the Maharaja Gaekwar, have all expressed in unmistakeable terms the growing consciousness of national unity. The speeches of the Maharaja of Bikanir when he visited England to attend the Imperial Conference expressed that feeling which had been growing up for some time but had not found authoritative expression till then—the feeling of our Rajas that they have a double capacity, that they are the rulers of their immediate subjects and also the natural leaders of their brethren in other parts of India. The growth of that sentiment is a factor of the very first rate importance. That

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development is the most hopeful line in the horizon of our political future.

With regard to the minor States our policy then is clear; but what is the line that the Nationalists should adopt with regard to the major States. Are they to be united into a federation, which should be considered as an independent entity united in indissoluble bonds with the central government but standing as a co-ordinate and co-existent power, or are they to be considered as forming different units of self-government, differing from the provinces only in their form of government and the status of their rulers?

Many of the people who come from Native States desire complete autonomy for the Native States under a joint control among themselves treating with British India as an entity by itself. This plan appears to me to be decidedly dangerous. True that the people of British India have no claim for superiority over those of the States; neither have they any right to dictate what form of government or what kind of institutions their brethren in the States should have. But this much they can claim. British India contains four-fifths of the whole of the Indian population. After the mediatisation of the minor princes it would contain at least five-eighths. Though the majority has no absolute rights over the minority, especially if that minority is by historic tradition protected in its rights, yet so big a majority can surely speak for the whole. Also the obligations of the minority, assuming they are preserved in their just and historic rights, to the majority, are fundamental and absolutely indissoluble. Such a consideration makes the solution of a League of Princes, a State within a State, altogether impossible.

Moreover, the geographical situation of the major States makes the effective operation of such a League impracticable. Placed as they are with Travancore in the south, and Kashmir in the north, with Gwalior, Indore, the Nizam's Dominions and Mysore in between, none of them touching the other, none of them excepting Travancore having a coast line, it is impossible to conceive that the Native States can unite in an alliance. They are completely surrounded by "British" India. They have no means of communicating with each other except through the 'British' territory; their military strength it is impossible to unite; their trade is entirely through "British" Indian ports; in short, they are even in matters of their own internal development so entirely dependent on the rest of India that a union among them for the purpose of standing out of Indian politics and of safeguarding their own State-rights is in every way impracticable.

Therefore it seems to us that the second is the only possible alternative. The Executive at Delhi should have direct and immediate relations either through diplomatic representatives or through resident officials with the several governments of the Native States. They should have absolute internal autonomy, directly responsible for it not to the central Government but *to their own people*, while in matters of Imperial concern and in international affairs the central Government must have absolute and unfettered control. The present system, that is the system prevalent under the British government, approximates to this polity *except that the responsibility of Native States in matters of internal self-government is not to their own people but to the Protecting Power.* Under a Nationalist Government the Protected States will have more independence in so far as *their responsibility will not be to a power outside their own dominions but to their own people.* This we cannot deny them, because it is for the same principle that we fight. We all know Locke's fine protest against those men of principles who consider it a principle of principles that principles should not be interpreted against them. If we do not grant full self-government to our Native States, we would justly lay ourselves open to the attack of having, as Taine says, spoken the words of democrats and trodden the paths of tyrants. We must be willing to apply the principle for which we stand, even if it goes against our apparent interests. We stand for the responsibility of the government to the people, to the principle of free self-government. If we are not willing to grant this in entirety to those among us, how can we expect it to be given to us?

Such a policy of full and complete freedom of Native States in matters of internal affairs is not only just from the point of view of political ethics, but necessary from the point of view of expediency. It is a deplorable fact that the majority of

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Native States have kept outside the currents of Nationalism. The more important princes have with few exceptions watched the growth of national feeling with cold indifference or passive hostility. The reason for this does not entirely rest in the fact that they are by nature conservative and therefore supporters of the established order. It is not that they are unpatriotic. It is not that they do not feel their oneness of interest with the rest of India. The reason for their indifference with regard to the National movement lies in the fact that we, Nationalists, have not enunciated a clearly defined policy with regard to them. Our opinions with regard to our princes have been extremely nebulous. Republicans might want their country annexed by force. Democrats might want to take away their sovereign power. Federalists might want to strengthen the authority of the central Government as against the State Governments. Under such condition it is hardly conceivable that the Native States with their just sense of historic rights, would give the weight of their name and tradition to the National Cause. If we want their support and it is hard for us to win the National Cause without it, we must guarantee them against any encroachment on their just rights and privileges and convince them that their best interests are served by a Nationalist Government. We must make them recognise that a Nationalist Government does not mean anarchy and more than that, it does not mean an immediate democratisation of society.

When on these matters our opinions become clear and defined, the princes will not sit idle and let the great nationalist current pass by. They will feel that their own future has but little promise unless they partake of the mighty and majestic forces of national opinion that operate in the minds of the millions outside their own immediate territory. They would also feel that they are but the limbs of a well formed and well developed body politic, the parts and constituents of a living organism, and that their own political Dharma lies in the co-operation of the organised energy of the whole. Such a voice is already being heard among the princes of India. In course of time as Nationalist policy interprets the entire thinking mind of India our princes will surely fall into line. At present their course and ours are quite clear. Theirs is to give the enormous support of their great names to the national cause; to train national leaders in matters of policy; to keep our administrative and military abilities intact; to preserve and cultivate a truly Indian National tradition apart from that which has grown through the incentive of foreign oppression and to be prepared when the time comes to lead Nationalist India in the path of stable self-government.

CLEAN TEETH—GOOD HEALTH

By Rafidin Ahmed, D.D.S., Interne, Forsyth Dental Infirmary, Boston, Mass.

It is literally true that good health is impossible without good teeth. Competent medical authorities now have no hesitation in asserting that a majority of diseases from which mankind suffers can be traced directly or indirectly to mouth infection to decayed teeth and diseased gums. Without good teeth it is impossible to masticate the food properly; without proper mastication food cannot be properly digested. Indigestion, constipation and other disorders of the digestive tract, are very often caused by decayed teeth, and disappears as soon as the dentist has put his patient's mouth in order.

In India many of our religious and social customs are based on scientific facts. For this the credit must be given to the sages of the past. One of these customs, *viz.*, cleaning the mouth morning and night and after each meal, when seen in the light of modern developments in health conservation, seems to have been devised by men who had come to the conclusion in a rational way, and incidentally, ante-dated

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our modern Board of Health bullentin-writers. Therefore, I do not wonder when I read in a Calcutta magazine, that in a recent medical inquiry it transpired that thirty to forty per cent of the school-going children of Calcutta had defective teeth. Making allowance for the fact that this inquiry is made by medical men, who do not recognize caries as dentists do, it is evident that it is less than the percentage of the school-going children of Boston. My work here in the Forsyth Dental Infirmary brings me in direct contact with the children's teeth and we figure that ninety per cent of the school-going children of Boston have defective teeth. Now the question comes, why this difference? To my mind, there is absolutely no doubt that this difference in favour of Calcutta, is due to the ante-diluvian social custom of the people of India of religiously washing their mouth after eating. It would be an intensely interesting study, if figures were available in the case of India, of comparing the percentage of decayed teeth in the rural communities of India and of modern countries like the United States.

It grieves me beyond expression, when I think that in our metropolitan cities like Calcutta, Bombay or Madras, we are copying many of the modern vices, like hurried eating, soft foods and finishing the meal with fingerbowl and napkin. If this occidentalizing influence persists, in a very few years I shall be compelled to withdraw the boast I have made above. Teeth like all the organs of the body need exercise. Hence hard coarse foods which require thorough chewing before it can be swallowed, are specially good not only for children, but for adults. They keep the teeth well exercised, and cause a good supply of blood. I can remember my English friends' derision at the Indian boys munching raw sugar-cane or sucking a stone of a fibrous mango. It reminds me of the Biblical saying, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." Nobody need be ashamed of doing either, as raw sugar-cane is not only an excellent food, but also an excellent cleanser of the mouth; and the fibrous mango stone is just as good as a tooth brush, with the fruit acid added.

In a discussion in a recent dental society meeting, I maintained that the most scientific tooth-brush to my mind, is the one used by the peasants of India, namely, the acacia twig. Why? I would boil down the reasons into two: Firstly, because each man forms his own tooth-brush by chewing the ends of the twig, and secondly, each twig is used but once. I doubt if Koch could have improved on this idea, regarding asepsis or sterility. It is a matter of common knowledge that it is practically impossible to keep an ordinary tooth-brush sterile. And when we inoculate ourselves with a dirty tooth-brush, morning and night, we imagine we are scientific. Several methods have been devised of keeping the tooth-brush sterile, but nothing can compare with the method of the acacia twig. Therefore, it is not in a sense of reactionaryism, that I advocate to my countrymen the discarding of the modern, unsanitary tooth-brush and accepting the old, old stand-by, the acacia twig. As for tooth-paste or tooth-powder, I would suggest exceedingly finely ground charcoal or, if preferred, precipitated chalk. Keeping the teeth clean does not cost anybody anything, and yet it is singular that so many of us suffer from diseases of the teeth.

It has been truly said that mothers are the makers of the race. But few mothers realize the effects of the early habits of the child upon proper facial developments. For example, take sucking the thumb or the fingers. This has a tendency to force out the upper front teeth and force back the lower front teeth. The result is a deformed jaw. The teeth come in irregularly and the proper development of the skull is interfered with. In many cases retarded mental development has been shown to be due to deformed jaws caused by thumb sucking. The above statement is also true in the case of lip sucking. These only go to show that the care of the mouth and teeth should begin in early infancy and should continue throughout life, as is the custom in India. In our efforts to occidentalize ourselves we should not give up all that is good in our social customs.

It is my earnest plea that our school children and also the adults take up the slogan,—"Clean Teeth Good Health," as the newest development in health conservation. Probably, "newest" is not the word to be used in connection with India in this particular respect. But my idea is that our growing generation should have a conception of the scientific nature of their daily custom of cleansing their teeth

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morning and night, and after each meal. If we start this now, probably in the future, with the advent of industrialism in India, we may avoid a great deal of expense and worry in founding public school clinics for treating the dental ills of the children. School dental clinics are common things all over Europe and America, and from my information, have not yet been found necessary in the case of India. I am afraid that if we keep on copying soft foods, hurried eating, and no washing the teeth after eating, we shall have to copy the school dental clinics in the very near future. What is needed just now is a strong publicity campaign amongst school children with the slogan mentioned above. Prevention, they say, is better than cure. Here is a tip for the Educational Department. Will they do it? I wonder.

THE HINDU YOGA-SYSTEM

By Prof. Charles Rockwell Lanman, Harvard University.

OUR histories of philosophy are wont to begin with Thales of Miletus. But oh, how brief seems all recorded human history, when some geologist tells us the story of the earth's crust, or the astronomer overwhelms us with that of the spiral nebulæ! Lilliputian indeed is the difference—whether in time or in place—between Thales and Yājnavalkya, between Miletus and the Ganges. The informing fact remains, that these ultimate questions—answerable only in the language of the great antinomies—do and always will come up, as far to the West and as far to the East as the blades of grass do spring.

Whom space nor time nor nothing else can bound,
Who hast nor form (save spirit mere) nor end,
Whom naught can fathom but Thy thought profound,—
To Thee, Light, Peace Ineffable, I bend.

Thus Bhartri-hari, calling unto God. It is He—of whom they say "Not, not."

And if timeliness there be, the attempt is none the less timely, because of the work recently published by the Harvard Press, and written by my friend and colleague and former pupil, James Haughton Woods (now serving at the Sorbonne as exchange-professor from Harvard), and entitled *The Yoga-system of Patanjali.* It is fitting that the work should be introduced, not only to Indianists, but also and especially to students of the history of psychology and philosophy and religion, by *The Harvard Theological Review.*

Onesikritos, the companion of Alexander the Great, is the first notable foreigner to give us an account of the Yogins of India.(1) Himself a disciple of Diogenes the Cynic, we need not wonder that Alexander selected him as the man most fit to talk with the Hindu ascetic sages and to inquire about their teachings. His report of that memorable interview of 326 B.C. has been preserved for us by Strabo in his Geography (xv.63). Despite the difficulty of conversing through interpreters Onesikritos was in fact remarkably successful in getting at some of the very fundamentals of Indian belief. The drift of the talk, he said, came to this, that that is the best doctrine, which rids the spirit not only of grief but also of joy; and again, that that dwelling place is the best, for which the scantiest equipment or outfit is needed.

Of these two points, one is of prime significance for the spiritual side of Yoga, just as the other is so for its practical aspects. The one suggests the 'undisturbed calm' (citta-prasāda) of Patanjali, the 'mindfulness made perfect through balance' (upekkhā-sati-pārisuddhi) of Buddhaghosa; and the other is a concrete instance of the doctrine (2) of emancipation from the slavery to things. This latter is a part of the fundamental morality (specifically, neither Brahmanical nor

1. Possibly Demokritos of Abdera visited them, perhaps a century earlier. According to Clement of Alexandria (Stromata, I.xv.69), Demokritos maintained that none of his contemporaries had seen more countries and made the acquaintance of more men distinguished in every kind of science than himself. Among those men, Aelian includes the sages of India (Varia historia, iv.20); and Diogenes Laertius reports a similar tradition. Such a tradition is not to be set aside too lightly, when we consider the views of Demokritos concerning peace of mind as the best fruit of philosophy, and the many references thereto in the fragments of his ethical treatises. Had these last been preserved it is possible that we might have found in them distinctly recognizable traces of Indian teaching.

2. This is beautifully set forth by Buddhaghosa in his great treatise on Buddhism, *The Way of Salvation* or Visuddhi-magga. See book I, sections 105-112, especially 106, in volume 49 of the Proceedings of the American Academy, p. 159. Of all names in the history of Buddhist Scholasticism, Buddhaghosa's is the most illustrious. He is not less renowned in the East than is his contemporary, Saint Augustin, in the West, and for the same reasons,—sanctity of life, wide learning, and great literary achievement. An edition of the Pāli text of this treatise was undertaken by my beloved and unforgotten friend and pupil, the late Henry Clarke Warren. It is my hope to complete his unfinished work, and to issue the text with an English version.

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Jainistic nor Buddhist) which is an essential preliminary for any system of ascetic religious training, and is accordingly taught again and again, now with a touch of gentle humor, now sternly, and always cogently, by Brahmans and Jains and Buddhists alike.

Contemporary with Onesikritos, but destined (unlike him) never to be forgotten in India, was Kāutilya, "the Hindu Bismarck," as Jacobi calls him, imperial chancellor of Chandragupta. His treatise on Statesmanship (3) is, as Jacobi shows, our most trustworthy source of knowledge for the ancient Hindu state, not only because its date (about 300 B.C.) is certain, (4) but also because it was written by the very man who had the principal part in the foundation and administration of the great and growing empire of the Mauryan Dynasty.(4) Kāutilya says that Sāṅkhya and Yoga and Lokāyata were the three philosophic systems current in his day. Unfortunately, he does not tell us whether there were expositions thereof in literary form. In the centuries (perhaps six or more) between Kāutilya and Patanjali, the Yoga-system did probably undergo many modifications in detail ; but it is a fact of prime importance that so great an authority as Kāutilya recognizes it as a system, and as one of the three most worthy of mention among those current in his day.(5)

The elements of Yoga, as Hopkins(6) observes, are indefinitely antique. The rigorous austerities, the control of the senses, especially as against the temptations of carnal lust,—these are the achievements of holy men which made even the gods to tremble on their thrones. And they are described in the Mahābhārata and other narrative works, often with amusingly grotesque exaggeration, but in such an incidental and matter-of-fact way that we cannot doubt that from very early times Yoga-practices were common and wide-spread in India and that the belief in their potency was altogether genuine.

Yoga is accordingly one of the most ancient and striking products of the Hindu mind and character. It is therefore a little strange that, while the labors of Deussen and Garibe and others have done very much to open up the Vedānta and Sānkhya systems to the Occident, the history of Yoga as a body of practices and as a religio-philosophic system is yet to be written.(7) For the history of Yoga-practice, nothing could be more illuminating and fruitful than to carry further such investigations as those of Hopkins, just cited. For the history of Yoga as a system, the most immediate requirement is evidently an Occidental translation of the Comment or Yoga-bhāshya. It is greatly to the credit of Professor Woods that he realized this need and addressed himself with so much energy to the task of supplying it, the more so when that task involved journeys once and again not only to the great teachers of Europe (Deussen and Jacobi), but also to those of India.

Rājendra-lāla Mitra, in the preface to his *Yoga aphorisms of Patanjali* (1883 : p. xc), says : "I had hopes of reading the work with the assistance of a professional Yogī ; but I have been disappointed. I could find no Pandit in Bengal who had made Yoga the special subject of his study, and the only person I met at Benares who could help me was most exorbitant in his demands. He cared not for the world and its wealth, and the only condition under which he would teach me was strict pupilage under Hindu rules—living in his hut and ever following his footsteps—to which I could not submit." That was five and thirty years ago. A real command of both Sānskrit and English by the same person is a combination rare enough. Still rarer, the combination of those two elements with a knowledge of one of the great vernaculars of India, such as R. Mitra had. Rarest of all, this triple combination plus the chance (which a foreigner is not likely to get) for a thorough acquaintance with the actual procedure and habit of mind of a genuine Yogin of high character. What fruit might that now perhaps almost impossible combination have borne !

If no Occidental may hope for any such chances of practical acquaintance with Yoga, it is at least needful that the written treatise which serves as the basis of book-study should be informed by the noblest spirit and loftiest purpose. That the Comment or Bhāshya meets these requirements, (8) none of us, however much or little we sympathize with the Hindu point of view, will, I think, deny. "Find me, and turn thy back on heaven," says Brahma, in Emerson's familiar verses. And so the author of the Comment, in treating (at ii. 42) of the supremest happiness, says (9) that the pleasures of love in this world and the great pleasures of heaven are not worth the sixteenth part of that supremest happiness that comes from the dwindling of lusts.

And again, in like spirit, he speaks at iii. 51. First he quaintly describes how the gods tempt an advanced Yogin with the sensual pleasures of their transitory heaven : "Sir, will you sit here ? Will you rest here ? This pleasure might prove attractive. This maiden might prove attractive. This elixir wards off old age and death." And so on. Then he suggests the Yogin's answer to these enticements, and in so doing he rises to a pitch of sustained and noble eloquence :

"Baked on the pitiless coals of the round-of-rebirths, wandering about in the blinding gloom of birth and death,—hardly have I found the lamp that dispels the darkness of the moral defilements, the

3. The recently edited Arthaçāstra, published at Mysore, 1909. See the articles by Hillebrandt, Hertel, Jacobi, and Jolly, and especially the three articles by Jacobi, Berliner Akademie, 1911 and 1912. He calls it "eine historische Quelle allerersten Ranges" (1911, p. 954 : cf. p. 957, and 1912, p, 834).

4. Berliner Akademie, 1911, p 954.

5. Ibidem, p 733.

6. In his learned article, Yoga-technique in the Great Epic, Journal of the Am. Oriental Society (1901), vol. 22, p. 333-379. To him, my most grateful acknowledgments.

7. This, with all due deference to Garbe and his excellent chapters on Yoga in the Grundriss der Indoarischen Philologie (1896).

8. It is certain that the Gheranda-sanhitā, more or less widely known in the Occident, does not meet them. My former pupil, Professor S. K. Belvalkar of Poona, India, assures me that it is condemned by those whose learning and character he respects. The like is true of Hathayoga-pradīpikā and numerous similar works.

9. Quoting from the Mahā-bhārata, xii. 174.46, a stanza of significance and dignity.

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lamp of Yoga,—when, lo, these lust-born gusts of the things of sense do threaten to put it out ! How then could it be that I who have seen its light, tricked by the mirage of the things of sense, should through myself like fuel into that same fire of the round-of-rebirths as it flares up again ? Fare ye well, [things of sense,] like unto dreams are ye ! to be pitied are they that crave you, things of sense, [fare well !]"

Perhaps enough (or more) has already been said to make clear the historical importance and the moral dignity of the Yoga-bhāshya. Its importance was long ago pointed out by others in other connections: so by Kern in his *History of Buddhism*, (10) by Jacobi in his *Ursprung des Buddhismus aus dem Sānkhya-Yoga*,(11) and by Senart in his *Bouddhisme et Yoga*. (12)

Thus, to instance some of the more striking and well-known coincidences between the Bhāshya and Buddhism, we may begin with the Four Eminent Truths. The most significant achievement of modern medicine is the finding out of the cause of disease. This is the indispensable foundation for the whole structure of preventive medicine. It was precisely this problem in the world of the spirit to which Buddha addressed himself, the ætiology of human misery. His solution he publicly announced in his first sermon, the gist of which was destined to become known to untold millions, the sermon of the Deer-park at Benares (13) or sermon about the Four Truths. These concern suffering, its cause, its surcease, and the way thereto, and they coincide with the four cardinal topics of Hindu medical science, (14) disease, the cause of disease, health, and remedies. Now these Four Truths are set forth by the author of the Bhāshya at ii. 15, and not without explicit reference to the fact that this Yoga-system has four divisions coincident with those of the system of medicine. It may be added that a part of the Rule to which this is the Comment, reads: To the discriminating, all is nothing but pain, duhkham eva sarvam vivekinah ; and that this again is one of the three fundamental axioms of Buddhism, (15) All is transitory, All is pain, All is without substantive reality.

Again, the Bhāshya enumerates (at i. 20), quite as a matter-of-course, the five means to the higher concentration, namely faith and energy and mindfulness and concentration and insight (çraddhā-vīrya-smṛti-samādhi-prajñā). These are the same five elements of Yoga mastered and taught by the famous Yoga-doctors, Alāra Kālāma and Uddaka Rāmaputta, and coincide literally with those given in the Buddist texts, namely in the Discourse of the Noble Quest or Ariya-pariyesanasutta, Majjhima-nikāya, vol. 1, p. 164. Here Buddha tells how he, before his Enlightenment, went to these teachers, found that he himself had mastered saddhā, viriya, sati, samādhi and paññā no less truly than they, and admitted that these things were good as far as they went, but that they brought you only to the third or fourth of the Four Formless Realms, that is, that they did not bring you far enough. The discussion of the proper balance of these five moral faculties constitutes a most interesting section of the fourth book of the Visuddhi-magga.

Again, among the Forty Businesses or kammaṭṭhānas, that play so prominent a rôle in the Visuddhi-magga, are the Four Exalted States or brahma-vihāras, namely friendliness and compassion and joy and indifference (mettā, karuṇā, muditā, upekkhā). The whole of book ix is devoted to them. They all lead up to the first three trances, and the cultivation of upekkhā leads even to the fourth trance or highest of the ordinary trances. Now all these four states under the corresponding names of māitrī, karuṇā, muditā, and upekṣā, are prescribed by the Rule and the Bhāshya at i.33, and as a means for calming the mind-stuff.

Or again, to cite a case of partial correspondence and partial diversity, we may mention the kleças or innate defects of human nature or moral defilements or (as Dr. Woods calls them) the hindrances. These are enumerated by the Bhāshya, at ii.3, as ignorance, the feeling-of-personality, lust, ill-will, and the will-to-live (avidyā, asmitā, rāga, dveṣa, abhiniveça). But Buddhaghosa, in book xxii, has a list of ten, containing most of these five, and also, for example, sloth or languor (thīna, styāna), which last by the Bhāshya at i.30, is put among the nine obstacles or antarāyas. We hope that the Bhāshya and the Visuddhi-magga may prove mutually illuminating, by reason not only of their coincidences but also of their differences.

Minor coincidences, in matters of diction, as between the Bhāshya and the Buddhist texts, deserve careful notice from any who chance to study these sources at the same time. Confident as we may be concerning the influence of the Yoga system upon Buddha,—the interplay of influences as between the Bhāshya and the Buddhist texts may well have been chiefly in the opposite direction. Thus the use of the Sanskrit word adhvānam in the sense of 'time' (so at iv. 12) is, unless I err, wholly foreign to Brahmanical Sanskrit texts, and is a downright taking over of the Pāli equivalent addhānam in its secondary but common meaning of 'time.' Similarly the use of -nimna with -prāgbhāra (at iv. 26) seems to me not rightly Sanskrit at all, but rather a conscious adaptation of the familiar Pāli combination -ninna, -poṇa, -pabbhāra.

Indeed, one is sometimes tempted to surmise that the diction of the author of the Vhāshya was influenced by downright reminiscences of Nikāya texts. Thus at ii.39 and iv.25 are given the questionings of doubts as to personal identity through various past and future births : "Who was I ? Or who shall we become ?" and so forth : ko 'ham āsam ? katham ahaṁ āsam ?... ke vā bhavisyāmaḍ ? katham vā bhavisyāmaḍ ? These are substantially the questions cited at length by Buddhaghosa (in book xix) from the Majjhima-nikāya (vol. 1, p. 8).

The reflections of the Yogin "on whom insight has dawned" are put by the author of the Bhāshya (at i.16)

10. Jacobi's translation, Leipzig, 1882, vol. 1, p. 467 ff.

11. Göttinger Nachrichten, 1896.

12. Revue de l'historie des religions, 1900.

13. Vinaya-pitaka, vol. 1, p. 10 ; Samyutta-nikāya, vol. 5, p. 420. These truths become a kind of canonical commonplace : see Majjhima, vol 1, p. 48.

14. This coincidence the Hindu medical writers did not fail to observe : so Vāgbhata in the stanza introductory to the Aṣṭānga-hṛdaya.

15 Anguttara-nikāya, vol. 1, p. 286 ; translated by Henry C. Warren, p. xiv of his *Buddhism in translations*, Harvard Oriental Series, vol. 3. See also Visuddhi-magga book xx.

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in a way which—at once brief and yet ample—is marked by noble dignity. They describe the winning of the supreme goal: "Won is that which was to be won. Ended are the moral defilements which had to be ended. Cut is the close jointed succession of existences in-the-world, which—so long as it was not cut asunder—involved death after birth and birth after death." Prāptam prāpaṇīyam. Kṣīṇāḥ kṣetavyāḥ kleçāḥ Chinnaḥ çiṣṭaparvā bhava-saṁkramo, yasyāvicchedāj janitvā mriyate, mṛtvā ca jāyate.

In like manner the consummation of the holy life, salvation or the setting free, is described in the Dīghanikāya, vol. I, p 84: "In him, when set free, there arises the knowledge that he *is* set free. He knows: Ended is rebirth. Lived has been the holy life. Done has been what was to be done. There is no more returning here." Vimuttasmim 'vimuttam' iti ñāṇam hoti. 'Khīṇā jāti. Vusitam brahmacariyam. Katam karaṇīyam. Nāparam itthattāyā' ti pajānāti.

The whole spiritual situation in both cases is similar; and that the substantial coincidences of the two descriptions may be nothing more than the natural outcome of that similarity we will not deny. But the examples that have been mentioned (a few out of many) make it clear that a systematic study of the Bhāshya in the light of the Buddhist texts is well worth the while.

The comparison of Yoga and Buddhism is not the only study which I hope this work of Professor Woods will powerfully stimulate. I hope it will direct the attention of scholars to a severely critical examination of the supernormal powers which, as Buddhist and Yoga texts alike maintain, are among the fruits of the cultivation of profound concentration or samādhi.

In order to make my meaning clear, let me instance (with added references to the text of the Bhāshya) some of these powers: Such are clairvoyance and clairaudience (ii. 43); knowledge of the future (iii. 16) and of one's previous births (iii. 18); thought-reading (iii. 19); power to become invisible (iii. 21); the cessation of hunger and thirst (iii. 30); the power of hypnotic suggestion (iii. 38: "your mind-stuff enters the body of another," cittasya para-carīrāvecaḥ); the power to walk upon water or a spider's thread or sunbeams or to pass through the air (iii. 42); the power by reason of which "the fire, hot as it is, burns you not" (iii. 45); and so on. Such powers are systematically treated by Buddhaghosa in books xii and xiii, and are constantly mentioned with quiet gravity by the story-tellers, as if no one were expected to have any difficulty in believing them. Is it not worth while, in the light of modern knowledge, to try to draw a line between that which has some real basis in fact and that which has none? To this question William James, by word and by deed, answered with an emphatic Yes.

The more obvious manifestations of Yoga-practice, such as the standing upon one leg or the holding of one arm aloft and other austerities, did not fail to strike the Greeks (Strabo, xv. 61), just as, at all times, the sensational has struck the casual(16) observer. The noblest and most spiritual achievements of the Yogin present no features of interest for the gazer or for the tourist-photographer. On the other hand, the rewards—whether of gratified vanity or of reputation or of gifts—for the successful performance of marvellous or apparently supernormal acts, are and always have been a temptation to abuse Yoga-practices with venal and fraudulent purpose The ample admixture of deception and trick and miracle-mongering has tended to make men of science averse to any serious consideration of the whole subject. But fraud, even if preponderant, will not excuse us from the due investigation of the residuum of well-attested fact, not even if that residuum be small. The reason why well-attested cases of the apparently miraculous are relatively few is a legitimate one: to persons most likely to make the highest and noblest attainments by the practice of Yoga, the so-called "magical powers" are after all an incidental by-product. And accordingly, Buddhaghosa relegates the discussion of the supernormal powers to those books (xii and xiii) which form a mere appendix to his treatment (books iii to xi) of Concentration or Samādhi. To seek these powers as an end, or to make a display of them to satisfy the curiosity of the vulgar, is wholly unworthy, and indeed most strictly forbidden. In the gospel-narrative of the temptation, when the Devil says, "If thou be the Son of God, cast thyself down from hence," the answer of Jesus is an uncompromising rebuke. And in like spirit, the Mahābhārata threatens with "a hell from which there is no release" the Yogins who are thus guilty. (17)

Thought-reading is a power very often ascribed to Buddha or to a saint, who thereby intuitively discerns the evil intentions of another and so thwarts them. In many of these cases the use of good judgment or of a knowledge of human nature may explain the successful thought-reading; while in others some influence much more subtile may be in play. The cases as a class are not easy to sift. On the other hand, the activity of the subliminal consciousness is most clearly referred to in the Explanation to the Bhāshya at i.24: "Chaitra thinks intently, 'To-morrow I must get up just at day-break' and then after having slept, he gets up at that very time because of the subliminal impression resulting from that intent thinking." This power of awaking from sound slumber at a predetermined hour is abundantly attested by common experience, and also, for example, by J. M. Bramwell in his Hypnotism, page 387 (cf. p. 115). And doubtless the power to "emerge from trance" or "rise out of trance" (one of the five "masteries" of Buddhaghosa at book iv, section 108, the vutthāna-vasī) is a power of a kindred nature." If the Bhāshya's promise, "fire burns him not" (at iii.45: see above) refers to insensibility to the pain of a burn, the power therein implied may stand in relation to

16 Or, to speak in terms of the twentieth century, the "cameral" or "snapshot" observer. The National Geographic Society of Washington devoted most of its Magazine for December, 1913, to the "Religious Penances and Punishments Self-inflicted by the Holy Men of India." The paper is illustrated with seventy pictures. The sensational aspects of Yoga-practice have been treated in easily accessible works. Such are John C. Oman's The Mystics, Asceties, and Saints of India, London, 1903; Richard Schmidt's Fakire und Fakirtum, Berlin, 1908.

17 At xii.197.7, cited by Hopkins, Yoga-technique, JAOS. xxii.344.

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the facts of anæsthesia and analgesia as recited by Bramwell at pages 360-361. Compare also his Index, under "Analgesia, in hypnosis, and post-hypnotic."

Perhaps the most marvellous of all these "supernormal" attainments is the power of suffering one's body to be buried for a long time and of resuming one's normal activities on release from the grave. Well-attested cases are indeed rare, but such in fact there are, and none is better attested or more wonderful than that of Haridas. This man had himself buried alive for six weeks at Lahore at the Court of Runjeet Singh in 1837. Thorough-going precautions were taken against fraud, and the account of the matter is from the pen of Sir Claude Martin Wade, who was an actual eye-witness of the disinterment. The account was first printed by James Braid, in a tiny book(18), since become famous, entitled "Observations on trance or human hybernation," Edinburgh, 1850. The very title of Braid's sober and judicial treatise intimates that he sees nothing miraculous in this performance, but regards it rather as analogous to the hibernation common in many animals and as something that could be and was induced by natural, albeit most elaborate and painstaking, means. The case at any rate warns us against too ready incredulity concerning Hindu marvels that seem at first blush to pass the bounds of the possible.

To show the interest of studying Yoga in the light of the discoveries of modern psychology, I know of no better example than the story of Ruchi and Vipula. This is indubitably a case of hypnosis and effective suggestion to the hypnotized subject to refrain from yielding to a strong temptation to do a sinful act. If we knew nothing about the psychological facts involved, we Occidentals should certainly not recognize the true significance of the narrative, especially as its technical features are presented in a terminology which the facts alone can elucidate. Thus the gaining power over another's will by hypnotizing is called "entering the body of another" "as wind enters an empty space" —phrases of hopeless obscurity until we know in detail the nature of the facts intended. The story is given in the Mahā-bharata (at xiii. 40, 41), and it is to Hopkins that we owe the service of showing(19) its meaning to Western scholars. The story itself is in brief as follows.

The sage Deva-çarman had a wife of great beauty named Ruchi. Even the gods were enamored of her, and in particular god Indra, whose illicit amours are notorious. Well aware of Indra's designs, the sage, before going away to perform a sacrifice, summons his pupil Vipula and bids him protect Ruchi and her virtue and especially as against the lustful Indra. Vipula, himself a man of the utmost integrity and virtue and self-control, agrees to do the bidding of his teacher, and asks him in what form Indra may be expected to appear. "In any one of many forms," answers Deva-carman. "Indra may come wearing a diadem or a clout, as a Brahman or as an outcaste, as a parrot or as a lion, as an old man or as a young man, or indeed in the form of the wind-god. Therefore," he continues, "watch over her with diligence." And so he departs.

Vipula sagely reflects that if the tempter can come in the form of the wind, a fence for the hermitage or a door for Ruchi's cottage would be of no avail. He resolves to protect her virtue "by the power of Yoga."(20) "I will enter her body by Yoga and in it I will abide, sunk in the deepest concentration (samāhita). If I keep myself free from the slightest trace of passion, I shall incur no guilt." Accordingly, he sits down by her, who is seated, and gazes steadily with his eyes into her eyes, and so that her gaze meets his, and fills her mind with longing for what is right, so that she is averse especially to any adulterous word or deed.(21) "Vipula entered her body as the wind enters space, and remained there motionless, invisible. Then, making rigid the body of his teacher's wife, he stayed there devoted to guarding her, and she was not aware of him."

Indra, thinking "This is my chance," comes now to the hermitage in the form of a man, young and very handsome, sees the body of Vipula seated and with staring eyes and motionless as a picture, and sees Ruchi also in all her loveliness. She on seeing him and his superb beauty, *wanted* to rise and welcome him and ask him who he was. But under the influence of Vipula, she could not move a muscle. Indra makes known to her himself and his passion and the need of prompt assent. Vipula recognizes her danger from her looks, redoubles the force of his hypnotic suggestion, "and bound with Yoga-bonds all her faculties," so that, although, in reply to Indra's "Come, come," she wanted to say "Yes,"—the words that actually escaped her were "Sir, what business hast thou to come here?" She was, the story adds, not without grave embarrassment at the incivility of her answer, "spoken under the control of another." Indra now perceives "with his supernormal eye" that Vipula is "in Ruchi's body like an image in a mirror," and that his case is therefore hopeless, and trembles lest Vipula curse him. Vipula "quits the body of Ruchi" (that is, terminates the hypnosis), and, with unstinted rebukes to the crestfallen Indra, tells him to take himself off.—Deva-çarman returns and Vipula presents to him his wife unspoiled.

The facts relating to hypnotism were unknown to

18 Braid was a surgeon of Manchester, England. The copy of his book that lay before me when I wrote this, was a gift "To the President of Harvard College with the author's compliments" in 1852. The little volume has since been transferred to the "Treasure Room." The account was reprinted by Garbe in The Monist for July, 1900, Chicago. See also Garbe in Westermann's Monatshefte for September, 1900; or W. Preyer's Der Hypnotismus, Berlin, 1882 (p. 46, translated from Braid); or Richard Schmidt, Fakire, p. 88.

19 In his paper on Yoga-technique, already cited, Journal of the Am. Oriental Society, xxii.359. Compare his excellent comments upon the technical features of the story.

20 In such a story as this, the phraseology of the original Sanskrit (at Mahā-bharata xiii. 40) is of moment. My phrases are accordingly intended to be correct reproductions. Note especially those enclosed within marks of quotation, and see stanzas 50—52 and 56—59 of the original, as numbered in the Bombay edition of 1888.

21 Such is, I take it, the significance of lakṣaṇam lakṣaṇenaiva, vadanam vadanena ca, at stanza 58.

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the Occident at the beginning of the last century. In 1841 James Braid independently discovered and observed and described many of the phenomena here concerned. Even the word *hypnotism*, as may be seen from Murray's Dictionary, is only about seventy-five years old, having been introduced with *hypnotize*, etc., into the English language by Braid himself in 1842. But in spite of the extreme modernity of the Occidental knowledge of the facts, and of the terminology in which they are recorded, there is already a large and rapidly growing literature upon the subject, and the elaborate treatise of John Milne Bramwell entitled "Hypnotism, its history, practice, and theory" (London, 1906) gives a bibliography of books and articles running into the hundreds. Nevertheless, the systematic treatises, those of Moll and Bramwell at least, do not even attempt to carry the history of hypnotism back beyond the times of Braid, Esdaile, Elliotson, and Mesmer—a statement which I make, not by way of carping, but rather by way of calling attention to an opportunity. Unless I err, the whole subject is commonly regarded in the Occident as very modern, a recent discovery, when in fact it has been well known and widely known in the Orient for over two thousand years.

The fruits of Yoga-practice are told, not only in systematic Sanskrit treatises on Yoga and in Buddhist books, but also incidentally, as I have said, in many epic or narrative texts. The exploitation of these texts by an Indianist who has already made a thorough study of modern psychology is sure to yield very striking results. In the second chapter of his work on hypnotism (page 109 of the new edition of A. E. Waite, London, 1899), Braid describes his technique for inducing hypnosis. What must our wonder be on finding that almost exactly fifteen centuries ago in the island of Ceylon there was written a book, Buddhaghosa's Visuddhi-magga, a large part of which is concerned with this very subject. With Buddhaghosa indeed it is self-hypnotization, but the technique of it is substantially the same as that of Braid in all its essential features: the willingness on the part of the subject to submit himself, the comfortable position, the steady and slightly strained gaze, the fixed attention, the gentle monotonous sensory stimulations.—That important discoveries should be made by a people, and be made again centuries later and quite independently by another people,—this is one of the most astonishing facts of human history.

—*Abridged from "The Harvard Theological Review.*

THE SURGE OF LIFE *

THE multifarious complexity of life has been one of the baffling problems in science. There is first the mystery of energetic animal life with its reflex movements and pulsating organs. In strong contrast is the life of plants, seemingly passive and stationary. Even in this simple type all its manifestations of activity appear to be capricious; the same shock of the environment calls forth in it different replies. It sometimes moves towards, and at other times away from light; the shoot moves away against gravity, the root moves in the direction of gravity. There is hardly any reaction exhibited by the plant of which the directly opposite may not be also observed. It therefore appeared hopeless to discover any unity in such contradictory manifestations, and there was a growing belief that it was no underlying law but the individuality of the plant that determined the choice of its capricious movements. Various terms were invented for the different movements such as *positive* heliotropism or *positive* geotropism, when the organ moved towards the exciting force, and *negative* heliotropism or geotropism when it moved away from the source of stimulus. The eminent physiologist Pfeffer, however, pointed out that these descriptive terms were no explanations, but served merely as convenient cloaks to hide our ignorance. The laws which guide the different reactions have yet to be discovered.

No quest could be higher for the Eastern mind than the search after unity amidst bewildering diversity; to this he is specially fitted by his habit of synthesis. But something more than his trend of thought was necessary—the combination of clear thought with deftness of hand, of theoretical insight with great power of invention. Imagination is apt to run astray, and theory is to be checked at every step by rigid experimental demonstration.

* The Life Movements of Plants—Transactions of the Bose Institute, Vol. I, 1918. Published by the Bose Institute, Calcutta. Price Rs. 6.

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The investigations into the phenomena of even the simplest type of life is surrounded with innumerable difficulties; it is necessary for their elucidation to bring into the realm of the visible, what had hitherto been invisible; to detect and record the tremor of excitation; to measure the speed of the invisible impulse; to compel the apparently stationary organ trace a single pulse of its imperceptible growth; to isolate and then subject the living organ to each of the multitudinous forces that play on it; to record the diverse response of the organism; to discover the law of action of each, and from the definite knowledge of the effect of individual factors to predict the combined effects in their numerous permutations and combinations. This was to be but the first stage of the inquiry; of infinitely higher import is to be the discovery that life is one, that all the characteristics of the higher animal life has been foreshadowed in plant-life :— the characteristics of contractility, of spontaneity, even of nervous impulse. Vast is the area to be trsaversed and insurmountable appear to be the difficulties that block every step. But to the man of faith and unclouded vision, difficulties are meant to be surmounted through untiring patience and intense concentration of purpose.

This is the genesis of the foundation of the Bose Institute a year ago; and we have now the first volume of the Transactions of the Institute giving accounts of work that have been accomplished. In the introduction, the founder lays down the objects of the Institute which breathe a spirit of universality :

"The fuller investigation of the many ever-opening problems of the nascent science, which includes both Life and Non-Life, are among the main purposes of the Institute. In adding a large auditorium, I have sought permanently to associate the advancement of knowledge with the widest possible civic and public diffusion of it; and this without any academic limitations, henceforth to all races and languages, to both men and women alike, and for all time coming.

"It is my futher wish that, as far as the limited accommodation would permit, the facilities of the Institute should be available to workers from all countries. In this I am attempting to carry out the traditions of my country, which, so far back as twenty-five centuries ago, welcomed all scholars from different parts of the world, within the precincts of its ancient seats of learning, at Nalanda and at Taxilla."

The revival of great traditions of ancient India! But it is said that nations like individuals, have their birth, their periods of adolescence, senility and death, and the life-history of India had passed through a similar cycle. Among ancient peoples, the intellectual culture of the Nile valley, of Assyria and of Babylon waxed and waned and finally disappeared. There is no gainsaying the fact that the exuberance and manifold activities reach their height with the surge of life, and that arrest of growth betokens, in general, the approach of death. This inference is, however, not to be accepted as universally true; for certain remarkable experiments of Professor Bose on arrested growth show, that life may be conserved for a time in a state of suspense, and that an adequate stimulus brings about rejuvenescence, and transforms the latent into dynamic activity. Perhaps it was the reality of such life-renewals that gave the tone of conviction in one of his addresses where he says that :

"The apparent dormancy of intellectual life in India has been only a temporary phase. Just like the oscillation of the season round the globe, great pulsations of intellectual activity passed over the different peoples of the earth. With the coming of the spring the dormant life sprang forth; similarly the life that India conserved, by inheritance, culture and temperament, was only latent and was again ready to spring forth into the blossom and fruit of knowledge."

The highest aspiration of modern India is to be no longer satisfied with isolation, but to take an active part in great movements of the present age, and give to the world the best that she has acquired. This has already found manifestation in different ways, and among the objects of the Institute we find the following declaration which is characteristic of Indian ideality.

"The discoveries made at the Institute will become public property; no patents will ever be taken. The spirit of our national culture demands that we should

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for ever be free from desecration of utilising knowledge for personal gain."

II

The outlook of the Institute is to open six Departments to carry out investigations in different branches of science, to discover and correlate various phenomena in a great synthesis. Each of these Departments would require for its proper equipment and staff an endowment of 12 lacs of rupees. It is to be remembered in this connection, that the Institute is primarily for reseach, for discovery of phenomena hitherto unknown. Its function is quite different from college instruction, where large classes may be taught on known facts by a small staff of teachers. It is through arduous and long training in the Institute that some of the scholars may become competent to undertake original investigation. At present there are ten scholars, who are under Sir J. C. Bose's personal training. This number cannot be exceeded unless the staff of instructors be considerably increased. Out of the six departments it is intended to open two in the near future, the necessary endowment being 24 lacs of rupees. Such a great national undertaking is beyond any individual effort; a beginning has however been made by the immediate gift of 4 lacs by the founder with the further contingent gift of 2 lacs. If it be the national will that India shall once more take her proper share in the intellectual advancement of the world, then means for such an end may be forthcoming. The present time with the great wide world tragedy may be regarded as inopportune for any great undertaking. "But it is at such a crisis," says Dr. Bose, "that men learn to discriminate the Real from the Unreal, so that they can dedicate themselves to the pursuit of Truth, which is eternal."

The trust of the founder has, we are glad to learn from last year's report, been in part justified and we hope will be increasingly so in the near future. The gratifying fact is that it is not any particular province or any particular section of community that has evinced their practical interest in the national work. The very first two large donations of 1 lac from Mr. S. R. Bomanji and 2¼ lacs from Mr. Mulraj Khatau, came from Bombay; H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar, the premier Indian prince, made a contribution from his State of 1¼ lacs, to be increased in the near future. In Bengal the Hon'ble Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nandy has made a gift of 2 lacs. Besides this other subscriptions have been received; the total asset of the Institute including the contribution of the founder now amounts to about 10½ lacs. The balance of 14 lacs for the immediate extension of the Institute will, it is hoped, be received during the course of the year. Both the Government of India and the Government of Bengal have been generous in their support, and six Government scholarships have been sanctioned by the Secretary of State for workers in the Institute. This co-operation of Government in our national work is most gratifying.

III.

Though the financial asset is necessary, yet far more important is the value of the scientific work accomplished which ensures the growth and success of a Research Institute. And we have a large volume containing detailed accounts of some 21 different researches carried out by Sir J. C. Bose assisted by his pupils. All of them show extraordinary delicacy of the new methods of attack, the persistence with which the most difficult problems have been pursued. The veil of mystery is lifted, and that which has been regarded as capricious is brought in harmony with unchanging law. It will not be possible in the course of an article to give a complete account of the results, the fuller understanding of which will require advanced knowledge of science and the technique of new methods of experimentation. We shall, however, give here a popular account of several investigations which are of general interest.

The difficulties presented by complex phenomena of life have often been evaded by ascribing them to some mysterious and unknown working of vital force. In seeking to find the law underlying the mystery, Sir J. C. Bose selects for his first investigation the discovery of the cause of certain extraordinary phenomenon which had mystified the people of Bengal.

THE 'PRAYING' PALM.

"Perhaps no phenomenon is so remarkable and shrouded with greater mystery as the performances of a particular Date

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Palm near Faridpur in Bengal. In the evening, while the temple bells ring calling upon people to prayer, this tree bows down as if to prostrate itself. It erects its head again in the morning, and this process is repeated every day of the year. This extraordinary manifestation has been regarded as miraculous, and pilgrims have been attracted in large numbers. It is alleged that offerings made to the tree have been the means of effecting marvellous cures. It is not necessary to pronounce any opinion on the subject; these cures may be taken as effective as other faith-cures now prevalent in the West.

"This particular Date Palm, *Phœnix dactylifera*, is a full-grown rigid tree, its trunk being about 16 feet in length and ten inches in diameter. It must have been displaced by storm and is now at an inclination of about sixty degrees to the vertical. In consequence of the diurnal movement, the trunk, throughout its entire length, is erected in the morning and depressed in the afternoon. The highest point of the trunk thus moves up and down through a distance of 3 feet; the 'neck' above the trunk, is concave to the sky in the morning; in the afternoon the curvature is reversed. The large leaves which point high up against the sky in the morning are thus swung round in the afternoon through a vertical distance of about fifteen feet. To the popular imagination, the tree appears like a living giant, more than twice the height of a human being, which leans forward in the evening from its towering height and bends its neck till the crown of leaves press against the ground in an attitude of devotion.

"A difficulty arose at the beginning in obtaining sanction of the proprietor to attach the recorder to the tree. He was apprehensive that the miraculous power might disappear by profane contact with foreign-looking instruments. His misgivings were removed on the assurance that the instrument was made in Dr. Bose's laboratory in India and that it would be attached to the tree by one of his assistants who was the son of a priest."

From results of observation it is found that the tree is never at rest, but in a state of continuous movement. The movement is not passive, but an active force is exerted; the force necessary to counteract the movement is equivalent to the weight of 47 kilograms or about a maund and a quarter: in other words the force is sufficient to lift a man off the ground.

The special apparatus devised made the tree record automatically its movement day and night. A long course of investigation brought out the fact that the movement was due to variation of temperature, as will be seen from the pair of records, the upper showing the daily fluctuation of temperature and the lower the corresponding movement of the tree. Further research showed that the tree was acted on by two contending forces the geotropic action in virtue of which the tree tried to erect itself, and the antagonistic action of rise of temperature which opposed the tropic curvature. The tree was never at rest, but in a state of "dynamic balance", which was upset in one direction or the other by the changes of the environment. The fully grown and rigid tree is thus 'sensitive' to slightest external change, even the passage of a cloud across the sky and signals its perception by movement. The arbitrary distinction between ordinary and 'sensitive' plants thus disappears; not only the particular palm but every tree and its various organs are shown to perceive and execute movements in response to the changes of its environment. It is not the pulvinus of *Mimosa* that is alone excitable, but trees also are instinct with sensibility. Their rigid trunks are gigantic pulvinoids which perceive and respond to the multitudinous stimuli of their environment.

Dirunal and Seasonal change of Sensibility.

Another inquiry undertaken was to find whether the plant is equally alive all hours of day and night; if not, is there any definite period at which it loses its sensibility and falls, as it were, to sleep? Is there again another period when the plant wakes up to its maximum excitability? For this investigation the plant was excited by an automatic device by a definite shock every hour of the day and night, and the recorded answers show that at the middle part of the day the excitability of *Mimosa* was at its highest. Its sensibility declined with later hours of the night and vanished early in the morning. From this state of torpor the plant

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gradually woke up till it was fully active at about midday.

Not only are plants unequally excitable at different parts of the day, but their sensibility shows a characteristic change at different seasons of the year. The power of conduction of excitation becomes very much reduced in winter, and in consequence of this there is produced a qualitative change in the character of the responsive movement. It is on this account that in winter the sign of response of a plant often undergoes a reversal.

Detection of Effect of Stimulus on the Plant.

Much confusion has arisen in plant-physiology on accout of the indefinite use of the term 'stimulus.' Professor Bose shows that every agent which causes excitation in the animal also excites the plant, the test of excitation being contraction which gives rise to a twitching movement. He shows how mechanical irritation and wound, electric shocks, the action of particular rays of light and certain invisible radiations, bring about excitation. There are again other agents, warmth for example, which bring about the opposite physiological reaction of expansion. For record of the answering twitch in the plant, four different types of instruments have been invented, the Resonant Recorder, the Magnetic Tapper, the Mechanical Tapper, and the Oscillating Recorder. In addition of mechanical response, three other methods have been devised to detect and measure the change caused by stimulation; one of these is the change in the rate of growth; the principle of the other two depends on the detection of subtle electric changes that occur in the organism under stimulus. These four methods are entirely independent of each other; the instrumental appliances are totally different. Yet the different records tell the same story. These different methods of attack have enormously expanded the power and extent of inquiry. They moreover establish the great generalisation that the underlying reaction is the same in the sensitive and ordinary plants, in growing and non-growing organs. The generalisation thus established has been fruitful of numerous discoveries; thus from the particular behaviour of sensitive plant under the action of a given agent, it has been possible to predict the effect of the same agent on growing organs. Again the electric twitch observed led to the discovery of phenomena which had hitherto been unsuspected. The hieroglyphic of the recorded mechanical and electrical twitches has led to the deciphering the book of life of plant.

Dual Reaction under Stimulus.

The tangible and striking effect of a shock is a sudden contraction as seen in the jerky fall of the leaf of the sensitive plant *Mimosa*. The accepted theory is that a stimulus is a releasing agent which causes an explosive change; it is like the firing off of cartridge by the pull of trigger. Something is consumed, on account of which the energy stored up in the organism is lost; in consequence of this the functional activity is lowered below par, and fatigue thus follows action. But behind this outer seeming something becomes latent which had hitherto not been suspected. Certain experiments carried out by Sir J. C. Bose show that stimulus need not always bring about a 'down' grade change; it may on the contrary, bring about a simultaneous building-'up' process which confers on the organism a greater potentiality for work. The 'down' change, usually speaking, is predominant and masks the 'up' change. But in the new experiments, specially devised for the purpose, the hidden 'up' change becomes completely unmasked. The relative intensity of the two processes are modified in a specific way under definite conditions. The persistence of after-effects of the two antagonistic reactions are different. So it happens that when an organism is overpowered by a shock, the opposite element in the reaction, latent for a time, re-asserts itself. Thus a shock, seemingly adverse, may prove to be the very essential element to endow the organism with that energy which it could not have otherwise acquired. And a very striking experiment is described with a vegetable organ which had reached maturity and had thus lost all power of growth; its inevitable end was senility and death. The shock of stimulus however revived the life-activity; the suspended growth become renewed as in rejuvenescence.

Stimulus without and Stimulus within.

An organ answers to external stimulus by movement. But there are instances

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where vigorous movement is maintained, apparently without any outside cause. Such activity is described as automatic or originated by some internal stimulus. An example of this is found in the spontaneous beat of the heart of the animal. Corresponding to this is the automatic throbbings of the leaflets of the Indian Telegraph plant, *Desmodium gyrans*. These leaflets keep up constant up-and-down movements, each pulsation being executed in the course of a minute or two. Professor Bose's researches bring out the astonishing fact that the internal stimulus which causes these movements are ultimately derived from antecedent external stimulus supplied by the environment. He isolated the plant from the outside stimulating influence; the latent store soon became depleted, and the pulse-throbs came to a stop. But impact of fresh external stimulus renewed its activity; so greedy is the plant to absorb that which comes from outside, that the income exceeds its immediate needs, with the storage of the surplus. The living organism thus absorbs an excess of energy, which it renders latent and makes its own, and thus the leaflets continue to pulsate for a long time, even on the cessation of the exciting stimulus from outside. The internal stimulus is in reality external stimulus which has become trapped; the outer has been rendered inner by inclusion.

Influence of Tonic Level on Life Activity.

Another remarkable phenomenon discovered in the life of plant is the effect of tonic condition on its response; this, strangely enough, is similar to certain characteristics in human experience, Life is not static but changing day after day, moment after moment. Such changes in human life have not been analysed, but the subtle difference comes out in unaccountable and apparently capricious behaviour. One day he may be in the exuberant height of life, when his responses are full and joyous; another day certain change has crept in, and man delights him not nor woman either. Is there any reason for this strange fluctuation?

Perhaps the mystery is capable of solution, if simple life is to give a clue to the working of the more complex. Prof. Bose was long puzzled by the capriciousness of the reply given by his plant specimen. They gave him a very definite reaction day after day, then all of a sudden an erratic specimen contradicted the previous replies. It was after long-continued research that the mystery was solved. It was found that while under normal conditions of vigour the responses were of a definite sign they underwent a change when the plant was in a depressed condition. In other words the reaction is modified by the tonic condition of the organ. In favourable state of tonicity the reaction is normal, but in condition below par the response becomes reversed. The abnormal response of a sub-tonic specimen may be, however, converted into normal by the action of stimulus.

In medical practice anomalies are frequently met with, where the same drug induces diametrically opposite effects in different individuals; the cause of this anomaly lies in the fact that the tonic level of different people is not the same. For rational treatment, it is essential to take into account the tonic condition of the patient, for the reaction of a given drug is profoundly modified by this condition. Certain remarkable results are described with two batches of seedlings. The tonicity of one batch had been artificially raised *above par*, and in the other batch lowered *below par*. A dose of dilute poison was applied to both; the weaker specimens succumbed immediately, but the reaction of the vigorous specimens were quite different. The toxic agent not only failed in its illegitimate work, but actually exalted the growth of its intended victim!

Researches on Growth by Crescograph.

Perhaps the greatest triumph in the method of experiment and invention of super-sensitive apparatus were attained in researches on growth. The growth of a plant is excessively slow; if the plant grew continuously it would take several hundred years to cover the distance of a mile; the proverbial snail moves two thousand times more quickly than the growing organ of a plant. In the Auxanograph hitherto in use, the rate of growth is magnified about twenty times; but the remarkable apparatus which Prof. Bose has invented magnifies and records the movement of growth ten thousand times. With the Magnetic Crescograph the magnifying power has been raised to 50 million times. An increment of growth as minute as

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0.00000004 inch may thus be detected. It is also possible to detect the growth of a plant for a period shorter than a hunderdth part of a second.

With this apparatus results of extreme interest have been discovered. It is found for example that the growth of a plant is affected by stimulus which is far below human perception. Mechanical irritation of any kind is found to retard or arrest growth. Thus rough contact reduced the normal rate to half, and it took one hour for the plant to recover from the effect of handling. A pin prick depressed the rate of growth to a third, and the wound caused a far more profound depression. The wounded plant remained depressed for several hours.

The effect of various forces have also been studied in detail, and their effects exactly measured—the effect of constant electric current, the effect of electric shocks, and the influence of the different rays of the spectrum on the rate of growth. The invisible rays in the ultra-violet and infra-red regions are found to exert a potent influence in modification of the rate of growth.

The effects of various chemical agents have also been studied. It is found that the effect of a drug depends on the dose, on the duration of application and the tonic condition of the plant. As regards the action of gases, hydrogen peroxide induces an enhancement of growth. Carbonic acid gas induces a temporary enhancement followed by depression of growth. Coal gas is not so toxic in its effect as sulphuretted hydrogen.

Analysis of most searching nature has been carried out by separating each of the numerous factors. It is shown that there is a definite reaction brought about by a particular stimulus. Stimulus is shown to induce one effect when applied directly, and another effect when applied indirectly. The normal effect is shown to be reversed when the tonic level of the specimen falls below par. In this way the influence of numerous factors have been clearly demonstrated and laws laid down for their individual action. The combination and permutation of these, sometime concordant, at other times discordant, must necessarily produce results of infinite variety. But this multiplicity is no indication of caprice but of complex harmony resulting from multiplex combinations. In his first work on the "Response of Living and Non-Living," published 16 years ago the author says :

"In the Living response in all its diverse manifestations, there is no element of mystery or caprice such as we must admit, to be applied in the assumption of a vital force acting in contradistinction or defiance to the laws that govern the world of matter. Nowhere in the entire range of response phemomena, do we detect any breach of continuity. In the study of processes apparently so complex as those of irritability, we must expect to be confronted with many difficulties. But if these are to be overcome, they, like others, must be faced, and their investigation patiently pursued without the postulation of special forces (or sensibilities) whose convenient property it is to meet all emergencies in virtue of their vagueness. If at least, we are ever to understand the intricate mechanism of the animal machine, it will be granted that we must cease to evade the problems it presents by the use of mere phrases which really explain nothing."

For the last sixteen years the quest after unity has been pursued by the author with all the strength of concentrated purpose. And the result we see in rich harvest that he has gathered now in the realm of physics, now in physiology, and finally even in the region of psychology.

Nervous Impulse in Plants.

Sir J. C. Bose's researches have proved that plants possess a conducting tissue which corresponds to the nervous tissue in the animal. For this investigation again, an apparatus of extraordinary sensitiveness was invented which measures the speed of nervous impulse within a thousandth part of a second. Experiments are described which show that all the characteristics of the nervous impulse in the animal are to be met with in the corresponding impulse in the plant. Disuse is found to atrophy the conducting power, but stimulus is found to canalise its own path of conduction. Artificial paralysis can be induced in the nerve of the plant, and cure effected by appropriate treatment.

The Control of Nervous Impulse.

The demonstration of unity of life

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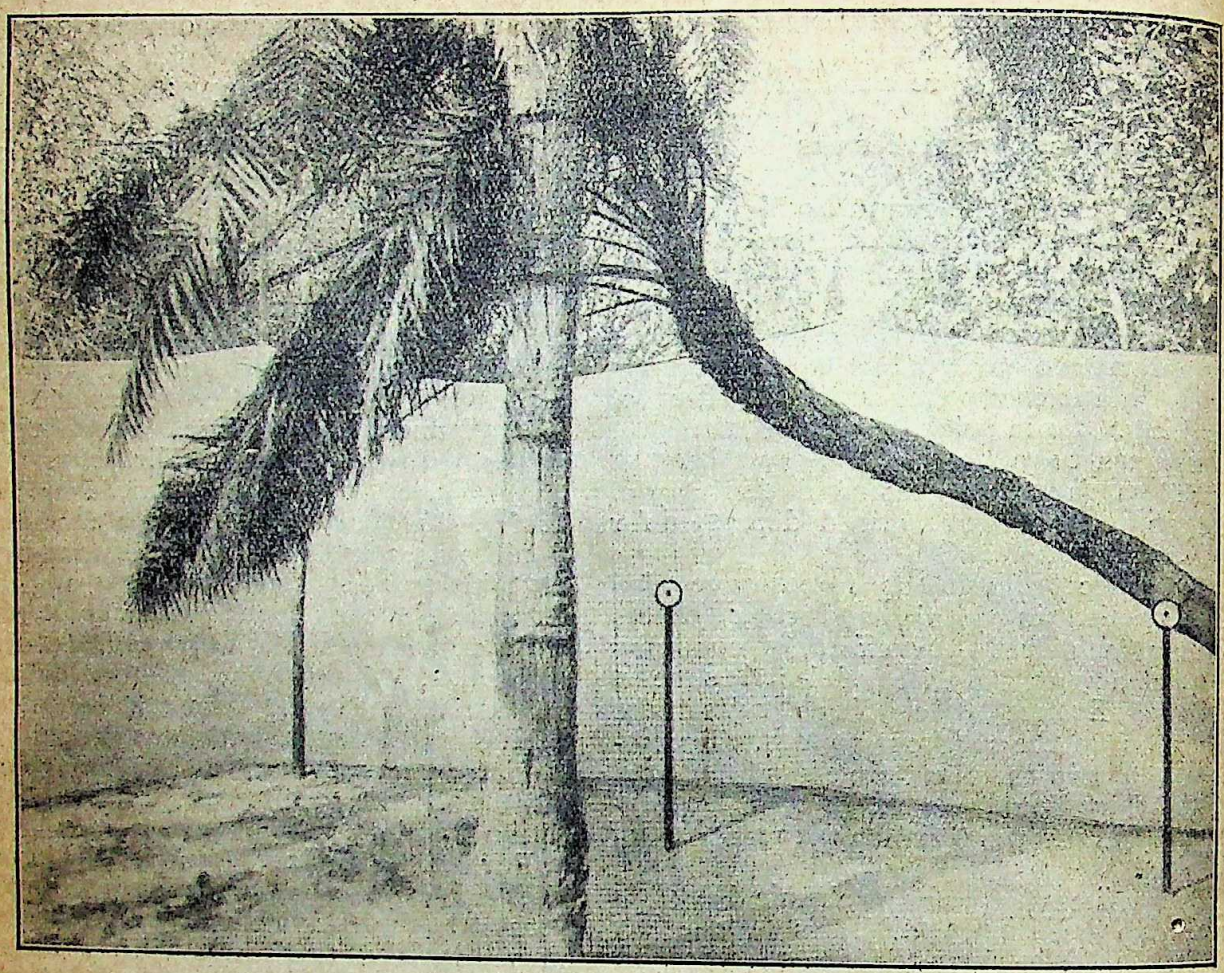

Fig. 1. The "Praying" Palm—Morning position.

reaction in plant and animal is of supreme importance since it is by the study of the simple phenomena of irritability in the vegetable organism that the more complex physiological reaction of the animal will be elucidated. And the climax is now reached when Sir J. C. Bose's researches take us from the reaction of primitive nerve of the plant to that of the highest manifestations of the nervous impulse in the animal, even into the borderland of psychology.

The nervous impulse causes response which may be either mechanical or sensory, according to the nature of the terminal organ, muscle or brain. A feeble stimulus transmits moderate excitation, which is perceived as sensation of not upleasant character. The tone of sensation in general is modified by the intensity of the impinging stimulus. Certain stimulations are very painful. The nerve carries the impulse which is interpreted as sensation; if the integrity of the nerve be impaired, then the nervous impulse is arrested, with the concomitant obliteration of all sensation. Our sensation coloured by the intensity of the nervou excitation that reaches the central percei ing organ. And the extent of this determined by two different condition namely, the intensity of the externa stimulus and the power of conductio possessed by the message-bearing vehicl the nerve.

Let us first consider the two extrem cases. In the first, the external stimulu may be too feeble for the resulting nervou impulse to cause perception. In this cas we desire to exalt the conducting powe of the nerve, so that what was sublimina shall become perceptible. On the othe hand, the external stimulus, on accoun of its character or intensity, may caus sensation which is intolerably painful Could the painful tone be modified b weakening the nervous impulse in transit or could it be blocked altogether?

Stimulus causes a molecular upset i the excitable living tissue, and th propagation of nervous impulse is

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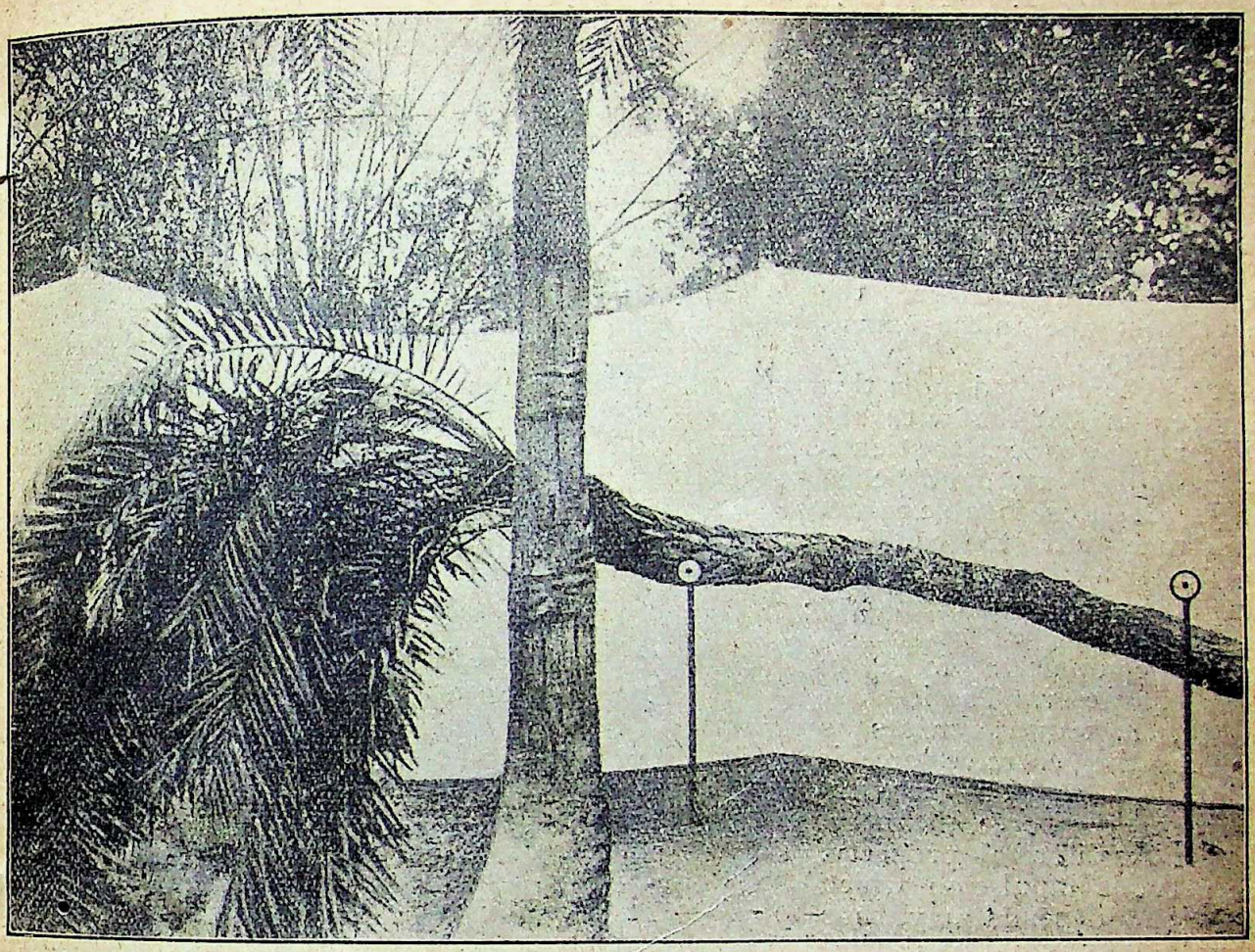

Fig. 2. The "Praying" Palm—Evening position.

phenomenon of the transmission of molecular disturbance from point to point. This molecular upset and propagation of disturbance may be pictured simply by means of a row of standing books. A certain intensity of blow applied, say, to the book on the extreme right would cause it to fall to the left, hitting its neighbour, and thus causing the other books to topple over in rapid succession. If the books have previously been slightly tilted towards the left, a disposition would have been given to them, which would enhance the disturbance and accelerate the speed of transmission. A tilt or predisposition on the opposite direction would, on the other hand, retard or inhibit it. Thus by means of a directive force, we may induce a predisposition in the system which would enhance or retard the transmitted impulse. In similar manner opposite reactions of a polar character might be discovered, by which molecular disposition in a nerve could be induced so as to enhance or retard its conducting power.

The question of the possibility of the control of nervous impulse at will, must ultimately depend upon whether opposite molecular dispositions can be induced in the nerve, in consequence of which its conducting power would be appropriately enhanced or inhibited. These theoretical anticipations have been strikingly realised in practice and the author has been able by the action of definite forces of a polar character to induce by turns two opposite molecular dispositions in the conducting tissue of the plant. Under one disposition, subliminal stimulus which had hitherto failed to be conducted became effectively transmitted or stimulus which had been propagated at moderate speed and with feeble intensity was now transmitted with increased speed and enhanced intensity. The nervous impulse in plant under the influence of opposite disposition could, on the other hand, be increasingly retarded, culminating in an actual arrest. These *supra-* or *a*-conducting states could be maintained as long as the conducting

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tissue was subjected to the action of the directive force.

That these deductions are universally true was verified by the successful repetition of the experiments on the nerve of the frog. Here, by employing the same methods, it was possible to exalt or inhibit at will during transit, the nervous impulse in the experimental nerve.

It will be realised how this discovery is fraught with the highest significance. By scientific method of extreme delicacy Sir J. C. Bose is able to demonstrate that the conducting power of the nerve is not fixed but capable of change in one direction or the other, by a compulsive force of polar character. The induced change, moreover, persists as long as the coercive force is maintained, and on the withdrawal of the force, the nerve regains its normal property. The nervous impulse on which sensation depends may thus be exalted or inhibited during transit.

It should be remembered in this connection that many effects which are brought about by an external stimulus can also be induced through internal stimulus. Thus the contractile response of a muscle may be brought about not only by an external shock, but also by the voluntary action of Will. Who can define the limit of this power of Will, intensified by practice and concentration? In the concluding portion of Prof. Bose's recent Address there occurs the following passage on the potentiality that is in man to rise victorious over circumstance:

"In the determination of sensation then, the internal stimulus of Will may play as important a part as the shock from outside. And thus through the inner control of the molecular disposition of the nerve, the character of the resulting sensation may become profoundly modified. The external then is not so overwhelmingly dominant, and man is no longer passi in the hands of destiny. There is latent power which would raise hi above the terrors of his inimical surroun ings. It remains with him that t channels through which the outside wor reaches him should, at his command, widened or become closed. It would th be possible for him to catch those indistin messages that had hitherto passed by hi unperceived; or he may withdraw with himself so that in his inner realm the ja ing notes and the din of the world shou no longer affect him."

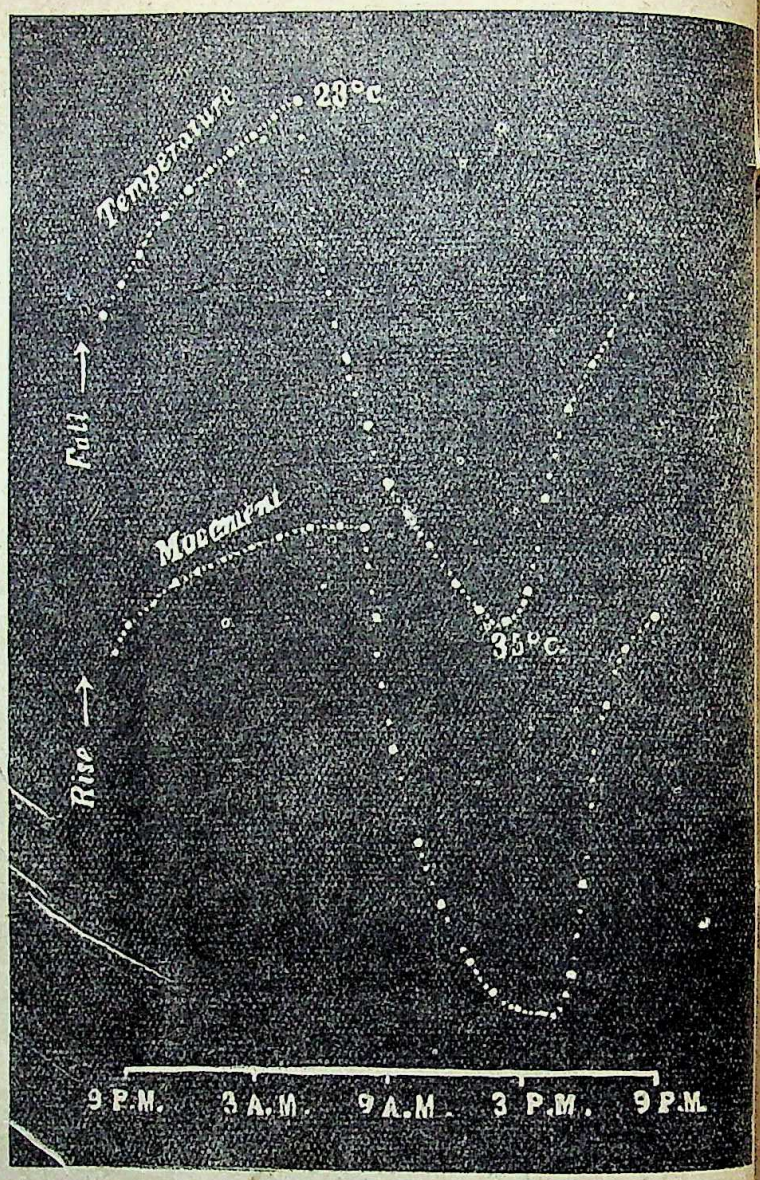

Fig. 3. Record of the Praying Palm (*Phanix dactylifera*). Thermographic curve is given in the upper record; diurnal curve of movement of the tree is given in the lower. Successive dots at intervals of 15 minutes.

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GLEANINGS

Phenomenal Drawings of Soldiers by a Thirteen-year-old Italian.

ROMANO DAZZI SEES THEM IN THE "MOVIES" FAR FROM THE BATTLEFRONT.

How the "movies" have inspired a thirteen-year-old Italian boy to draw the most remarkable pictures of Italian soldiers in action yet published is recounted in the Italian weekly *L'Illustrazione Italiana* of Milan. The boy is Romano Dazzi, son of a Carrara sculptor of Roman origin. Romano is a born draftsman and an artistic prodigy. He has been busy drawing since the age of three. Altho his life has been spent in Carrara, the traditional home of marble and monuments, the boy has always detested sculpture and hated marble. He expresses a distaste of art schools and academies. He is interested only in drawing men in movement, especially Italian soldiers. Yet he has never been near the Italian front. He has never witnessed those amazingly life-like fusiliers and grenadiers he shows in the thick of battle. That is, he has seen them only in the cinematograph. His art school is the "movies." The results lead one to reconsider the question of the real value of the modern academic art school with its rules and regulations, its professors, models, medals, contests and titles.

A DEAD COMRADE : BY ROMANO DAZZI.

Fatigue, exhaustion, and pathos are brilliantly suggested.

At the age of three, Romano was discovered seated at a marble-topped kitchen-table drawing with great industry. He was asked to draw a horse. "What kind of a horse?" the child is said to have replied—"Greek horse, race-horse, or omnibus?" He drew all three, showing a phenomenal analysis of motion; but the Greek horse seemed to suggest motion rather than portray it. It was a copy of a statue from the Panathenic processions.

"Another curious characteristic long observed by the family is that the vehicle through which he expresses his thought has passed through the same phases of development as that invented and developed by the human race. His early drawings were line pictures expressing or indicating ideas rather than nature. To him the walls, roof and windows did not mean a house, but his own house, his home. A man walking, always shown in several distinct positions, did not mean several men, or even a man, but his own father.

He will see the same picture a dozen times before he puts pencil to paper, and will then sit up in bed all night drawing lines which, like the proof-sheets of Balzac, meaningless at first, reveal in their last expression of coherence the completed story.

"Very often his mother, coming to call him for breakfast, finds him still hard at work, with the

OVER THE TOP : BY ROMANO DAZZI.

A study of movement.

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bed-cover strewn with hundreds of sheets of paper, each by the lines thereon indicating a definite stage in the development of the picture the boy is just finishing. Usually these sketches may be divided into three categories—indices of form or body, perspective, and

FALLING SOLDIER

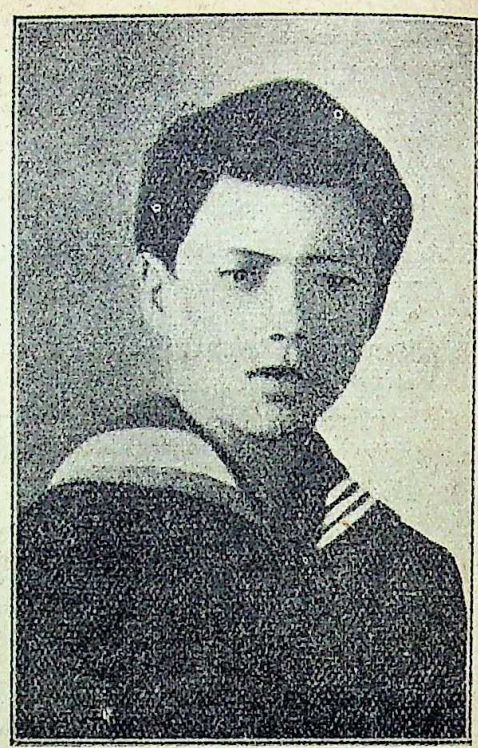
Romano Dazzi's schoolbooks are said to be crowded with drawings as vivid and poignant as this one.

motion, these last bearing not the slightest resemblance to the picture in hand.

"On such occasions his mother will say: 'Come,

WOUNDED.

Here is a powerful drawing by Romano Dazzi, not made from life, but as a result of a prolonged study of motion-pictures.



ROMANO DAZZI.

Ramano Dazzi's sole art teacher has been the "picture palace" at Carrara, Italy, far, but not too far, from the Italian fighting front.

Romano, it is almost school-time,' well knowing what the answer will be:

"'Mamma mia, why should I go to school when I learn nothing about my drawing there?'"

The secret of Romano Dazzi's phenomenal accomplishment lies in the development of the boy's visual memory. He has not developed this power of visualization consciously, but through long practice and instinctively. Flowers, leaves, fruits, still life and animals had all been studied by Romano at an early age. But always his interest has been in the movements of living creatures, both animals and men. But he has been attracted most of all to what seems to him the supreme form of human life—the soldier.

"There in the cinema, silent, in the darkness, pressed back against his seat like a spring in a box, with only his alert intelligent head stretching out toward the luminous screen, his eyes opened wide, his nostrils quivering, his mouth open as the athirst, and pushing back a stray blond lock from his forehead every once in a while, Romano Dazzi watches the war. Or rather, he watches soldiers in the thick of the fight. The landscape is sad, livid, smoky, flat, nondescript and without color. But that does not matter to him. He notes every action, every expression, every movement of the infantry, the artillery, the marines. He studies all their guns, all their trappings and uniforms. The officials do not interest him; they are like townspeople, peaceful people. But the soldier who is under fire, who is advancing or retreating, who is fighting or who is dying—this is his god. To Romano such a soldier is a holy martyr, a man who is giving everything, doing everything, suffering

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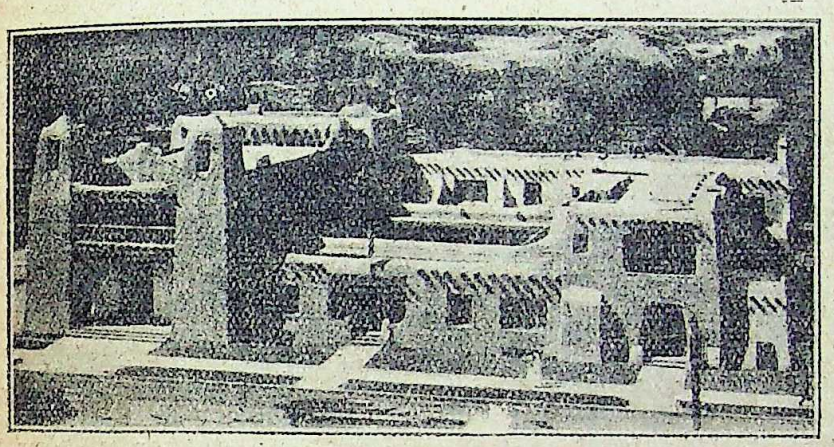
everything and working miracles. Here is the apparition that electrifies him, elevates him, captures him and pervades his very being."—*Current Opinion.*

A New Museum of Art which is one hundred per cent. American

THE MUSEUM IN SANTA FE, NEW MEXICO, IS A TREASURE OF ORIGINAL AND ABORIGINAL AMERICANISM

The new Santa Fe Museum in New Mexico, recently finished and opened under the direction of the School of American Research is an American art museum that is completely American—American in its origin and American in its aims. An entire number of *Art and Archæology* is devoted to this splendid achievement and the tributes paid to it by distinguished artists and architects. It is based upon the architectural "folklore" of New Mexico. Six of the ancient Franciscan mission churches, three hundred years old, are reproduced in its facades, without destroying the unity of its appearance.



SANTA FE MUSEUM : ST. FRANCIS AUDITORIUM AND ART GALLERIES

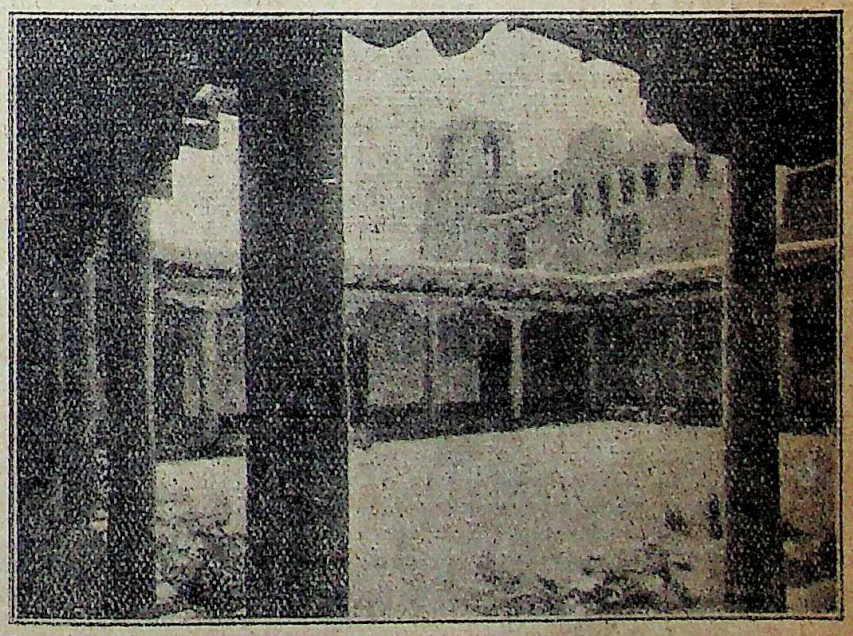
Variety and absolute lack of repetition are to be noted in this telling facade.

The outlines of the new museum are terraced, plastic, flowing. There are no hard and stiff plumb lines or levels, no exact repetitions or parallelisms, such as mark the California mission style. The symmetry is that of mass, not of exact form. In whatever direction one looks, there is a different architectural composition, a varying pattern or design. In these the dazzling sunlight and massive shadows of New Mexico have a determining part.

"It is in reality a free-hand architecture, with the living quality of a sculptor's work; and that pliant, unaffected and unconfined beauty—is nature's contribution to the final product. Through this contribution, too, the architecture is unique in bearing the closest relation to the surrounding landscape. In this sense it is complete, having attained perfection through the absence of that precision upon which all other architecture seems to depend. Its character is as dependent on the absence of precision as is the beauty of natural architectural forms abundant in this vicinity. In the surrounding mesas and valleys these architectural forms of nature, produced by erosion on time-hardened clay and sand-stone, often bear a startling resemblance to great cathedrals. Those who have never recognized that quality produced by the same forces of nature on similar material in the New-Mexico missions can hardly escape its significance when brought face to face with the original, and the architect who does not recognize this relation should never attempt an expression of this architecture, since its most vital quality is beyond his reach."

It is rich in combinations and fascinating in the possibilities it offers, but it is of the greatest importance that its purity should be protected. Its dignity and beauty depend on this purity and simplicity. Since its influence has already been great in the new architecture of the Southwest, it is well to remember that alien features should be avoided.

"Character, in this architecture, is not skin-deep; it must be modeled into the bulk as it is built. An uneven coat of plaster, as is often suggested, over rigidly-constructed surfaces and outlines, will not give it. A timidly formal imitation of a few interesting features of the original will not express character. The builder who will use viga tips and sawn capitals in rigid formality under a slant shingle



SANTA FE MUSEUM : THE PATIO.

This is one of the most charming and beautiful features of pueblo architecture, beautifully reincarnated in the museum at Santa Fe, New Mexico.

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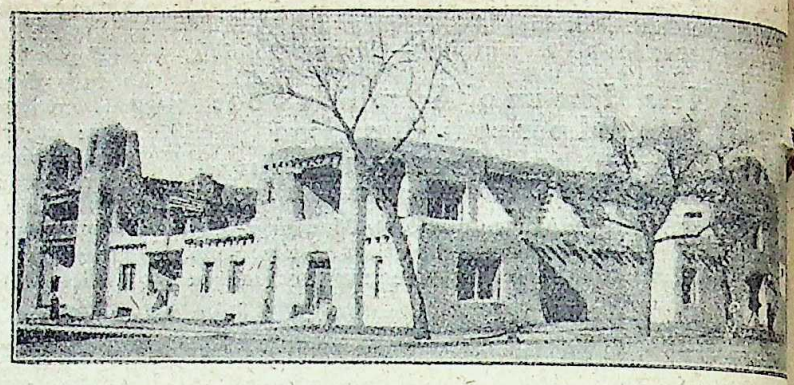
or tin roof is expressing in new building the tragedy that has overtaken some of the old mission and native architecture.

"It seems that a frank expression of the original, a practical reproduction of the best that it has to offer, requires more courage than some builders possess. That training which concentrates on the machine-like precision of factory quality in architecture is most fatal to either courage or appreciation. The architect who is to be successful with it need not ignore mathematics, but he must not allow mathematical precision to interfere where it has no place and where its absence is essential. He should have in his make-up something of the sculptor, for he is dealing with a freedom of sculptural form which no other type includes, and upon which the greatest charm of this type depends. Its adaptation to domestic, ecclesiastic and civic purposes need not bring about confusion. Its success along these lines depends upon the careful avoidance of Spanish Colonial and other alien features That it is adequate as well as adaptable in its own characteristic simplicity has been demonstrated in building.



SANTA FE MUSEUM, A FREE-HAND ARCHITECTURE.

Rigidity has been avoided, but artifice and artificiality are likewise necessary as the north view indicates.

"That it is not likely to be extensively adopted elsewhere adds to its value as a sectional development in its native environment. Besides representing the only architecture in America having its foundation in the prehistoric time of its locality, it is an expression of our earliest history and it still bears the closest possible relation to its surroundings in modern times, even to the extent of being adaptable to modern uses. There is no other architecture within the limits of the United States in which all this holds true."

The new museum has been the result of a co-operative community spirit, a revival of that time when architecture and art were a communal thing. Not the least part of its significance lies in the great past the building includes:

"It is one of the most significant that has been built anywhere. Its architecture is that of the Franciscan missions of New Mexico, inaugurated three hundred years ago. We must go back over the ages six centuries of time, seven thousand miles of distance, by way of Mexico and Spain to Assisi in Italy, the home of St. Francis, if we would follow that historic thread to its origin. That trial is marked by superhuman devotion. We might call it 'The Way of the Martyrs,' and this a monument to their memory.

"Again, the New-Mexico missions were built by the hands of Indian workmen. Into them was wrought the character of that remarkable race. Their buildings came from the soil. You see their architecural motives in the mesas and cliffs on which and of which their towns were built. The long history of that race is in this building. It is a tribute to their life in nature."

The cultural influence of the Santa Fe Museum, in the few months it has been opened, has been great. Since its dedication six months ago, it has become an ideal community center. The Red Cross, councils of defense and other war activities of New Mexico have made it their home and meeting place. There have been twelve special art exhibitions held in it, forty-one lectures given, and no less than 15,000 visitors from the outside world. Since the new building has been erected, it has served as an architectural model for State and public buildings, churches, blocks, schools and homes, all giving New Mexico and especially Santa Fe a distinctive and appropriate architecture.

The Santa Fe and Taos art centers are nearly and include artists of national and international repute. Their work is exhibited in the new museum. Santa Fe is thus coming to look upon herself as the center of "a new art movement, as thoroly American as the architecture of the building itself—the first truly American school of art."

"The new Museum is a wonder. . . . Santa Fe can become a race spot in all the world. Nearly all—one might say all—cities and towns strive to be like each other and not to be like themselves. Under this surprising present influence, Santa Fe is striving to be its own beautiful self. Of course there are negative influences which combat, but the beautiful thing has taken root, and the Museum has grown in its beauty and it is likely that it will spread its healthy kind.

"Most museums are glum and morose temples looking homesick for the skies and associations of their native land—Greece, most likely. The Museum here looks as tho it were a precious child of the Santa Fe sky and the Santa Fe mountains. It has its parents' complexion. It seems warmly at home as if it had always been here. Without any need of the treasures of art which are to go into it, it is a treasure of art in itself; art of this time and this place, of these people and related to all the past. My hope is that it will shame away the bungalows with which a few mistaken tastes have tried to make Los Angeles of Santa Fe, and the false fronts which other mistaken tastes have tried to make New York of Santa Fe. Santa Fe may do the rare thing and become *Itself*.

"The painters are all happy. The climate seems to suit well both temperaments—to work or not to work. And here painters are treated with that welcome and appreciation that is supposed to exist only in certain places in Europe."

—*Current Opinion*

A Spartan School

By H. Nakamura

(Director of the Seikei School)

A good many Japanese educationists visit Europe and America for the purpose of perfecting their ideas on education: in fact they appear to think that

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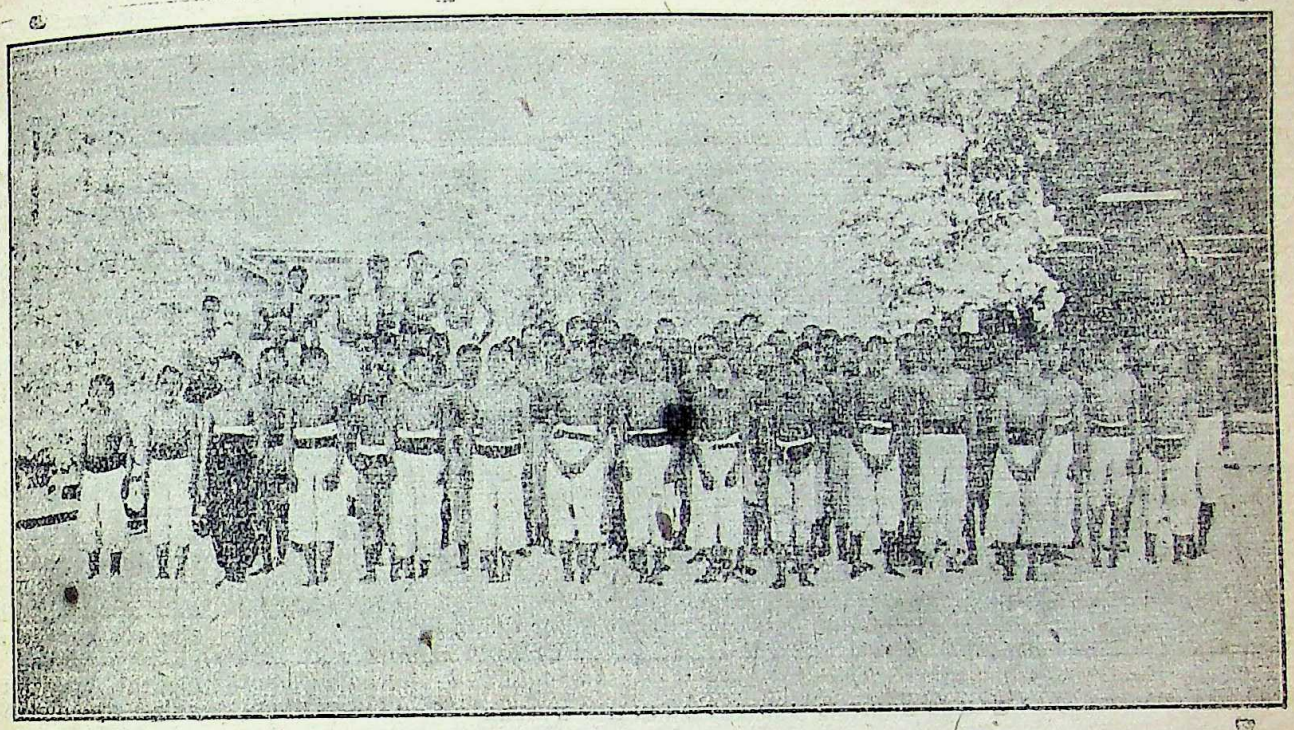

GOING THROUGH SCHOOL GYMNASTICS NAKED IN MID WINTER.

man cannot be a true educationist unless he has come under the tutelage of western methods. Now, while I admit that one may gain some help by studying occidental methods of education, it must also be conceded that western education has much to learn from Japan. Education must adapt itself to the countries and the minds it aims to develop; and the best system is that which most efficiently develops the mind to suit its environment. Japan has jewels enough of her own for educational purposes if her educationists were not less bent on finding them than on rummaging in the archives of occidental pedagogs. At any rate the best system for Japan is not a mere imitation of western education.

My conviction is that the best system of education will devote most attention to the spiritual and moral development of the pupil. The Spartan methods which we hear of now and then as being adopted in America and other western countries, for the purpose of developing sufficient mental and physical vigor to withstand all onslaughts has long been in use in Japan. For ages the Japanese youth was obliged to live a Spartan existence, and naturally the rising generation was accustomed to all sorts of mental and physical hardship. The young Japanese could die as easily as he could live, just as circumstances demanded or suggested. As for myself I have always been accustomed to a Spartan system of education.

The Seikei Jitsumu Gakko, of which school I am the director, has a primary, middle and higher commercial girls' departments. For seven years in this institution I have been endeavoring to instil into the minds and bodies of the pupils the spirit and the capacity of endurance. They have been disciplined to withstand successfully the cold of winter and the heat of summer. The seasons of extreme temperature are those best adapted to this severe discipline. This is quite contrary to the general opinion which holds that the best time for school is the Spring and the Autumn. With this idea I am wholly at variance. People receive pleasure or pain from stimulation not because the stimulation itself is pleasant or painful but because the mind subjected to the stimulation feels so. Whether stimuli make the mind distressed or not depend on the mind rather than on the nature of the stimuli. Everything depends on one's frame of mind. One in fear of heat or cold feels much more than one void of such fear. The poor man envies the rich man, but were he to become rich he would not experience the difference of feeling he fancies in his poverty. Hardship is not hardship to the mind prepared to undergo hardship!

This system of education is just what Japan most needs to produce a race of citizens prepared for anything that may come. We must know if we have any knowledge of the world at all, that Japan is bound to have a difficult time of it in future. Her very existence will depend on the spirit of endurance cultivated successfully by her people. The more Spartan we become in our ways the more likely are we to survive the ordeal of the future. A firm and stubborn will may hope to surmount every obstacle. It is this spirit and this system that I am endeavoring to bring my pupils into sympathy with.

During the coldest season of the year all the students in the Seikei Jitsumu Gakko are forced to sit for half an hour naked; the girls are permitted to wear only a single shirt. In the hottest days of summer the opposite policy is adopted and the girls are compelled to work hard in the height of the heat for half an hour in the open sun. No shade or hats are allowed; and they are attired in thick cotton clothes to make them feel the heat all the more. When there is no sun to help out the plan, they are made to sit heavily clothed in a hot, sultry room. To many this method would appear to be too severe; but the pupils take pleasure in it. When they stand naked in the open and expose their bodies to the piercing winds of winter the warm blood rushes to the surface of the body and circulation is pleasantly

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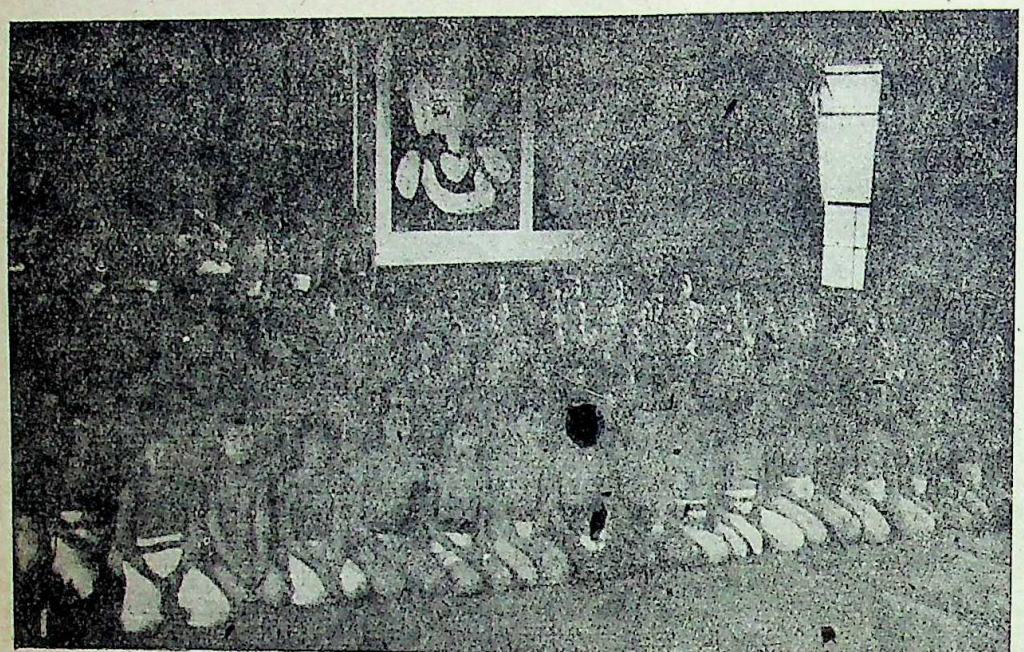

NAKED MORNING MEDITATION IN MID WINTER.

stimulated. It is to them what the cold bath is to the European, only better. Similarly the torrid sun stimulates their flesh to vital vigor.

In western countries food investigation forms an important subject, and people are always thinking about how to obtain the best food. But the quality of the food will not improve the mind or the health even. The rich eat the best food, so called, but they are by no means the healthiest specimens of humanity either physically or mentally. Nor can they show the same longevity as the poor with their less nourishing diet. In Japan the priests of the Zen sect are vegetarians and from a modern point of view eat the least nourishing food, but their health is almost invariably good and their lives usually long. Food investigation is all right provided the proper frame of mind is not neglected in those for whom the food is intended. The food cannot do its work if the mind is defective. This is an aspect of education peculiar to the Orient. When one is really hungry even a cup of cold water causes stimulation; but to the contrary increases illhealth.

Athletics for the purpose of physical stimulation and development are all right in their place; but still more important it is to have the body in a state of development that is able to extract the necessary nourishment from the most ordinary food. For this purpose my pupils make strenuous excursions and practice fasting, sometimes from three to five days. The beginners naturally feel a good deal of distress; but they soon learn that they really have been accustomed to too much food, and find a pleasant difference in being freed from overnourishment. To take more nourishment than the body can absorb is to overtax the secretary organs and induce disease. Fasting for the sake of rest is good: it makes the brain clear and the body ready to respond to the stimulation of food.

The same principles I apply to mental nourishment; and thus I do away with the cramming system which is such an injury to education. Cramming the mind with enormous quantities of undigested and indigestible facts is as unscientific and wicked as cramming the st mach with food the same quanti and nature, and t result is just t same on the mi We teach our st dents to think a to apply the tru and facts present to them. The pupi own ability is call upon to act and l bour to some en My educational po cy feeds the mind exactly the sa way as it feeds t body: that is, wh it is hungry a ready to respo to stimulation. T true teacher mu create mental hung and appetite. Th the student is n only anxious f mental food but able to digest when he gets t

Thus his mental and spiritual health is n only maintained but strengthened and at t same time proper development goes steadily on. M students are obliged to practice periods of meditatio and mental concentration just like the Zen priest Every morning for half an hour they sit in a roo taking deep breathing exereises and expanding n only their lungs but their diaphrams. Thus the become inured to environment and incapable being affected by outside things.

The above is the barest outline as to the ma principles of my system of education. I am convin ed that the kind of citizens required to face t future successfully are those of immovable spir and strong body. I believe that if this method education be adopted widely in our country it w yet produce great men able to accomplish so notable deeds for the State by the supreme sacrif of themselves. I am indeed hopeful that some su characters will come from among the students of m school. Perhaps I may appropriately close by givi the daily time-table which my school follows:

5.00 a.m. Rising bangi. All pupils then rise a clean their rooms.

5.30 a.m. All pupils appear in the yard, whe the director leads them in a race until all a fatigued, after which comes deep breathing a meditation, with prayer for the Imperial family.

7.30 a.m. All pupils follow the Director int school hall for the regular half-hour's meditatio after which they sing a song entitled: "Power Mind."

8.00 a.m. to 4.00 p.m. Regular school lessons.
5.00 p.m. Supper.
6.00 to 8.00 p m. Preparation of lessons.
8.00 p.m. Enter room for meditation.
10.00 p.m. All say good night and retire, puttin lights out.

In the hottest season beginning July 23 th school takes what is called summer instruction, wi first a week's excursion. In August the school h lessons from 7.00 a.m. to 11.00 a.m. and Meditatio at 1.00 p.m. attired in heavy winter garment

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known as the thick-clothes meditation. At 2.00 p.m. pupils go in their bare feet and bare heads. By supper time every one is real hungry and ready to enjoy the food given in the school dining room. By the hour of the bath all are in good condition to enjoy the water. The pupils of my school are remarkably healthy and the best part of my system is that it is rational and works well.

—*The Japan Magazine.*

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

PERSONALITY : LECTURES DELIVERED IN AMERICA, *by Sir Rabindranath Tagore. With illustrations, Macmillan & Co., 1917. Extra Crown 8vo, pp. 184. 5s. net.*

1. These lectures are six in number and come under the following heads : What is Art, The World of Personality, The Second Birth, My School, Meditation, Woman. There are some excellent illustrations of the author in the flowing drapery of an Eastern Sannyasi or a Hebrew Prophet. The lectures deal with the spirit and the soul of man and are full of profound thoughts expressed in a beautifully suggestive and poetic style which reveals the intense spirituality of the author, and the poet and the thinker who through sheer force of genius has gained a worldwide celebrity. It would be impossible to give an adequate idea of the many gems of thought interspersed throughout the book within the space at our disposal, but we shall quote a few and leave the reader to judge what a rich and plentious store can be gathered from the pages of the book itself.

2. "Man has a fund of emotional energy which is not all occupied with his self-preservation. This surplus seeks its outlet in the creation of Art, for man's civilisation is built upon his surplus... The man who has a strong religious feeling not only worships his deity with all care, but his religious personality craves, for its expression, the splendour of the temple, the rich ceremonials of worship."

3. "In India, our places of pilgrimage are there, where in the confluence of the river and the sea, in the eternal snow of the mountain peak, in the lonely sea-shore, some aspect of the infinite is revealed which has its great voice for one heart, and there man has left in his images and temples, in his carvings of stone, these words,—'Hearken to me, I have known the Supreme Person.' "

4. The world of personality is different from the world of sense, and it is from the former that all creation proceeds. The world of sense and mind "becomes completely our own when it comes within the range of our emotions... We are great or small, according to the magnitude and littleness of this assimilation, according to the quality of its sum total. If this world were taken away, our personality would lose all its content." "What is it in man that asserts its immortality in spite of the obvious fact of death ? It is not his physical body or his mental organisation. It is that deeper unity, that ultimate mystery in him, which, from the centre of his world, radiates towards its circumference... It is the personality of man, conscious of its inexhaustible abundance ; it has the paradox in it that it is more than itself : it is more than as it is seen, as it is known, as it is used. And this consciousness of the infinite, in the personal man, ever strives to make its expressions immortal and to make the whole world its own." The Vedantic note which the author strikes here is developed in other passages, and more particularly in the chapter on meditation where the author takes the Gayatri and some other wellknown verses of the Upanishads as the text of his sermon. "... the infinite is not a mere matter of philosophical speculation to India ; it is as real to her as the sunlight... In India the greater part of our literature is religious, because God with us is not a distant God ; He belongs to our homes, as well as to our temples. We feel His nearness to us in all the human relationship of love and affection, and in our festivities He is the chief guest whom we honour. In seasons of flowers and fruits, in the coming of the rain, in the fulness of the autumn, we see the hem of His mantle and hear His footsteps. We worship Him in all the true objects of our worship and love Him wherever our love is true. In the woman who is good we feel Him, in the man who is true we know Him, in our children He is born again and again, the eternal child. Therefore religious songs are our love songs, and our domestic occurrences, such as the birth of a son, or the coming of the daughter from her husband's house to her parents, and her departure again, are woven in our literature as a drama whose counterpart is in the divine." "Life is perpetual creation ; it has its truth when it outgrows itself in the infinite. But when it stops and accumulates and turns back to itself, when it has lost its outlook upon the beyond, then it must die."

5. "The travail of birth is upon all humanity—its history is the history of suffering such as no animal can ever realise. All its energies are urging it forward ; it has no rest. When it goes to sleep upon its prosperity, binds its life in codes of convention, begins to scoff at its ideals, and wants to withdraw all its forces towards the augmentation of self, then it shows signs of death ; its very power becomes the power of destruction...'

6. "In our spiritual attainment gaining and giving are the same thing ; as in a lamp, to light itself is the same as to impart life to others. When a man makes it his profession to preach God to others, then he will raise the dust more than give direction to truth. Teaching of religion can never be imparted in the form of lessons, it is there where there is religion in living. Therefore the ideal of the forest colony of the seekers of God as the true school of spiritual life holds good even in this age. Religion is not a fractional thing that can be doled out in fixed weekly or daily measures as one among various

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subjects in the school syllabus. It is the truth of our complete being, the consciousness of our personal relationship with the infinite; it is the true centre of gravity of our life."

7. The defects of the present system of education are thus touched upon: The regular type of schools "forcibly snatches away children from a world full of the mystery of God's own handiwork, full of the suggestiveness of personality. It is a mere method of discipline which refuses to take into account the individual. It is a manufactory specially designed for grinding out uniform results... We may become powerful by knowledge, but we attain fullness by sympathy. The highest education is that which does not merely give us information but makes our life in harmony with all existence. But we find that this education of sympathy is not only systematically ignored in schools, but it is severely repressed. From our very childhood habits are formed and knowledge is imparted in such a manner that our life is weaned away from nature and our mind and the world are set in opposition from the beginning of our days." "I, for my part, believe in the principle of life, in the soul of man, more than in methods. I believe that the object of education is the freedom of mind which can only be achieved through the path of freedom—though freedom has its risk and responsibility as life itself has. I know it for certain, though most people seem to have forgotten it, that children are living beings,—more living than grown up people, who have built their shells of habit around them. Therefore it is absolutely necessary for their mental health and development that they should not have mere schools for their lessons, but a world whose guiding spirit is personal love. It must be an *Ashram* where men have gathered for the highest end of life, in the peace of nature; where life is not merely meditative, but fully awake in its activities, where boys' minds are not being perpetually drilled into believing that the ideal of the self-idolatry of the nation is the truest ideal for them to accept; where they are bidden to realise man's world as God's kingdom to whose citizenship they have to aspire; where the sunrise and sunset and the silent glory of stars are not daily ignored; where nature's festivities of flowers and fruits have their joyous recognition from man; and where the young and old, the teacher and the student, sit at the same table to partake of their daily food and the food of their eternal life."

8. Sir Rabindranath fervently believes that materialism is a passing phase, a sort of necessary halfway house, to the world's further progress in the path of spiritual development. "Often things look hideously materialistic, and shamelessly belie man's own nature. But the day will come when some of the great powers of nature will be at the beck and call of every individual, and at least the prime necessaries of life will be supplied to all with very little care and cost. To live will be as easy to man as to breathe, and his spirit will be free to create his own world."

9. The following observations on the Delhi Durbar are as true as they are interesting: ".....all true art has its origin in sentiment. Moghal Delhi and Moghal Agra show their human personality in their buildings..... But the British Government in India is not personal. It is official and therefore an abstraction. It has nothing to express in the true language of art. For law, efficiency and exploitation cannot sing themselves into epic stones. Lord Lytton, who unfortunately was gifted with more imagination than was necessary for an Indian Viceroy, tried to copy one of the state functions of the Moghals—the Durbar ceremony. But State ceremonials are works of art. They naturally spring from the reciprocity of personal relationship between the people and their monarch. When they are copies, they show all the signs of the spurious."

10. The following personal note will be read with interest by all admirers of the poet: "Fortunately for me I was brought up in a family where literature, music and art had become instinctive. My brothers and cousins lived in the freedom of ideas, and most of them had natural artistic powers. Nourished in these surroundings, I began to think early and to dream and to put my thoughts into expression. In religious and social ideals our family was free from all convention, being ostracised by society owing to our secession from orthodox beliefs and customs. This made us fearless in our freedom of mind, and we tried experiments in all departments of life. This was the education I had in my early days—freedom and joy in the exercise of my mental and artistic faculties. And because this made my mind fully alive to growth in its natural environment of nutrition, therefore the grinding of the school system became so extremely intolerable to me."

11. The short lecture on woman is as suggestive as the others. Civilization is at present almost exclusively masculine, but the author believes that the feminine element—love and spirituality—will more and more predominate in the civilization of the future. In the woman of the West Sir Rabindranath noticed a certain 'restlessness.' "If, by constantly using outside stimulation, they form something like a mental drug habit, become addicted to a continuous dram-drinking of sensationalism, then they lose the natural high sensibility which they have, and with it the bloom of their womanhood." "Life should be like a lamp where the potentiality of light is far greater than what appears as the flame. It is in the depth of passiveness in woman's nature that the potentiality is stored." "The subtle and unobtrusive beauty of the commonplace" should not lose its charm for her. "When women have lost the power of interest in things that are common, then leisure frightens them with its emptiness, because, the natural sensibilities being deadened, there is nothing in their surroundings to occupy their attention. Therefore they keep themselves frantically busy, not in utilising the time, but merely in filling it up. Our everyday world is like a reed, its true value is not in itself,—but those who have the power and the serenity of attention can hear the music which the Infinite plays through its very emptiness." "The domestic world has been the gift of God to woman. She can extend her radiance of love beyond its boundaries on all sides, and even leave it to prove her woman's nature when the call comes to her. But there is a truth which cannot be ignored, that the moment she is born in her mother's arms, she is born in the centre of her own true world, the world of human relationship." "For God, with his message of love has sent them as guardians of individuals, and, in this their divine vocation, individuals are more to them than army and navy and parliament, shops and factories. Here they have their service in God's own temple of reality, where love is of more value than power,..... The monster car of organization is creaking and growling along life's highway, spreading misery and mutilation..... Therefore woman must come in to the bruised and maimed world of the individual. She must protect with her care all the beautiful flowers of sentiment from the scorching laughter of the spirit of proficiency..... The next civilization

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is hoped, will be based not merely upon economical and political competition and exploitation but upon worldwide social co-operation; upon spiritual ideals of reciprocity, and not upon economic ideals of efficiency. And then women will have their true place..... Woman can bring her fresh mind and all her power of sympathy to this new task of building up a spiritual civilization....." We must not forget that the author was addressing specially the woman of the West. In the East, we know how much her spiritual mission is starved for want of education and its consequence, a broad and adequate outlook on life. Perhaps the proper solution, in this as in so many other things, will be found in the answer that the civilisations of the East and the West are complementary to each other and a hermonious blending of both is essential for the evolution of perfected humanity.

KANARESE LITERATURE: *The Heritage of India Series by Edward P. Rice, B.A. Oxford University Press.*

The editors of the series write a general Preface from which we learn that "to every book [of the series] two tests are rigidly applied: everything must be scholarly, and everything must be sympathetic." The history of Kanarese literature has been divided, according to the religious system dominant at each particular period, into the Jaina, Lingayat, Vaishnava, and Modern periods. "The most striking illustration of the self-repressive character of Jainism is the vow of *sallekhana*..... When old age, incurable disease, sore bereavement, disappointment, or any other cause, had taken away the joy of living, many resolute Jainas, like the Stoics of the West, would hasten Yama's tardy footsteps by taking the vow of euthanasia..... From the earliest Christian centuries until the nineteenth century the practice has survived." Vaishnavism was popularised in Southern India by mendicant singers known as *Dasas*, who derived their inspiration from Madhvacharya and Chaitanya who visited Southern India about 1510. "In North India, through the teaching of Ramananda, who was inspired by Ramanuja, and seconded by Kabir (1500) and Tulasi Das (c. 1600), it was the worship of Rama and his consort Sita that obtained dominance. In South India, through the influence of Madhvacharya, and in Bengal and Mathura, through the influence of Chaitanya (early sixteenth century), who derived his inspiration from Madhvacharya, it was Krishna and his mistress Radha, that gained by far the widest devotion. This is a matter for regret, as the sensual imagery used by the votaries of Krishna has degraded religious conceptions, and introduced into the homes and minds of the people a most pernicious element from which the worship of Rama is free." Tipu Sultan destroyed many valuable Kanarese manuscripts. Sarvajnya, (c. 1760) who occupies much the same place in Kanarese literature as Tukaram does in Marathi, wrote verses on the futility of caste, pilgrimage, ignorant worship, &c. In the modern period, dramatic works of a superior order are being produced, and novels, mostly reproductions from English or Bengali (Bankim Chandra Chatterjea) are becoming increasingly popular. The Kannada Sahitya Parishad was started in 1915 under the auspices of the Mysore Government. The Kanarese country has produced men of transcendant genius who wrote mostly in Sanskrit, *e.g.*, Sankaracharya, Madhavacharya Bilhana, Vijnaneswara, Madhvacharya, and his brother Sayana, and others. The author notes some characteristics of Kanarese literature, *e.g.*, (1) the writers are almost entirely religious. "The history is mostly sacred history or hagiology; the works of imagination centre round puranic and mythological subjects.' (2) The great bulk of the literature has been in verse. (3) *Slesha*, double entendre, punning abounds, and stock metaphors, drawn from the lotus. &c., are too common. (4) "One misses in India the poetry of pure human love, which forms so large and rich an element in the literature of the West. This is partly due to the very inferior position accorded to woman; but it is also largely due to the fact that marriages are arranged and consummated in very early life, so that neither men nor women ordinarily pass through that beautiful and romantic period of courtship, with all its mutual reverence, shyness, and mystery, which is natural to full grown unwedded youth. The practice of early marriage, it is true, safeguards youth from many serious dangers. But its unfortunate effect on literature is that the sweet heart is replaced by the courtesan; and instead of the healthy sentiment of a pure love we have nauseous passages of erotic description, which disfigure a very large proportion of the poetical writings. Against this may perhaps be set touching examples of wifely fidelity, such as Sita and Damayanti." (5) Kanarese writers "have as yet contributed extremely little to the stock of the world's knowledge and inspiration..... They are dominated by the depressing conception of life as either an endless and unprogressive round of transmigration or a quest of the tranquil dreamless sleep of nirvana. Hence a lack of that which stimulates hope and inspires to great enterprises..... Among their writers one looks in vain for any rousing moral preacher comparable to... ...the Great Greeks and Romans, or such modern writers as Ruskin, Tolstoi, and Carlyle..... But a new and vitalising force has now entered the land. The people are learning the new truth..... that life is an education for something better, that self-sacrificing service of the brotherhood of mankind is nobler than a selfish asceticism....."

The book is neatly printed, and is embellished with a literary map of Southern India, and an excellent Index.

THE PROBLEMS OF GREATER INDIA: *by K. M. Panikkar. Published by the Editor, "Indian Emigrant," Madras. Price Re. 1. 1916.*

This is a prize essay, divided into three parts, named the Economic, Political and Social aspects of Indian Colonisation. The book is well-written and contains evident marks of a thorough study of the problem. It is written from the point of view of Aggressive Hinduism and therefore smells of sectarianism, for though Hinduism is interpreted in a very liberal sense, we must not forget that in the Colonies there are both Mahomedans and Hindus. Incidentally we notice that a Colonial Trade Bureau has been established in Madras with headquarters at the 'Indian Emigrant' office, and the paper seems to be doing a lot of useful work.

A NOTE ON FEMALE EDUCATION IN INDIA: *by Gopal Krishna Devadhar, M.A., Senior Member, Servants of India Society. Price annas two.*

INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS, *their scope and object. Price anna one.*

Two very useful pamphlets.

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THE FARCE OF LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT IN SIND. *The Sind Publishing House, Hyderabad.*

Q.

THE DANCE OF SIVA: *Fourteen Indian Essays by Ananda Coomaraswamy, with 28 plates. The Sunrise Turn, Inc. (New York).*

A pious revivalist as he is, Mr. Coomaraswamy has attempted to imitate the eccentricities of the God Siva, the Eternal Eccentric, in naming and launching his latest collection of essays. Of the fourteen essays, seven are devoted to Indian Art, four to Mr. Coomaraswamy's interpretation of the culture-history of India and three essays to miscellaneous topics: We shall confine our attention to the first and second group of essays as really characteristic of the renowned writer.

The essays in the above two groups introduce the author with all his strength and limitation. Mr. Coomaraswamy is an *artist* by temperament and a *revivalist* by principle and profession. The guardian Deity of his book has turned his benign face (Dakhinam mukham) on one group and his capriciously fierce face (Rudram mukham) on the other. Indeed the shades of the Dancing God loom largely on the pages of the volume.

In the four essays: "What has India contributed to human welfare," "Status of Indian Women," "Sahaja" and "Young India," we find Coomaraswamy of ten years back—of the "Art and Swadeshi" period—the same passionate self-assertion on behalf of India in the Parliament of Humanity, the same dogmatic justification of every Indian social norm and convention like the Caste and the Purdah system, the same blind tendency to mystify the world with mystic interpretation of historic cults and customs and the same contempt for the so-called intellectual parasites of modern India. Though illumined here and there by occasional flashes of genuine historic intuition, and incisive criticism, as a whole, these essays are the most palpably partisan and hence the least profitable to sober students of the culture-history of India. There is more of Coomaraswamy than Indian culture in these papers.

With a sigh of relief we leave Coomaraswamy the Revivalist to attend to Coomaraswamy the Artist. The seven essays in this department show him at his best: Three essays on general Indian Æsthetics, three on Indian Sculpture and Iconography and one essay on Indian Music. The paper on Music though brilliant is confined mainly to the comparison of Indian music with the European one. It is thought provoking but tantalizing. What we expect from a life-long student of plastic art like him was a concrete visualisation of our Indian musical modes: a comparison not so much of the musical technique as of the melodic evolution of India and Europe—the *thats* (ठाट) of our Ragas and Raginis with their *sequence of chords* and other harmonic manifestations. The pictorial reproduction of the Todi Ragini तोड़ी (plate XIX) of the Rajput School of painting is simply superb. The joyous awakening of the Earth by the innumerable luminous kisses of the Sky, the mutual greeting of the articulate and the inarticulate through music, the mystic language of the universe, Todi तोड़ी the Hymn incarnate of Awakening, is reproduced with a fidelity and a fire that is really unique.

The three essays on general Indian Aesthetics introduce us to some of his maturest reflections on Art. The paper entitled "That beauty is a state," though appearing in the form of an intensely personal æsthetic musing is undoubtedly the most universal of all his essays, sober well-balanced and inspiring. Herein he thoroughly fulfils the obligation of the "*true critic*" (rasika) "who perceives the beauty of which the artist has exhibited the signs..... every work of art is a *Kamadhenu*, yielding many meanings." In his paper on the Hindu "Theory of Beauty" he narrowly escapes the danger of subjective theorizing through the strong and healthy counter attraction of the objective work on Indian Alankara especially the Dasarupaka of Dhananjaya (धनञ्जय) which he has freely utilised in the American university translation. But there are great *Sahitya-rathis* other than Dhananjaya and we wish Mr. Coomaraswamy would read them in the original and interpret them in the light of his penetrating æsthetic vision. His want of firsthand information about the vast Alankara literature of ancient India has made his historical review of Indian artistic evolution, incomplete, abrupt and superficial. The whole range of Vedic and early Buddhist art concept, he the labels as *hedonistic*. The days of such sweeping generalisations and despotism of '*isms*' are fast passing away. We want thorougher analysis to reach deeper synthesis. "The early Buddhist art was necessarily the popular Brahmanical art and animistic art of the day, adapted to Buddhist requirements. The only exception to this rule is the special phase of Early Buddhist art which is represented by the capital of the Asoka columns, of which the forms are *not merely non-Buddhist, but of extra-Indian origin*." Such hasty conclusions are being corrected every day in the light of later discoveries in archæology and better understanding and interpretation of the Indian art norms. For the present the author, in spite of his intense nationalism, unconsciously plays into the hands of a generation of pseudo-scientific dilettante and charlatans in Indian art who are busy explaining everything in terms of Extra-Indian (if not distinctly European at least Persian ?) art development.

This generation of æsthetic parasites has been very ably put to shame by his brilliant and intensive study of certain aspects of Indian Sculpture and Iconography. The narrowness in scope has been amply compensated by acuteness of observation and veracity of interpretation. "The Buddhist Premitives" and "Indian images with many arms" are crushing answers to Philistines in the domain of Indology at the same time supreme achievements in art criticism. The shortest paper "The Dance of the Siva" is undoubtedly the best and has deservedly been honoured as lending the title to the book. The æsthetic realisations and rhapsodies of Hindu India, Aryan as well as Dravidian, crystalising round the cosmic Personality of Rudra-Siva have received the ablest exposition at the hand of the author. We conclude this review by drawing his attention to the sublime presentation of the Dancing God by Vishakhadatta:

पादस्याविर्भवन्तीमवनतिमवने रक्षतः खैरपातैः
सङ्कोचेनैव दोष्णां मृदुरभिनयतः सर्व्वलोकातिगानां
दृष्टिं लक्षेषु नेत्रां ज्वलनकनमुचं वध्नतोदाहभीते—
स्त्रिपारातुरीयात् त्रिपुरविजयिनः पातु वो विश्वनृत्यम्।

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THE ARTIC HOME IN THE RIG-VEDA : AN UNTENABLE POSITION, *by Prof. K. Dutt M.A. (Rajshahi).*

The pamphlet embodies an incisive criticism of Mr. B. G. Tilak's theory of the Artic Home of the Aryan Race. Identification of the river systems of the Punjab at the time of Aryan migration leads to certain valuable corrections of errors as to Vedic geography committed by Macdonnel and others. Reconstruction of the history of the Pancha-janah (Five Tribes) and the war of Sudasa, the great Aryan hero, against the 'garrulous' non-Aryans, is brilliant.

KALHAN.

DRINK DISEASE, *by H. Krishna Rao. Published by K. S. Date, Juna Tofkhana, Indore City. Pp. 27.*

This pamphlet embodies a scheme for reducing drunkenness and for gradually putting a stop to the consumption of liquor.

HIS HIGHNESS SIR RAM VARMA, RAJA OF COCHIN, *by A. L. S. (with portraits), pp. 42. Printed and published by the Mangalodayam Co. Ltd. Trichur.*

A Shashtipurthi Souvenir (on the completion of the sixtieth years of age.)—An appreciation.

OUTLINES IN THE TEACHING OF JESUS, FOR THE USE OF SIXTH FORM MASTERS, *by Rev. C. Fanklin Angas. Price As. 5.*

GRADED BIBLE LESSONS FIRST BOOK, *by A. C. Clayton. Price As. 10.*

Both the above mentioned books are published by the Christian Literature Society for India. They are written not to be placed in the hands of the boys, nor to form text books to be directly taught, but rather to furnish teachers with material and reference required for each topic together with suggestions as to method.

Excellent books for teaching orthodox Christianity.

GOD AND MAN : *By P. M. Chowdry. Pp. 175. Price Re. 1. (To be had at 3, Ramanath Mazumdar's Street, Calcutta).*

It contains six lectures by Rev. Bhai P. M. Chowdry of the New Dispensation Church. They were delivered in connection with the anniversaries of the Brahma Samaj and appeared in the weekly "The World and the New Dispensation." The Lectures are on the following subjects :—

(i) The Running Road to Heaven. (ii) What is Peace ? (iii) The Supreme Commandment of God. (iv) Righteousness Exalteth a Nation. (v) The Grandest Discovery of the New Age. (vi) The Glory of Man.

Interesting and edifying.

AN INTRODUCTION TO INDUCTIVE LOGIC, *by Mahajat Sahai, M.A., Lecturer in Logic and English, Agra College. (To be had of Messrs. Ramprasad and Bros., Booksellers, Chauk, Agra). Pp. 157—16—2.*

The book is designed to serve as an introduction to the larger text books dealing with the subject. The author has tried to follow the syllabus laid down for the Intermediate Examination of the University of Allahabad.

It is a useful publication.

THE LIFE AND MISSION OF SAMARTHA RAMDAS, *edited by K. S. Thackeray. Pp. 128—9. Price. As. 12. Published by S. Ramchandra & Co., Bombay, 14.*

Ramdas was the spiritual preceptor of Shivaji. "This unique union of *Swadharma* and *Swarajya* effected a wonderful revival of the whole of the Maratha country..... Had it not been for the sagacious and far-reaching direction of Ramdas, it is a question if Shivaji would have been able to score out the glory of founding an independent Empire."

The book is recommended to those who take delight in "the past glorious Maratha History."

MAHESHCHANDRA GHOSH.

HALF HOURS WITH A MODERN ALCHEMIST. *By B. S. Nirody, B.A. Madras, 1918. Cr. 8vo, 151 pages. Price Rs. 1-8. Library Edition Rs. 2.*

From the preface we learn that the book originally appeared in the Kanarese edition of the Mysore Economic Journal (Artha-sadhaka Patrika) in the form of a serial, and received cordial welcome. It is now rendered into English "mainly with the object of furnishing a medium for publishing it in the other vernaculars of India."

But what does it treat of ? I confess I could not guess until I had read through the first three chapters or 38 pages of the book. For the word alchemy has a definite meaning attached to it, and though we all desire gold, few will care to know the vain attempts of the alchemists, ancient or modern. Sensational names, like sensational advertisements, often miss their object, and the mysterious title will keep away the book from those for whom it is intended. There is certainly enough in the book to excite curiosity and wonder, and the title might have been anything but mysterious.

The book reads like a narrative, and at places like a novel, written in an easy-flowing style. I finished it at one sitting, wondering at the imaginativeness of the author, which finds expression only when one is deeply enamoured with a hobby. Plainly told, it is the story of a graduate of the Madras University, Vasanta Rao by name, who imbibed after long struggle the spirit of his father, a clerk on Rs. 25 a month, and took to the growing of fruit and flower plants, not for pleasure merely, but as a means of livelihood as well. And Vasanta succeeded in producing gold "from this soil, nothing but a few basketfuls of earth and a little water, in hardly three years' time." There is a large yet untrodden field for our graduates who are depressed with the thought that all the openings for a successful career are closed. But I value more the robust optimism of the hero, which sweeps away every obstacle, feigned or real, in the way of success. His spirit is not damped because he has no money to start with, nor by the thought that he has to dwell in a place notorious for malaria. For the former he has the advice from his father to secure whatever He gives, for He gives the best, and for the latter the example of what European planters have done in worse climates.

The book is dedicated to Sir Asutosh Mukherji "for his great services in the cause of Indian education." This will prepare the reader to expect educational matters introduced in the book. In the garb of a narrative the author has found occasions to

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touch upon, and to suggest solutions of, some of the pressing problems of the day, such as the exaction of dowries by bridegroom parties, the qualifications of a bride, the tendency of our school and college girls towards mannishness, the defect of the present university education in being bookish, the training of village school masters, the dignity (or indignity) of manual labour, the question of unemployment, &c., &c. It would therefore be difficult to describe the exact object of the book; whether it is the culture of fruit and flower plants, or of the spirit within us, or even the re-modelling of the social organisation.

Some of these are, however, side-issues, though intimately connected with "the art of making gold" by growing flower and fruit plants. The author tells us what one may do in this line, how to propagate plants by artificial methods, such as layering, inarching, cutting, grafting, budding, &c., and how to rear delicate plants in the plains of India. This is an art, which, like all arts, is to be learnt with patience and perseverance, intelligent observation, and disregard for immediate result. The author has genuine enthusiasm for the work, and though he does not let us know how far he has himself succeeded as a horti-flori-culturist, there is certainly enough in the book to show that he knows what he writes about. By the way, in the recipe for grafting wax, may not Ghee take the place of "beef tallow", which to Hindus is an abomination. The author has wisely avoided the science of plant life, and has confined himself only to the art of plant growing. Apparently he has not tried his hand yet at the allied and enchanting art of plant-breeding. Let us hope his love for the country will impel him to improve the indigenous flowers and fruits. The number is legion; and not only fortune but the satisfaction of doing something for the country are awaiting the pioneers in this new line. One need not be a Burbank, the wizard of America, to give us Indian season flowers. The delicate exotics cannot and do not succeed in the plains of India, and the writer of this review may be pardoned if he says that it is spurious fashion imitating what the Europeans do, and not genuine love of flowers or beauty, that has kept up the business of our nurserymen and seedsmen. Europeans cannot but love *their* daisies and carnations, *their* larkspars and mignonettes; but to us, Indians, it is painful to eschew *our* familiar flowers which surround us and gaze at us with silent reproach wherever we go. The author is not unmindful of our *champaka* and *ketaki*, *sephali* (Nyctanthes) and water-lily; but there is, I am afraid, too much of begonia and gloxinia, rondeletia and verbena. These names will probably scare away the beginners whom the author would like to see enlisted as *malis*. The book is, however, not intended for beginners, and probably not for all classes of readers. But is it after all really necessary to clothe science and art in the garb of fiction so as to popularize them? Such fictions in order to be appreciated pre-suppose some knowledge about them, and often miss the points on which a beginner requires information. At any rate it is difficult for him to distinguish between fact and fiction. For instance one may well ask whether it is possible to grow all the delicious fruits the author mentions, including the Alphonso mango, the Kabul pomegranates in the plains of Madras in hardly three years' time. For fictions are always associated with things out of the ordinary, while the object of this book is just the reverse. It will, however, create a curiosity and a taste for this kind of work. Flori-culture, or even horticulture cannot pay in villages far away from large cities, yet there is no reason why our village people should not make their homes beautiful with natu[illegible] choicest beauty and grow some of the good fruits [illegible] their own consumption. We, therefore, recomme[illegible] the book to all lovers of flowers and fruits, a[illegible] especially to those young men who are in search [illegible] pleasant yet useful work. We are glad to see that t[illegible] book has been recommended as a prize and libra[illegible] book for schools by at least three Governments. Tra[illegible] lations into the vernaculars of the country, if well e[illegible] cuted by competent persons, adapting parts to lo[illegible] conditions, possibly adding local colouring and [illegible] punging the few love touches which are out of pla[illegible] in a book like this will undoubtedly prove useful.

J. C. R[illegible]

THE BOOK OF THE KINDRED SAYIN[illegible] (SANYUTTA-NIKAYA) OR GROUPED SUTTAS. PART [illegible] *Translated by Mrs. Rhys Davids, M.A., assisted [illegible] Suriyagoda Sumangala Thera, published for [illegible] Pali Text Society by the Oxford University Pr[illegible] London. Pp. xvi + 321. Price 10s. net.*

The original Pali of the Sanyutta-Nikaya of t[illegible] Suttapitaka, vol. I, edited by the late Leon Feer a[illegible] peared in the Pali Text Society's Series in 1884, a[illegible] the present work is its English translation forming [illegible] volume of the Translation Series of that Society. [illegible] is too well-known to say what Mr. and Mrs. Rh[illegible] Davids have done in the field of Pali learning. It [illegible] owing not to a small extent to their efforts in vario[illegible] directions that the study of Pali has reached its pr[illegible] sent position.

As may be expected from Mrs. Rhys Davids h[illegible] present translation is faithful and scholarly. B[illegible] sometimes, here and there, it does not appear to [illegible] to be quite clear or adequate. For instance, the o[illegible] ginal "'वेदान्तगू वूसित ब्रह्मचरियो..." (Text, VII. 1. [illegible] is translated "Of saving lore Master..."' (p. 21[illegible] This is not a good translation. The word वेदा[illegible] is a rare one in Pali literature, and it undoubte[illegible] means the well-known Vedanta philosophy, thou[illegible] the Pali commentators may take it for 'Four Path[illegible] "चत्तारो मग्गे" as they sometimes have explained [illegible] word वेद, too, (as in वेदगू) in the same way. Th[illegible] Buddha was a great Vedantist and the deepest fa[illegible] of his heart was in its essence identical with that [illegible] the thinkers of the Upanishads does not admit of a[illegible] iota of doubt as has very ably been explained [illegible] Edmund Holmes in his excellent work *The Creed [illegible] Buddha* which should carefully be read by ev[illegible] seeker of truth of Buddhism. With reference to t[illegible] place alluded to he seems to clearly mean by the wo[illegible] in question Vedanta philosophy. It is perha[illegible] better to allow such technical words to remain [illegible] their Pali or Sanskrit forms in the body of the tra[illegible] slation explaining them, if required, in the fo[illegible] notes. The English translation "good life" cann[illegible] convey the true spirit of the word ब्रह्मचरिय of t[illegible] Indian literature. Such are the words ब्राह्मण, खत्ति[illegible] वेस्स, and सुद्द, etc. Among these the first is taken [illegible] English though sometimes in a little different form [illegible] 'Brahmin.' But the remaining three are translat[illegible] in the volume under review by the words 'noble[illegible] 'commoners,' and 'serfs' respectively. In a few ca[illegible] the last one, i.e. सुद्द is translated as "labouring ma[illegible]

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(p. 207). It is not good or right. Such words should therefore be written as they are in English.

On pp. 9 and 299 (Text I. 2. § 1 and XI. 2. Sec. 8-7, pp. 5 and 234) the Pali word तिदस (Sans. त्रिदश) is translated 'Thrice Ten.' 'Thrice Ten' is thirty. Now तावतिंस (Sans. त्रयस्त्रिंशत्), 'thirty three', *devas* or gods are known not only in Buddhist literature but also in Brahmanic and Jaina ones (*Brihadaranyaka*. 3. 9. 1; Tattvadhigama Sutra, IV. 4.—"त्रायस्त्रिंश") though their names are not identical in all of them; but nowhere तिंस or तिंसति (Sans. त्रिंशत्) 'thirty' devas.

The word तिदस is a general name for a deva (*Abhidhanppadipika*, II), and its derivative meaning is not 'thrice ten,' as Mrs. Rhys Davids thinks, but 'one having three states or conditions, दस which is originally दसा (Sans. दशा) in the compound word तिदस meaning nothing but 'condition.' As the devas have only three conditions they are so named. But what are these three conditions? It is said according to the *Nirukta*, I. 1-3, that a thing has six conditions, viz., (1) birth, (जायते), (2) existence (अस्ति), (3) change (विपरिणमते), (4) growth (वर्धते), (5) decay (अपक्षीयते), and (6) destruction (नश्यति). Among these six the devas have only three, *viz.*, birth, existence and destruction, there being no change, no growth, nor decay, in them. For it is said that they take birth as youths of twenty-five years of age and continue to be in the same condition of the body till their death comes. (See Raghunath's comment on the word in the *Amarakosha*. It may be noted here that Kshirasvamin, another commentator of Amara, explained the word त्रिदश as त्रिः (thrice)+दश (ten), but could not support his view by his own quotations ("त्रयस्त्रिंशद् वैदेवा सोमपाः") which says *thirty three* and not *thirty* devas.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

GUJARATI

1. VIRPRABHUNI VANI (वीरप्रभनी वाणी). 2. SHRI ILA KUMAR CHARITRA (श्री इलाकुमार चरित्र). 3. BHYANKAR BHUT, ((भयङ्कर भूत). 4. SHRI HARIBAL MACHCHHI CHARITRA (श्रीहरिबल मच्छी चरित्र) *All printed and published at Bhavnagar, with paper covers. Price—Re. 0-2-0 (1918).*

All these little books consisting of about forty pages each have been published by religiously inclined Jaina gentlemen, the first contains messages of Mahavir. The second is a life of Ilakumar, from which much instruction can be gathered. The third is a novel depicting the evil consequences of drinking wine and undue attachment for tobacco and tea. And the fourth the life of a fisherman converted to the creed of *Ahinsa* (अहिंसा). They are interesting tracts and very suitable for juvenile readers for whom they are intended.

K. M. J.

HINDI.

SINHAVALOKAN *by Pandit Jagannath Prasad Chaturvedi and published at 103, Muktaram Babu Street, Calcutta. Demy 8vo. pp. 39. Price—As. 4.*

This is a book which I had occasion to go through long ago though it came to us for review much later. Our impression then as now when we are reviewing the book is that it is a grand publication. The previous history of Hindi has been given in it in a brief way though nothing which requires elucidation or narration has been left unnoticed. The author in his humorous style has made himself quite agreeable in his review and the book will be found to be very interesting.

KALKATAI MAIN SWARAJYA KI DHUM, *published by the Pratap Office Cawnpore. Crown 8vo. pp. 64. Price—As. 4.*

This deals with the discussion of Home Rule resolutions moved at the last National Congress by the Hon'ble Surendra Nath Banerjea. The speeches of prominent Home Rulers on the resolution have been reproduced. By way of discussion of the resolution again certain other illuminating points on Home Rule and representative Government have also been given. Among the speakers who have been reproduced are Messrs. Jinnah, Paul, Tilak, Das, Vaidya, Malviya and also Mrs. Besant and Mrs. Naidu. Some stray hints and views on Home Rule have also been given.

BHARAT KAI DAISHI RASHTRA *by Pandita Sampormanand, B.Sc., L.T., and published by the Pratap Office, Cawnpore. Crown, 8vo. pp. 239. Price—As. 12.*

This is a publication on native kingdoms and their princes in India. Their whole histories have been given in brief as also their constitutions. The book seems to be opportune when native princes are sought to be mixed up with the deliberations of nations even by the Government. The author has been very careful and I may say critical in his discussions. The previous histories of the States and some of the copies of treaties reproduced would be interesting reading. The book is seasonable and deserves consideration. The author seems to have made some name in the Hindi literature by this time.

HAMARTTI SHAIR KI RACHNI PART II, *by Mr. Trilokinath Varma, Senior Demonstrator of Anatomy, Medical College, Lucknow. Crown 8vo. pp. 438. Price—Rs. 3-4-0.*

This is a book on human anatomy and physiology. But unless we can get the first part also we cannot write a really useful review on it.

PRAIM SHATAK, *published by Kumar Devendra Prasad Jain. Praim Mandir, Arrah. Crown 16mo. pp. 36. Price—As. 2.*

This is a pamphlet on the subject on which the author has been generally writing. We have reviewed his books on similar lines often. The poems of the author are really masterly and they depict very good thoughts and feelings.

BALIKA VINAY, *published by the above author. Crown 16mo. pp. 64. Price—As. 2.*

The more we read the author's publications, the

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more are we enchanted by them. His thoughts are really first-grade and there is the element of true poetry both in his prose and poetry. We might refer to only one poem of his in the book under review which is entitled Meri Samadhi :—"Etna to karde swami jab pran taase nikle Hovai samadhi puri tab pran tanse nikle.....Bairi merai bahutsai howenge is jagat main unse kshame karaloon tab pran tanse niklai" and so on. These are certainly very noble and high thoughts. The book is meant for young girls and such thoughts imbibed by them in their infancy are bound to produce very good resuts later on. The other poems are of a similar nature and on other subjects also, just suited to the utility of small girls as also to their lives when they become advanced in age.

PHIE NIRASHA RYON *by Babu Gulab Ray, M.A., LL.B., published by the above. Crown 8vo. pp. 83. Price—As. 5.*

This again is one of the best books published by the publishers who I must say are becoming illustrious day by day. The author himself is a very well-cultured and educated man. The title of the book and its meaning have been very ably dealt with in the book and that in a nice and significant manner. The head-lines from standard poems in the beginning of the so many essays are really exceptionally apt. His essays on the subject of the old and on the subject of our leaders in the course of which the subject of sin is discussed are poignant with modern ideas of a very high order which are to be found only in some of the best modern poets of the west and the east. We can see that the author is a representative of his age and his books show culture and meditation of a very high order. Through him the religion to which he belongs lustre attains. We have certainly to congratulate both the author and the publisher on the magnificent performance.

VAIDANTA KA VIJAYA MANTRA *by Swami Satyadeva and published by the Satyagranthamala Office, Allahabad. Crown 8vo. pp. 26. Price—As. 2. p. 6.*

We meet this author again after a long time and after his vicissitudes of late, we welcome his publication which was written before his imprisonment and trial. We must say he is both a politician and social reformer. In this book the subject of Vaidant has been discussed. In passing, he offers criticisms on the Christian religion and says that though this religion also has in theory to do something with Vedantism in practice it is a follower only of the white colour and brute power. However, the principles of the philosophy enunciated in the book will be found useful.

M. S.

INDIA

Sad land, where hatred writhes and coils
'Neath diplomatic speech and wiles,
Where words are chosen to conceal
The thing you mean, the thing you feel,
Where you have felt the scorn of worth
In many rounds of ceaseless birth,
Where you have bowed disconsolate
A weary throng, compelled by Fate
To hear dark strains throughout a nation
That loudly sang of liberation.

Recall your might from out the past.
God meant you *standing* to the last,
Not crouching by with outstretched palms
Awaiting patronage and alms.
Stand in the sun, renounce the shade,
Your place is there, be not afraid,
And hear that coming music peal—
"To God alone we *kneel*."

GERVE BARONTI.

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THE COMPANIONSHIP OF GOD

A MEDITATION

By Maharshi Debendranath Tagore.

"TWO beautifully feathered companion birds dwell together on the same tree. Of these two, one eats the fruit, which is delightful to taste, while the other looks on without eating."

The two beautiful birds are the human soul and the supreme soul. In the radiance of the supreme soul the human soul becomes beautiful. The human soul is sitting upon the same tree as the supreme soul; that is to say, they dwell in one and the same body. They always dwell together; for the Supreme Spirit and the individual spirit stand in the relation of protector and protected to each other. They are companions.

The Supreme Spirit nourishes with the gift of love, while the individual soul realises, in the midst of the world, the work of love that is dear to Him. Thus it is that they are companions. One enjoys the fruit,—the individual soul tastes all the blessings of life given freely and liberally by God. The Supreme Spirit looks on, without tasting the fruit and feels the satisfaction of a mother, or a father, seeing the children satisfied.

The individual soul, then, has this close relationship with the Supreme Spirit. One is the giver of the fruit, the other is the partaker. The human soul is grateful for all the joy that is showered so plentifully upon it and bows before the Supreme Spirit, partaking of that gift,—it moves without fear protected by God. God Himself is the bestower of that joy.

Consider how free is the soul of man; for it does not need to be dependent on anyone else but God. It feels God's freedom and enjoys happiness. Though we have to be dependent on various accidents and conditions of life, yet the innermost nature of the soul is freedom. The joy of God's freedom is its highest joy, dependence on others is its deepest sorrow.

Consider how dependence upon God is the highest joy. The soul does not want to be dependent upon anyone else, but it cannot rest, unless it is dependent upon God; for its greatest joy is to be with Him as a companion and to follow Him as a servant, its glory consists in being able to bring its own will into harmony with His will.

Our freedom lies in deliverance from the attractions of the world and the bondage of desire. But why is that deliverance to be sought? Only in order that, by abandoning all dependence upon the world, we may depend entirely upon Him, resting always at His feet, doing homage to Him in acts of service, and fulfilling His will with gladness of heart.

If we call that freedom by which we merely get deliverance from the sorrows, difficulties and bondage of the world, and if in that condition we do not get the privilege of serving Him, then that indifference to the sorrows of the world is of no avail. For the joy of freedom is dependence upon God. The glory of freedom is God's service. The highest privilege of the soul is this, that it has received the right to serve Him, to worship Him and to realise in action what is dear to Him.

He who is our Lord, our Guide, our Life-giver,— apart from whom and without whose mercy human life is vain,—is our Companion. He loves us and seeks our love in return. By the gift of His love, He draws us to Himself. He watches over us with loving care and uplifts the soul, drawing it to Himself and immersing it in joy upon joy. And we are satisfied when we can give Him our love. Therefore it is that the human soul and the Supreme Soul are companions.

If there is no limit to what we can enjoy at God's hands by means of our finite senses, who can measure what unmixed joys may flow from the fountain of divine love and wisdom? When the human heart sees how constantly this flow of love and wisdom and joy increases, how can it contain its gratitude? And if our gratitude for what is given to ourselves overflows

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all bounds, how can word express our gratitude to God on behalf of all mankind? And if, when trying to express that feeling of God's love and gracious care, our tongue becomes silent and our mind still, how can the mind contain its feelings when it thinks of His love and mercy showered upon innumerable living beings in a countless number of worlds?

Enveloped as we are in sin and sloth our human life is insignificant, and yet God is our Companion. What a lofty right is ours, that He who is the King of Kings and Lord of Lords, is not only our guardian, but our companion! We are almost afraid to call the man who is in a high position in the world our friend, but we need not hesitate to address the High and Mighty One as our Companion.

That Light of Lights is our friend. His love is made one with our love. Our joy consists in being dependent upon Him. He longs to be our Guide. We serve Him as our Lord, and He cherishes us as those who do Him homage. When we say to Him,—"Thou art our Lord and our Shelter and our Protector,"—when we utter the words, "Verily that great Being is our Lord,"—then our whole soul responds.

If we do not have the fixed thought of God in our hearts, then our words and our thoughts can never reach such a harmony as His. If the great Truth,—"He is the Shelter and the Friend, who is all in all,"—be uttered in the ears of those who are bent only on worldly pleasure, then, as soon as they hear of it, the real nature of their hearts is laid bare,—so close is the relation between the human soul and God. Even if men are plunged in the depth of illusion, still on the very mention of His name there flashes a gleam of light through the darkness.

What bliss is his, whose whole life is spent in companionship with the supreme Spirit. The stony heart of even the most worldly is melted at the name of God,—how bright must be the glow in the heart of one who is merged in the ocean of immortal joy! What pure happiness must be theirs, who are always illumined by that Sun's rays, who always dwell under that shade of blessedness, who always feel that pure and fragrant breeze? To them this mortal world has become as heaven itself and they enjoy Brahma here and now.

Let those, on the other hand, who are plunged in the mire of the world, cleanse themselves, seeing before their eyes the example set by all these great souls. Let them seek a remedy for the sorrows and pains of human life. God sends us difficulties and punishments only that He may turn us back into the true path. God is speaking to us in them saying: "Do not forget me, enjoy my countless gifts but keep in mind the Giver."

There is no power in all the wealth of the world such that it can save us from the fear of being deprived of God. There is no pleasure in the whole world so great that it can obliterate the sorrow of being separated from Him. He does not give us worldly satisfaction, because if the world were all satisfying to us we should not long for the pure joys which He alone can offer.

Therefore, here in the world, He has mingled sorrow with happiness and adversity with prosperity so that we may make every effort to resort to that place of security which is His presence. When we are sorely wounded by the manifold thorns of the world we pray for His immortal shelter. When our blood is on fire with worldly passions we eagerly seek after His cool and purifying showers.

The world is for God's service and in God is our joy. We are, even now, dwelling with that Companion,—let us give Him the tears of our love and offer Him our heart-felt adoration. Let us fulfil our life by giving Him our all.

(Translated from the Bengali.)

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Painting in Ancient India.

To The Editor, The Modern Review.

Dear Sir,

The readers of your *Review* are indeed grateful to Mr. T. A. Gopinath Rao for a foretaste, in the December number, of a portion of the learned author's forthcoming work. The informations given in "Painting in Ancient India" regarding the 'Brush and the Palette' of ancient Indian Painters, are very interesting so far as they go. But Mr. Rao has, tantalisingly, kept silent with regard to an aspect of the subject to which he himself alludes. I mean the aesthetics of pictorial art and theory of painting as

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distinguished from the canons or rules of image-making, the mechanics of painting and the paraphernalia of the Indian artists. In his essay Mr. Rao has only alluded to the solitary *sloka* quoted by Jayamangala in his commentary on *Kamasutram*, already well-known by an elaborate discussion in these columns. We certainly expected Mr. Rao, who has made a special study of the *Silpa sastras*, to give us some light (from ancient Sanskrit works dealing with the subject) on the theories of ancient Indian Painters. Excepting the sloka relating to the 'Six Limbs of Painting' referred to above and some stray passages in the Vedas and other ancient scriptures, very ably summarised by Mr. Khsiti Mohan Sen (*Prabasi*, Jaisto, 1325) and by Mr. Abhoy Kumar Guha (Vide his *Saundaryya-tattwa*, Mymensingh 1916, pages 55 to 94) and by Dr. Coomaraswamy [*Hindu View of Art*]. We are practically without any information as to the ideas held by ancient Indian artists, art-critics or art philosophers on the theory of Art. In fact the *Silpasastras*, so far examined, are absolutely void of any information as to the Philosophy of Art for which elaborate treatises exist in ancient Chinese and Japanese records. If I may say so without hurting patriotic susceptibilities, the study of the *Silpasastras* has proved absolutely disappointing from this point of view. And regarding with jealous eyes the old literary records current in China, bearing on the theory and criticism of Art, we have been thirsting for similar treatises in our old Sanskrit literature bearing on the æsthetic doctrines of our forefathers. The search so far appears to have been fruitless. The title of the work known as '*Chitra lakshana*,' now surviving in Tibetan versions, had raised hopes which have been severely disappointed by the publication of its translation. One should like, therefore, very much to draw the attention of scholars like Mr. Rao engaged in examining the *Silpasastras* to try and find out if the authors of Indian Æsthetics have summarised their conception of the beautiful or made any authoritative statements of their aesthetic doctrines. In this connection it may be useful to bear in mind the laments on the dearth of materials made by Western scholars such as Max Muller and Vincent Smith. Though the recent discoveries of *Silpasastras* have to some extent met the charges brought by Vincent Smith in the passage quoted below, the charge brought by Max Muller has yet to be met. And I do not know of a scholar more competent to undertake the task than the author of the *Elements* of *Hindu Iconography*. And these notes are prompted by a desire that Mr. Rao may be induced to deal with the matter in his later works and to cite the evidence of the *Silpasastras* as to the theories held by Ancient Indians on the aesthetics of pictorial and plastic art.

"I am not disposed to withdraw the remark that no Hindu *treatise* practical, (?) historical or critical on art is known to exist, and I do not see much likelihood of such being discovered. The *Chitra-laksana* contains no theory, and the vague admonitions that beauty is essential to good painting are far from amounting to a statement of aesthetic doctrine. The rules of proportion are presented in the form of ritual prescriptions essential for othodox treatment by a craftsman and not as aesthetic principles. It would be a difficult task for a practical artist to ascertain whether or not those rules conform to the facts of nature or the principles of artistic composition. I shall be much surprised if researches in "Tibetan literature disclose any Indian work laying down principles of art like the well-known six canons of Hsieh Ho."—Vincent Smith.

"The idea of the beautiful in nature did not exist in the Hindu mind. They describe what they saw, they praise certain features and they compare them with other features in nature, but the beautiful as such does not exist for them. They never excelled either in painting or sculpture (?). It is strange nevertheless that a people so fond of the highest abstractions as the Hindus should never have summarised their conceptions of the beautiful. I wish I could have given you a more satisfactory answer."—Max Muller.

13th Dec. 1918. ORDHENDRA COOMAR GANGOLY.

The Archaeological Department.

To The Editor, The Modern Review.

Dear Sir,

The discussions on this subject have unfortunately drifted into channels into which it has become impossible for anybody to follow who is not possessed, like your correspondents, of occult informations as to the inner working of the Archæological Department. The allegations on which your correspondents base their charges, so far as outsiders are concerned, are absolutely unknown quantities even as the algebrical symbols under which your correspondents have chosen to cover their identities. Messrs. X and Y vaguely allude and obliquely refer to certain suggestions without adducing evidence of the facts alleged and without which it is impossible for any member of the public to judge if there is any foundation for the charges brought by anonymous accusers. And since the only witness cited by Mr. Y. has not come forward to give evidence, the outside public is placed in a hopeless position of disadvantage with regard to the questions raised by Messrs. X and Y. Besides, discussions of this character lose their value altogether when they degenerate into sheer personalities. For one can usefully discuss principles, but it is not always easy to discuss personalities. If Messrs. X and Y are convinced of the truth of their accusations which have not been proved, they should not find any difficulty in persuading their vertebrate friends in the Council to demand a commission of enquiry and ask for an indictment upon the latter's report.

In their anxiety to level personal attacks on the officers of the department, your correspondents forget to discuss the many vital aspects of the subject not the least of which is the general apathetic attitude of the public in this matter. Mr. Y, while he is glib in his accusations against the officers of the Department, is inclined to condone the culpable negligence of his own countrymen outside the Department who have signally failed to evince any interest in the Department and its work or to assist or further its cause by any public discussion or otherwise. In this respect the attitude of Indian journalists * has been

* While we have not the least desire to minimise the shortcomings of Indian journalists or the Indian public, we may point out two of the reasons why Indian editors are unable to deal with many subjects with which European editors deal. Neither European nor Indian editors are omniscient. They have to depend on their staff or their friends for many things. As regards paid staffs and contributors, the resources of European editors are far greater than those of Indian editors. The second reason

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also one of continued neglect. While the various Reports of the Department are exhaustively reviewed in leading articles in the journals conducted by Europeans,* our Indian Editors seldom think it worth their while to devote any attention to them, if only to inform or educate public opinion on the subject. Excepting the attention given to Dr. Spooner's sensational theory, the work of the Archaeological Department and its Reports published year after year have hitherto been systematically ignored by our Indian journalists with very few exceptions. And I doubt very much if the present discussion has reached or is likely to reach any wide circle of members of our educated public or our learned councillors. And, notwithstanding the exceptions that I have taken to many of the comments of Messrs. X and Y, I will greatly value them if they succeed in arousing public conscience in the matter.

I do not for a moment wish to discount the very valuable work contributed by Indian members of the Archaeological Department, but since your correspondents have chosen to dilate on the disqualifications, (in some instances quite justly), of the European members of the department, it is only fair to point out one or two disqualifications from which the Indian members still seem to suffer. I would not have referred to them, if I did not think that such reference will help to remove them in future. While it is a regrettable fact that the head of the Archaeological Department is ignorant of Sanskrit, it is still more a regrettable fact none of the Indian members knows French, German or Dutch.† I am sure your correspondents will agree with me that at least a working knowledge of these languages is almost indispensable for a modern Indian archaeologist and an ignorance of these languages will keep him out of touch with many discussions and informations of great scientific value on various branches of Indology and thus greatly affect his efficiency for the duties entrusted to him. Another serious disqualification from which many Indian officers of the Department still seem to suffer, is their inability to understand or appreciate the aesthetic aspects of ancient Indian monuments. Let me not be misunderst to mean that I wish to undervalue the study o scriptions,—but many of my friends in the Dep ment still seem to think that the masterpieces Indian Sculptures were made only to read inscripti upon; and while they are keenly alive to the value inscriptions on our ancient monuments, they invari prove quite impervious to their artistic quali This is a failing which our brethern in the Departm shares with the Indian educated public in gene In this respect many of the European members h by reason of a general artistic culture, a positio advantage over Indians.

If Mr. Y will do me the favour of reading my r again, I am sure he will admit that he is very un in his assertion that I have attempted to eulogis expressed any ardour for the head of the Archae gical Department. I only pointed out the mani injustice and untruth in the assertion that the chaeological Department "has attained no satis tory results since 1902". I have only attempted offer praise where praise is due, namely, with reg to the nature, extent and output of the work of Department to which both the Indian and Europ members have equally contributed. I was only c cerned with this unjust charge brought against output of work. I did not say anything about the a of omission or commission of the head of the Dep ment, and only pointed out that the various wo of excavations have yielded satisfactory results Messrs. X and Y have been unable to challenge quality of these works.

I do not know what Mr. Y means by "perso contact with men like Finot or Krom." If he s gests by this,—an acquaintance through corresp dence, I can claim a similar knowledge. But an curate estimate of the works of the Dutch and Fre Archaeological Commissions can only be arrived by a careful study of the Reports published these bodies with a relative appreciation of nature and extent of archaeological monume and sites in Java, Siam and Cambodia, which h called for scientific enquiry. I claim to have a acquaintance with them and from such knowledg venture to think that the work of the Ind Archaeological Department is in many respects s rior to those of the French and the Dutch Comm ons. I certainly think, as I have already stated, the field of Indian Archaeology will be greatly riched by the association and co-operation of c petent Indians.

5 Dec. 1918 ORDHENDRA COOMAR GANGO

is that Indian editors do not get many publications, and therefore cannot write about them. The editor of this Review never got any publication of the Archaeologicol Department.—Ed., *M.R.*

* See Footnote Page 77.

† Mr. Gangoly does not say whether the European members all know all these language. Ed., *M.R.*

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Wake Up!

We are indebted to *Arya* for November for the following beautiful rendering of Bhartrihari's heartening verses.

(1)

Cease never from the work thou hast begun
Till thou accomplish; such the great gods be
Nor paused for gems unknown beneath the sun
Nor feared for the huge poisons of the sea,
Then only ceased when nectar's self was won.

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(2)

Happiness is nothing, sorrow nothing. He
Recks not of these whom his clear thoughts impel
To action whether little and miserably
He fare on roots or softly dine and well,
Whether bare ground receive his sleep or bed
With softest pillows ease his pensive head,
Whether in rags or heavenly robes he dwell.

(3)

If men praise thee, O man,'tis well ; nor ill,
If they condemn. Let fortune curst or boon
Enter thy doors or leave them as she will.
Though death expect thee ere yon sinking moon
Vanish or wait till unborn stars give light,
The firm high soul remains immutable,
Nor by one step will deviate from the right.

(4)

Some from high action through base fear refrain ;
The path is difficult, the way not plain.
Others more noble to begin are stayed
By a few failures. Great spirits undismayed
Abandon never what once to do they swore.
Baffled and beaten back they spring once more,
Buffeted and borne down, rise up again
And, full of wounds, come on like iron men.

(5)

Touched by one hero's tread, how vibrating
Earth starts as if sun-visited, ablaze
Vast, wonderful, young ! Man's colourless petty days
Bloom suddenly and seem a grandiose thing.

Puritanism.

"Historically perhaps the most vivid illustration of large masses of a people being affected by puritanism is found in England in the days of Cromwell. The use of the most inoffensive of words that could by any stretch of imagination be regarded as vulgar came to be anathematized as blasphemy ; all art and beauty, light and colour, became lascivious ; nothing but the most scrupulous abstinence from all physical enjoyment and a stern unflinching devotion to the task in hand without leisure or respite, was enjoined on one and all who wanted to gain the kingdom of Heaven."

Mr. Sri Prakasa writing in the *Hindustan Review* for October-November correctly says that "on a smaller scale in its intensity but on a wider surface than in the days of English Puritan Revolution, Puritanism has been creeping into Indian life for some decades past." As a consequence of which

There is a growing greyness in Indian life ; and everything that beautifies and adorns human existence and its setting, that enhances the soul, is fast disappearing.

Civililisation essentially depends on light and colour. There is a certain amount of artificiality in it, no doubt ; there is also an admixture of unnaturalness. But these are unhappily necessary to distinguish "culture" from "savagery." Because of its artificiality and unnaturalness, civilization may breed a great deal of vice and immorality, but it also gives to the world that art, beauty and various innocent enjoyments that make one feel that man does not live on bread alone and that if life needs must end in death, it need not be a continuous sepulchre.

The large towns with their influx of western ways and their incessant round of duty and pleasure may not know it, but the usual pedantic idea that has been creeping into and pervading all the mofussil places, is that any amusement—even cards or tennis—is waste of time, time that could be utilised in solid study and endless talking and writing. Among books, novels, that alone can give an insight into the social life of any time or race, are taboo. Not unless a man has turned his life into an utterly colourless one, not till he has ostracised the faintest smile from his lips and the slightest sense of humour from his heart—not till then can he be regarded as really a good man who is devoted to his work and takes a serious view of his life and duty.

A man who dresses artistically is condemned as foppish ; one who patronises the artist is thought of as one who is wasting his money on stupidities, money which could have been utilised, say, for an institution for the rescue of the fallen woman or the education of orphans. If it really were so, nobody would quarrel or criticise ; but taking human nature as it is, the puritan's attempt at retrenchment of a friend's expenses would really result in neither the feeding of a starving artist and the preservation of his gift, nor in rescuing the fallen woman, nor even educating the illiterate child !

In fact, this wave of puritanism, like some terrible heat wave, has withered and vulgarised our tastes. Ancient Indian art is dying of inanition : there is no one to help it. Look at music. It has been the disgrace of contemporary India that her sublime music should have become the monopoly of women of ill-fame. Those who love music must go to these or invite them to their own homes. Puritanism stands scandalised at this, as well it may. But, may one ask in all seriousness, does the puritan object to the woman's way of living or the fine art of music its elf ? If he objects to the woman, let him introduce music in his home. Let him by helping his wife and daughters to learn the art, preserve our music as well as lift it from the odium in which it has fallen. He would not do either. He will not educate his own women-folk in this line because of its unsavoury association. His boys must not learn it : it will seriously interfere with their poring over the humdrum school and college books ! Dancing girls must also be left in the cold.

Much of our pride to-day in our past, let it not be forgotten, is due to the remnants of art that are found scattered in the land ; for no other symbols of our ancient glory remain as living witnesses of an age when we were high in the nations' esteem. It is these

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remains—broken and scattered—that nerve us to further efforts ; and, verily, the puritan is a very unfortunate production of the present age of transition.

A Bachelor's Creed.

A short article under the above heading appears in *Everymans Review* for December. It is an able and frank exposition of the subject and provides interesting reading. We read :

For all practical purposes it is sufficient to know that love is the attraction which draws men and women together and which has for its end, among other things, the perpetuation of the species. I am aware that there is much subtle and metaphysical talk about love. But as one not accustomed to such speculations, I understand the matter as most common people do.

Now, men and women love each other for their beauty both of form and of character. Our ideas as to what is beautiful are derived mostly from our surroundings. Nature is the ultimate criterion by which we judge of the beauty of an object. If an object conforms to what nature has taught us to regard as beautiful, that is considered charming and loveable by us. True, we are not always conscious of the debt we owe to nature in this respect ; but it is a fact all the same. In nature there is nothing like perfection. There is nothing in the wide world that man has not idealised by the application of his art, which can be said to be perfect in form or colour. What may appear at first sight to be perfectly round or square will be found on closer examination to be far from being so. It is just the same with regard to colour also. There is everywhere a certain tone-down. Even in the tropics where there is more colour and vividness one does not come across simple, naked colour effects. The prevailing tone is more or less of a pleasing mellowed character. It would seem that nature abhors perfection even as she does a vacuum.

When we think that the object of our love is a perfect being we are simply investing it with a mere figment of our imagination. If a man or a woman were perfect and flawless either as regards form or character he or she would be incapable of being loved. For, a sense of equality, however subconscious, is a factor extremely necessary for the birth, growth and sustenance of the passion. You cannot love a woman of an oppressively virtuous character. She may be at best a suitable person to be installed in a shrine as an object of awe and reverence. But you cannot love her, for, most of us have a pretty good dose of original sin in us ; and we are conscious of it. An ordinary mortal man would shrink from so much virtue and so much loveliness. My own idea is that what makes it possible for a man and woman to love each other is the mutual recognition of common faults and weaknesses.

It is a common practice in India to place beauty-spots on the faces of very fair children. Why do mothers find delight in painting dark spots on the faces of their darling little ones? Surely because they wish to relieve the monotony of the complex The contrast makes the children more attractive.

I, for one, am prepared to make a present o the "faultily faultless, icily regular, splendidly beings to the Gods to enjoy and appreciate. T are not of the earth earthy and are therefore, meant for common mortals. Take men and wo together with their faults and all—and you can them.

The Outlook of Indian Industry.

By accepting the principle underly Imperial Preference in commercial a industrial matters England takes care protect her trade against the competit of countries outside the British Empire offers no protection to Indian indust against foreign, and especially Engl competition. England's supremacy in field of commerce and trade would maintained at the cost of Indian indust going to the wall for lack of proper p tection. England would drive out by t arrangement all other exploiters of In and instal herself in their place. Ik Bahadur Saksena has done a great ser to his country by drawing the attention Indians to this serious menace in the pa of the *Wealth of India*. Says he :

England has accepted the principle under Imperial Preference in commercial and indus matters. It means that England has realised th can no longer remain wedded to Cobdenism, that trade stands to undermine the industrial supre of England, that some sort of protection is absol necessary so that British industries be preve from falling into the hands of enemies after the and that it is also necessary that supplies within the British Empire should be used in countries forming the British Empire. It m further that the cry of India that protection is ne sary for the progress of Indian industries,—no even for the upkeep and expansion of struggling in tries,—was reasonable ; that if India is to industrial progress some sort of protection will be to be absolutely necessary for its industries, pr and yet to be born ; and that when England, w much capital, so thoroughly trained and orga labour and so efficient in organisation and dire of industry, finds it necessary to adopt some of protecting its industries from trade harpie stands much more to reason that protection complete protection be afforded to Indian indu in India.

To safeguard the vital interests of this Industrialism, therefore, discriminate State a Industries such as that granted to Tata Iron and protection from unequal, unfair and destru foreign competition must be allowed.

The Home Government has adopted the poli preference to modified protection and the prin underlying this adoption is the supply of raw mate

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It is to ensure the supply of raw materials at a cheap price and to prevent them from falling into the hands of competitors that preference has been adopted. India is the greatest producer of all sorts of raw materials. Since trade between India and England will be free to the extent desired by England which is the centre of the Empire, therefore it is reasonable to assume that raw materials going from India to England will be free of duty, and similarly manufactured goods coming from England to India will be also free of duty. Thus the industrial position and supremacy of England will be assured, for her raw materials will be had at the cheapest price and consequently her manufactured goods will also be sold at the cheapest price in the best market of the world, while her competitors whether Western or Eastern will have to pay double duty on their goods, once when they import their raw materials and next when they export goods to India. This double duty will have the influence of first increasing the cost of raw materials exported from India to foreign countries, that is, countries outside the British Empire and then of increasing the price of manufactured goods imported from those countries by the amount of the duty which will be imposed if they compete with indigenous goods. Thus India will be protected against those countries which are not included in the British Empire and which will compete with her. But the much-desired protection against England is not likely to be afforded. Roughly before the war 40 per cent. of the export trade and 60 per cent. of the import trade of India was with England. India exported 60 per cent. of her raw materials to countries outside the British Empire and imported 40 per cent. of manufactured goods from the same. The change in trade policy under consideration will have the effect of diverting the greater portion of the export trade of India and still greater portion of her import trade into the hands of those within the Empire able to take advantage of the changed circumstances, and apparently no other than England is at present capable of doing so. India for the present and for some time more to come cannot be said to be in a position to change her industrial aspect herself.

We see, then, there remains a very meagre chance for the industrial improvement of India. India will have to make certain sacrifices in order that the Industrial supremacy of England may be maintained. England is the heart of the Empire. To keep the Empire stable it is necessary that the heart be kept sound and in a flourishing condition. We might say to this that if England stands to the Empire as the heart does to the body, then surely England ought to perform the same functions to India and other parts of the Empire as the heart does to the body. The manifest conclusion from this is that since India stands in urgent need of industrial progress it is necessary that the supplies of pure heart-blood should be made to flow to this neglected part more and more so that it may be able to perform its local functions satisfactorily and then be ready to render as much assistance to the heart as will lie in its power, when the need or occasion for such assistance arises. In plain terms this means that money-capital, more machinery, more efficient labour should come from England to India, work together for the good of India, with no end in view but the Industrial regeneration of India.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Future of the French Stage forms the theme of a telling article contributed to *L'Europe Nouvelle* by Marc Henry in which the moribund condition of the French stage is set forth and the way towards improvement is pointed out. Reading through the article, we were reminded, time and again, how well the remarks applied to the Bengali stage of today, though Paris to Calcutta is a far cry. Says the writer :

The Stage represents three important factors in our national evolution—artistic, technical, and social.

I

THE ARTISTIC FACTOR.

In these days everything is becoming commercialized. Vaudevilles, films, and *revues* are manufactured in quantities, like sewing-machines or bicycles. The material distractions of a too active life deprive the public of all desire to be instructed at the theatre. When night comes they want 'to see,' and, above all, to laugh ; they do not want to *think* any more ; it is too fatiguing, too boresome.

Such are the arguments offered in opposition to the project for an artistic-literary theatre.

The artistic theatre is not, indeed, intended to replace the superficial and merely entertaining theatre ; this latter will always be popular. It is enough that the former should be able to exist, to gain a firm footing, to develop freely, even though, at the outset, only for an intelligent chosen few, who are not, as might be supposed, snobs and wealthy folk.

Our democracy, therefore, must realize the national significance of the artistic factor and consent to the sacrifices likely to insure its triumph on the stage. Whether it be accomplished by individual initiative or by government support, it is first of all a question of money, but not a 'matter of business.'

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II

THE TECHNICAL FACTOR.

Regarded from a material and utilitarian standpoint, the stage is an instrument of reproduction, by the same token as the piano, violin, or organ.

The French stage, then, in order to compel the attention of the world, must aim at perfection in all its arrangements. Its technical resources must keep step with the progress of modern science. On this theory it demands the collaboration, not only of the painter and decorator and costumer, but of the architect, the engineer, and the electrician.

Although the technical factor is always strictly subordinate to the artistic ideal, the more nearly perfect the *mise-en-scene*, the more capable it is of assisting in the production of interesting results.

At the present time, no great Parisian theatre, even among those subsidized by government, owns a revolving stage, a superposed hydraulic stage, a panoramic stage, or a rational lighting system. We have not learned to reckon at their real value the various elements of technical collaboration. The stage manager is a functionary whose role as inspirer and creator we do not adequately appreciate. But it is he who visualizes a play, harmonizes its parts, and puts it on its feet; who brings into relief its fundamental character. He dominates the performance; he holds in his hand all the delicate threads of scenic science; he pulls them one after another, the better to interpret the artistic idea.

III

THE SOCIAL FACTOR.

The theatre does not transform public morals. The most that can be said is that it reflects them; but it broadens the horizon of the spectator; it teaches him to familiarize himself with the different dramatic conceptions of human society through the ages and in all countries.

But beside this purely contemporary theatre there is a 'human' theatre, which great geniuses have created at certain fixed epochs, and whose influence and signification have survived all social upheavals.

The more our complex civilization progresses and develops, the tighter the material and moral bonds which unite the nations are drawn, identifying the needs, the aspirations, and the conditions of human development; and by shaping common ideals, so much the more does the patrimony of mankind become accessible to all—and not in the past only, but in the present. By this token the stage has an undeniable documentary value; it includes all the dramatic manifestations of mankind, even as a complete library contains the most noteworthy books in the world.

What is the current opinion of a contemporary Frenchman concerning the foreign stage of to-day? Ibsen? He is too abstract, too obscure, too far removed from the Latin spirit. Strindberg? He is a neurotic Norwegian; he irritates us. The Russian stage: Tolstoy? Gorky? Wretched melodrama, drowned in unpleasant philosophy. Shakespeare? No clarity, no conciseness; a torrent that is forever overflowing its banks; at once trivial and lyric, he has no sense of moderation; his genius is barbaric.

Moreover, the same Frenchman thinks our own classic stage terribly tedious. What is left for him then? Bernstein's and Sacha Guitry's plays and Rip's *revues*? Let us admit that this is rather meagre sustenance for the honor and glory of French civilization.

We say then that to adopt—without adapting—the great dramatic geniuses, to interpret them in an original fashion, to incorporate them in the repertory of an artistic national theatre, is to accomplish a valuable social work, because we thus enlarge the intellectual horizon of the French race; it is also to show foresight, because we thus augment the power of France to attract and expand beyond her borders.

The audience is drawn from middle-class circles and the cosmopolitan idlers who come to Paris for amusement. No serious attempt is made to facilitate access to the stage for fresh talent, or access to the auditorium for the democratic masses. Bad taste is cultivated in the spectator; we go our own way,—the way of easy speculation,—instead of gradually raising his moral and intellectual level, and guiding his interest toward a more elevated artistic ideal. Now, the audience is a shapeless mass, obedient to all impulsions; it is capable of the best as well as the worst. The sense of beauty is latent in it. The desire and the authority of those who guide suffice to enlighten it.

History and the Hairdressers.

In the pages of the *New Witness* G. K. Chesterton takes up the trivial subject of the way of dressing the hair and gradually leads us through the philosophy of conventions in his own masterly fashion and arrives at the conclusion that "those who throw away things as dead, much more than those who preserve them as dead are themselves the servants or rather the slaves of death." Here is what he says:

I happened lately to hear two ladies talking about whether one of them should part her hair at the side or continue to part it in the middle. Apparently it was more modern to part it at the side; but this was at least a week ago; and ladies may now (for all I know) be wearing a triangular tonsure, or shaving half the head, or the whole of it. I take this passing example for three sufficient reasons: First, that I know nothing about it; second, that I care nothing about it; and third that it is the last case that really happened in my private experience, and therefore illustrates my point; the more human and historic treatment even of such a trifle. I espouse no cause in the matter of the combing of hair; but only the cause of the combing out of thoughts, which seems to be in much more of a tangle. I will accept the most alarming arrangements on the outside of the head, if there is some sort of arrangement in the inside.

The idea behind parting the hair in the middle was obviously a decorative idea of balance; and some degree of balance is admitted by the most advanced or fashionable female, who shares what the democratic Dickens called the popular prejudice in favour of two eyes rather than one. Anyone can see it touching any ornament meant to be pronounced and

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prominent. The masculine moustache, for instance, is or aspires to be a decoration; and is so situated that it is difficult to avoid seeing it, however much one may wish to do so. Now if a gentleman were to walk down the street with one side of his moustache long and sweeping like a scimitar, and the other side of it short and spiky like a tintack, he would attract attention; but not always respectful attention. The unequal parting of his hair does not attract this attention; because the habit is part of the notion, right or wrong, that the masculine hair is more short and less showy. And that again is part of the stoical tradition, perhaps of the Puritans, perhaps of the Age of Reason, perhaps of essential manhood, perhaps of mere modern utilitarianism, that the masculine appearance should be more prosaic. Indeed, in the stiffest epoch of utility the moustache was thought disreputable. Because it was decorative it was discouraged; but because it was decorative it was worn in two duplicate curves when it was worn at all. The hair was treated on the assumption that it was not noticeable, but rather negligible. It was parted on one side because it was really, so to speak, put on one side, or thrust on one side. On the other hand the woman's hair was always, under all fashions, conceived as an ornament commanding attention—a decorative framework.

My friends are not likely to charge me with religious bigotry about hair-brushing; I care less than most people whether it is brushed at all. But I do see in this small matter a certain negative and shallow argument applied to larger matters; especially that facile and fatal argument which was applied, for instance, to the vote. What I complained of in the Suffragettes was not that they claimed to show why a woman should have a vote; it was that they did not claim to show, and actually could not show, why a man should have a vote; or why anybody should have a vote; or what was meant by a vote. They merely used a negative argument, which might turn out to be right, but which could only do so by accident; because the distinction in dispute was merely dismissed and not considered. It is the whole point that the most artificial things are or have been in this sense natural; and that a convention only means an agreement about which men have long continued to agree.

To think thus is the very reverse of tying one's self to dead things; it is rather to surround one's self with living things. It is like some fairy-tale about a man whose furniture came to life; whose stool danced round him like a dog, or whose sofa could crawl about like a crocodile. For it is at least more spiritually fruitful to watch the furniture, as if it were inhabited by live fairies, than it would be merely to break the furniture, for no better reason than that it was made out of dead trees. It would be more philosophical to consider whether there is any connection between the four legs of a chair and those of a cat, or a cow, than it would be simply to smash the chair and say it had not a leg to stand on. If the householder, after prolonged examination or patient experiment, shall find that what he took for a bedstead is really a rack, I shall not blame him for removing it. If he can demonstrate that what looks like a thimble is really a thumbscrew, I shall not condemn him for throwing it away. If we find that any couvention has a cause and a bad cause, we shall be instantly justified in treating it as a bad thing. But those who throw away things as dead, much more than those who preserve them as dead, are themselves the servants or rather the slaves of death. For that which is destroyed as dead is really dead; while that which is preserved as dead may rise again from the dead, and may astonish all men, and its preservers most of all.

Capital and Labor.

The *Statist* pleads for an early settlement of the perplexing conflict between capital and labour and points out that means other than a "mere wages arrangement" must be found.

We are persuaded that no permanent settlement can be arrived at by a mere wages arrangement, no matter how the question of wages is settled. Wages are the pay given to workingmen for supplying the brains as well as the thews and sinews which perform what is called production. When everything is said, the employers simply provide capital—which means they provide premises where the work is done, material upon which the work is laid out, and all the machinery requisite to carry the work through from beginning to end. That is simply, in the plainest and shortest language, what capital does. It may be objected that we have left out the planning. Well, the planning is performed really and truly by the staffs in the employment of the capitalists. There may be a capitalist here and there who is also a specialist in the business over which he presides. But capitalists of that kind are so few that they may be left out of account. In the great majority of cases the capitalist does just what we stated above, and the real planning, the real specification, the real mental activity, all are supplied by special officials paid by the capitalists. Then there are large numbers of managers and sub-managers, of assistant manager, and of clerks, and goodness knows what besides. But these are little more than the junior officers of an army. The commander-in-chief is the man who provides the brain which sketches the work, and the work itself is done by the workmen.

Capital, then, plays but a very subordinate part. It enables special men to employ large numbers of other men, including the men of brains. But it ends there. There is a great deal of prejudice, a great deal of superstition, and, we would add very respectfully, without any wish to give offense, an immense amount of ignorance standing in the way of a reasonable settlement between employers and employed. Anybody who will think for a while will see that there really is a partnership between employers and employed. Employers are too few to do the work of the world, and the employed have not the capital to keep going without the assistance of employers. Therefore, the employers need the workpeople, and the workpeople need the employers. There is mutual need, and there is mutual assistance. There ought to be, therefore, a means of coming to an agreement.

We hold very strongly that there is a limit to the rise in wages; that besides, tinkering about wages is an unscientific and a blundering way of going to work. We admit that it was a quite natural way a hundred years ago. When the workpeople first formed trade unions, and found themselves in a position to face their employers, the wage question

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was, perhaps, the very best to begin with. But things have altered now. There is a limit beyond which prices must not be carried. And remember that the consuming public includes not only the whole public beyond and without employers and employed, but the entire body of the employers and the employed likewise. Everybody is a consumer, but everybody is not either an employer or an employee. Consequently there is a limit beyond which wages cannot be carried; and, furthermore, there is a limit beyond which the consuming public will not allow either employers or employed to seriously injure the trade of the country.

Why I am a Fanatic.

Sir Harry Johnston exposes the evils of the drinking habit all the world over, in the pages of the *Daily News* (London). The part that grog shops play in the demoralising of thousands of Indians is well known, and the pity is, that though serious efforts have been made succesfully in almost all western countries to put a stop to this deadly habit, India has been severely left alone to go the way of ruin and de-humanisation. Says Sir Harry:

I suppose in course of time I *have* become a fanatic in regard to the drinking of distilled spirits or of brandied wines, because I am intensely interested in the British Islands and the British Empire, and wish to see both prosperous, happy, healthy, and efficient beyond all other countries; because in Central Africa I found alcohol far harder to fight than the Arabs; because in West Africa I found alcohol the main cause of quarrels between the natives and the white man, between the natives themselves, the chief stimulant of horrors like cannibalism and "were-leopardry," secret poisonings, and the foulest intricacies of fetish worship, the principal cause of laziness amongst the blacks, or deadly ill-health amongst the whites; because in South Africa I knew only too well that the quarrels between British and Boers were almost entirely conflicts between Scottish or Irish whisky and Cape brandy and that distilled alcohol was the one over-mastering incitement to the native to rape, rob, revolt, and ravage; because I saw in India, and in the employment of the Sikh and Indian Muhammadan in East Africa, what serious damage the spread of alcoholic habits was causing among Oriental populations—the white man's example being the ally of the distiller; because I have seen the same in Egypt and in Algeria; because I know that just as the Jameson Raid was provoked, conceived, born and miscarried in alcohol, so were the Ceylon Riots and many a Kuli disturbance in Malaysia (according to the complaints of Planter's Associations).

NOTES

Self-determination.

Generations ago the American poet James Russell Lowell wrote:—

Once to every man and Nation comes the moment to decide,
In the strife of Truth and Falsehood for the good or evil side;
Some great cause, God's new Messiah, offering each the bloom or blight.
Parts the goats upon the left hand and the sheep upon the right,
And the choice goes by for ever, twixt that darkness and that light.

Hast thou chosen, O my people, of whose party thou shalt stand,
Ere the Doom from its worn sandals shakes the dust against our land?
Though the cause of evil prosper, yet 'tis Truth alone is strong,
And albeit she wander outcast now, I see around her throng.
Troops of beautiful tall Angels, to enshield her from all wrong.

Backward look across the ages, and the beacon-moments see,
That like peaks of some sunk continent jut through oblivion's sea;
Not an ear in court or market for the low foreboding cry
Of those Crises, God's stern winnowers, from whose feet earth's chaff must fly;
Never shows the choice momentous till the judgment hath passed by.

Now has come the day of choice not only for every strong nation but for every weak nation, too. No one is weak who chooses to side with Truth and Right, and to suffer for his choice. Not only are the doomed who do wrong, but also those who do not try their utmost not to submit to wrong.

Several small nations of Europe stake their all in the effort not to submit to wrong. They are having the reward of self-determination now.

It may seem that it would have been appropriate, or at least more appropriate than now, if we had drawn attention to Lowell's poem when more than four years ago many nations were still hesitating whether to fight or remain neutral and, if to fight, which side to join. But peace hath

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her spoliations and barbarities not less wicked and infamous than war. Therefore in the day of triumph, when the foe lies paralysed and prostrate, it is as necessary as ever to bear in mind that righteousness exalteth a nation and unrighteousness will bring the proudest empire to the dust.

Self-determination in Social Practice.

Many weeks have past since we received a copy of the "All-India Anti-Untouchability Manifesto", which we heartily support as far as it goes, and which we print below *minus* the signatures.

ALL-INDIA ANTI-UNTOUCHABILITY MANIFESTO.

The Indian National Congress in its session held at Calcutta in December, 1917, adopted the following resolution :—

"This Congress urges upon the people of India the necessity, justice and righteousness of removing all disabilities imposed by custom upon the depressed classes, the disabilities being of a most vexatious and oppressive character, subjecting these people to considerable hardship and inconvenience."

Proposed by Mr. G. A. Natesan of Madras.
Seconded by Mr. S. R. Bomanji of Bombay.
Supported by Mr. S. K. Damle of Poona.
" by Mr. Rama Aiyar.
Carried unanimously.
President.—Mrs. Annie Besant.

The All-India Depressed Classes Mission Conference for the Abolition of Untouchability in its first session held in Bombay on 3rd March, 1918, adopted the following resolution :—

"This Conference is of opinion that the condition of Untouchability imposed upon the depressed classes in India ought forthwith to be abolished and for this purpose calls upon the influential and representative leaders of thought and action in every province to issue a Manifesto abolishing such untouchability and enabling these classes to have free and unrestricted access to public institutions, such as schools, dispensaries, courts of justice, &c., conducted for the public benefit and at the public expense and also to public places such as wells, springs, reservoirs, municipal standpipes, burning and bathing ghats, places of amusement, business and worship, &c., &c."

Proposed by Mr. M. R. Jayakar, Bar-at-Law of Bombay.
Seconded by Mr. Lakhmidas R. Tairsi of Bombay.
Supported by Pandit Balkrishna Sharsa of Baroda.
" by Prof. G. G. Bhate of Poona.
Carried unanimously.
President.—Sir Sayajirao Gaekwad, Maharaja of Baroda.

With a view to give practical effect to the above resolutions we the undersigned declare hereby that the removal of the bar of untouchability is imperatively and immediately needed as much in the best interest of the United Indian Nation as also in the defence of what is best and highest in the Hindu Religion. We also demand it therefore as the bounden duty of every true son and daughter of India, each and every faithful follower of the HinduReligion—nay, every member of self-respecting humanity—that he should do his best and utmost to help in the cause of removing this untouchability as well as restoring the millions of its victims in the country to a decent and efficient status in life.

We the undersigned also declare hereby that it is our own personal duty to give effect to the above resolutions whenever required of us severally in our own case.

We have omitted the signatures, not merely because of lack of space. We see among them many names of persons who do not in actual practice consider any person untouchable because of his race, creed; caste, or "outcasthood." We have also no reason to doubt the sincerity of any of the others who have signed the manifesto. But we are not sure whether they have in actual daily practice ceased to discriminate against the persons and classes who have been most unrighteously and inhumanly classed as "untouchable". We earnestly urge the publication of a fresh manifesto bearing the additional declaration that the signatories have actually ceased to discriminate against the so-called "untouchable" persons and classes. When we receive such a manifesto bearing the signatures of *Hindus*, we shall be glad to publish as many names as can be printed in small type in eight pages of this Review.

The self-determination which we ask for in the political sphere, is at present for others to allow or not to allow. But here is a field of action where the decision rests with ourselves alone. No one here disputes our right of self-determination. If we can properly exercise that right, we shall be able to take a great step forward in nation-building. Can we not get rid of our irreligious prejudices and take that step ?

Self-determination in another Social Matter.

We have in a previous number pointed out wherein Mr. V. J. Patel's Hindu Marriages Validating Bill is defective and given hearty support to the principle of the proposed law. Hindu orthodoxy all over India is being roused to a sense of the fancied "dangers" lurking under its really quite innocent provisions. Among the opponents of the Bill there are undoubtedly many men who sincerely believe that its passing would mean the ruin of Hindu society. They will, however, find that Hindu society will not cease to exist if the Bill becomes law. But should it be true that Hindu society can exist only by perpetuat-

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ing arbitrary and artificial distinctions between classes and individuals and by denying liberty of choice to individuals in the most important relation of life, is it quite certain that the continued existence of such a society is indispensably necessary for the good of humanity ?

May it be hoped that among opponents of the Bill, particularly among the more oppulent, there is not a single person who is not personally in dread of a possible demand on some injured woman's part for the legalisation of what is at present an immoral and illicit inter-caste or inter-racial connection ?

One is pained to find that in the Deccan persons and classes who are loudest in their demand of Home Rule are among the strongest opponents of inter-caste marriages. *The Kesari*, Mr. B. G. Tilak's paper, has been named as among the most vehement in its denunciation of the proposed validating law. We have always sincerely admired Mr. Tilak's courage and strength of mind in the field of politics. Our condemnation of the policy and attitude of his paper in this matter must be equally unequivocal and emphatic.

The opponents say that the Hindu law-givers permitted *anuloma* marriages, that is, marriages of men of the higher castes with women of the lower castes, and condemned *Pratiloma* marriages, *i.e.*, marriages of women of the higher castes with men of the lower castes. This is not true. As has been shown by Mr. Ratan Lall, B.A., LL. B., in his article on "The Hindu Marriage (validating) Bill" in the November number of the *Vedic Magazine*,

"(1) Some of our Smiritis and Shastras are against mixed marriages, others are in favour of them.

"(2) Some of our Shastras are silent on *pratiloma* marriages, *i. e.*, marriages between a man of lower caste with a woman of higher caste, others place them on an equal position with an *anuloma* marriage or a marriage between a man of higher caste with a woman of a lower caste.

"(3) Though some writers consider mixed marriages inferior, they do not nevertheless question their *legality*."

The same writer very correctly observes:

"Even the well-informed and highly intellectual Hon'ble Mr. Srinivas Shastri has fallen into an error with regard to them and is reported to have said that 'All the Shastras that we know of, sanction only *anuloma* marriages and discountenance *pratiloma* marriages, that is, the ancient law of the Hindus permitted marriages between 'men of the higher castes and women of the lower castes, but did not permit marriages between women of the higher castes and men of the lower castes'. Now, we have already quoted Gautama Dharma Sutras, where Gautama says that 'Sons begotten on women of higher castes by men of lower castes shall be treated like sons begotten by a Brahman on a Sudra wife.' This one quotation does show that *all* Shastras are not against *pratiloma* marriages."

He also rightly points out that it is not a fact that ancient Hindu Society in any way condemned the issues of *all* such marriages. "Far from that being the case, children by *pratiloma* marriages were [in some cases] greatly respected and highly admired." Gautama, Vashista and Manu declare that a "*Suta*" is the issue of a Kshatriya by a Brahman woman. Baudhayana, however, is of opinion that a Suta is the son of a Vaisya husband and a Brahman wife. Whichever view be adopted, a "*Suta*" is the offspring of a *pratiloma* marriage. Mr. Ratan Lall shows by quotations from the *Bhagavat* and the *Mahabharat* that "*Sutas*" performed the duty of reciting the *Puranas* to the holy Rishis and others. The *Mahabharat* was recited by a "*Suta*." This duty of reciting the Shastras and teaching even the Brahmans in that way would certainly not have been assigned to the offspring of *pratiloma* intercaste marriages, if such marriages had been considered degrading and against the Hindu law-codes. Sumantra, the highly respected and trusted charioteer of King Dasaratha, was a "*Suta*."

Both *anuloma* and *pratiloma* intercaste marriages were in vogue in ancient India. Some law-givers may have favoured both or neither, or only *anuloma* marriages, others holding a different opinion. But there is no sense in considering only those of them to be *Hindu* law-givers who spoke against all intercaste marriages and *Varnasankars* or only against *pratiloma* marriages and their issue, and treating all other law-givers as *un*-Hindu, against the dictates of reason and the testimony of the ancient epic poems, dramas, *puranas* and *itihasas* of our country. But even if support could not be found for intercaste marriages in the ancient sastras, there is no reason why we should not introduce them ; for they are necessary for the vitality and welfare of Hindu society and the Indian nation. Does any Sastra lay down that we should submit verbal or written prayers to distant and foreign "*mlechchhas*" for the boon of Home Rule ? Is the whole of our daily lives in health and

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sickness, prosperity and adversity in accordance with the Sastras ? It is the prevalent custom, the rule of use and wont, which we follow. And custom it is in our power to modify. It has been continually changing.

Some will say, and it has been said, "why not then *make* a new custom ? Why ask our foreign rulers to interfere in our social affairs ?" For the very good reason that we have already in our servile and weak condition allowed the foreign rulers to declare what is and what is not Hindu law and custom, and therefore any fresh departure from prevailing custom has to be sanctioned by their legislature. Still, if the members of even a single Hindu caste in any province had the sense of justice and fairness and the love of liberty to declare that they would recognise intercaste marriages as legal and honourable unions, though at the same time they might socially excommunicate the parties to such marriages, we would unhesitatingly declare that Mr. Patel's Bill was uncalled for and superfluous. But it is harmful folly not to be able to exercise the right of self-determination in social matters in a just, progressive and righteous manner and at the same time to stand in the way of anybody seeking the needful amount of *other*-determination to make self-determination effective. If it be permissible to desire the gift of Home Rule from the hands of foreigners, why should it not be permissible to ask their help in getting a law made which will enable men to make their *homes* and *home-rules* in the way they desire ?

The advocacy of *anuloma* marriages coupled with the condemnation of *pratiloma* ones, is particularly insulting to women and the non-Brahman castes. Why should the "holy" Brahman males have a freedom of choice which is to be denied to the Brahman women ? Why, again, should the "holy" Brahman men have a freedom of choice which is not to be enjoyed by the non-Brahman castes ? Considering the large number of able men and saints which even the "untouchable" classes have produced and the large number of noodles and scoundrels which even the Brahman caste in all provinces contains, no reasonable orthodox Hindu can claim that all Brahmans are in all respects superior to all non-Brahmans. It is not our desire to be hard on the male sex or on Brahmans. And considering that by birth we belong to the Brahman caste and that superior women can point the finger of scorn at us as "a mere male," we may be naturally supposed to be unconsciously or sub-consciously prejudiced in favour of Brahmans and males. But whatever our conscious or unconscious bias may or may not be, we cannot certainly allow any arrogant claims made by any sex or caste to pass unchallenged.

In the matter of abolishing "untouchability," we possess the full right of self-determination. In the matter of intercaste marriages, formally our right of self-determination is not perfect. But if we determine not to oppose the principle of Mr. Patel's Bill, it will very probably become law. So the proposed law would practically constitute a test of our power to determine the right course for us to follow.

It gives us much pleasure to note that along with meetings held to oppose legislation validating intercaste Hindu marriages, a smaller number of meetings have been held to support such legislation. Particularly noteworthy has been the activity of the progressive Hindu citizens of Madras. In that city not only did the opposition meeting end in a fiasco, but a successful public meeting of Hindus was held to support intercaste marriage. This encourages the hope that just as in politics Madras no longer deserves the epithet of 'benighted', so in matters social, too, she may claim in the not distant future that that adjective is an unmerited slur on her public spirit.

Wherever public meetings similar to that held in Madras can be held successfully, they should be held. Where progressive Hindus are not so sure of the success of a meeting open to the entire Hindu public, they may still hold a public meeting clearly announcing beforehand that it is meant for only those who are in favour of legislation validating intercaste marriage. If the promoters of such meetings consider Mr. Patel's Bill defective in any respect, they should point out its defects and suggest amendments.

Varnasankars or Hybrid Castes.

According to the orthodox theory, there were and are only four *varnas* or castes, and as the sastras condemned intercaste marriages, *varnasankars* were

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few. But we would ask the upholders of this theory to look facts squarely in the face. Are there only four castes in any place in India? North and south, east and west, wherever we look, are there not hundreds of castes, not marrying with one another? How did these spring up? How did the *ambashtha* and other mixed castes spring up except by intercaste *marriage*? Is it not unhistorical and at the same time insulting to millions to suppose that they are the offspring of illicit intercaste connections which took place in very large numbers in times past? And if there has not been any mixture of blood and racial fusion in the past, how can one explain the various complexions of various Brahmans and other Hindus ranging from rosy white to jet black; how can one explain the difference in the nasal index, the shape of the head, the high or low, narrow or broad forehead, the colour of the eyes, etc., among members of the same caste?

There are many sincere men among the opponents of Mr. Patel's Bill. They are probably not conscious that they are doing anything dishonourable even indirectly. Nevertheless we cannot help saying that practically their attitude amounts to this, that, whereas these opponents have never offered any organised opposition to the ruining of women of one caste by wicked men of the same or another caste by immoral, illicit, dishonourable and more or less temporary connections with the women, these same persons are now offering organised opposition to men of one caste contracting permanent, honorable, lawful and moral connections with women of a different caste.

Self-determination in World Politics.

So long as the war lasted, Mr. Lloyd George and several other statesmen declared that Germany's African colonies would be allowed to determine their own kind and form of government. It is generally found that when men are in a difficulty they very often say things to which they do not adhere when the danger is over. So we never expected that any peoples outside Europe whose fates were somehow involved in the war would really have the right of self-determination. We expected that there would be only a change of masters for such peoples, on the excuse that either they had not the capacity to manage their own affairs or that they p ferred British rule or French rule or Itali rule or South African rule to independen So we are not in the least surprised at t various claims put forward by differe white participants in the war; the wor would have been if these claims had n been put forward. The only people w have no claims and no rights are t "coloured" peoples whose lands and lib ties are proposed to be divided among t victorious European belligerents, who cla to be "colourless" or "transparent." fact whatever their "war aims" may ha been, their "peace aims" appear to rather too transparent. Let us still, ho ever, hope for the best, though the ve idea of a "war of liberation" proving be no better than a war of spoliation a enslavement is sickening.

We have seen in our last number th General Smuts wants that the quonda German colonies in Africa should be ma over to the British colonies in that con nent, and we have seen how unrighteo and contrary to the declared war aims the Allies such a claim is. Interviewed Reuter's representative in London, Gener Botha has said: "I have learned wi much satisfaction that the Imperial G vernment will give the Dominions wh hearted support in any claim which th may put forward to the quondam Germ colonies." We are not surprised to re this, though it would have been a mat for the greatest satisfaction if the Imper Government had not given any such surance. In fact, we would fain ho that General Botha was misinform That the quondam German colonies Africa should not be restored to Germa is admitted on all hands. But neith should they be subjected to the domi tion of any other outsiders whatsoev Dependence is dependence, and must productive of some great evils, even if t masters were angels. No people have t least right to domineer over and expl any other people. We are not claim that all over the world there should be recasting of maps, and that all subje countries, conquered howsoever long ag should be immediately restored to t indigenous inhabitants thereof, they bei made independent. Such a claim wou not be theoretically objectionable, but would not be practicable to give effect it; it would be so revolutionary that

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would probably give rise to war in all continents. What we say is that if, as the result of the war, some peoples have been freed from foreign domination, they should not again be subjected to such domination, whatever its character. And both Boers and Britishers in South Africa, as rulers of the native population, have been extremely selfish and grasping. We need mention only one fact. The natives have been deprived of the ownership of almost all the land in the country. The British people claim that they have been the most successful in governing "coloured" races. But with reference to a proposal made in 1857 that the Government of India should have a representative elected Council of European merchants and barristers to guide the administration, even the Tory *Saturday Review* wrote :—

"Why in the world should an 'open' Council of resident Europeans pretend to Govern India ?....What right has a man to rule an immense and populous country because it happens to have selected it as a field for speculation ? Is an adventure in indigo-planting or an expedition to a hot latitude in search of briefs to entitle every chance Englishman to share in the most prodigious oligarchy which the world will have seen ? Such a Government.....would mismanage because it would be too busy with its commercial speculation ; it would job because its interest in India would by the assumption be sordid and personal and it would owe to the mere privilege of race an unnatural authority which it neither deserved nor has."—Quoted by the *Indian Social Reformer*.

And with regard to European rule in general, in Asia, Africa or America, the following extract from Chapter XVIII of Mill's *Representative Government* should be borne in mind :—

"In other respects, its (Government's) interference is likely to be oftenest exercised where it will be most pertinaciously demanded, and that is, on behalf of some interest of the English settlers. English settlers have friends at home, have organs, have access to the public ; they have a common language, and common ideas with their countrymen : any complaint by an Englishman is more sympathetically heard even if no unjust preference is intentionally accorded to it. Now, if there be a fact to which all experience testifies, it is that when a country holds another in subjection, the individuals of the ruling people who resort to the foreign country to make their fortunes, are of all others those who most need to be held under *powerful restraint*. They are always one of the chief difficulties of the government. Armed with the *prestige* and filled with the scornful overbearingness of the conquering nation, they have the feelings inspired by absolute power, without its sense of reponsibility. Among a people like that of India, the utmost efforts of the public authorities are not enough for the effectual protection of the weak against the strong : and of all the strong, the European settlers are the strongest. Wherever the demoralizing effect of the situation is not in a most remarkable degree corrected by the personal character of the individual, they think the people of the country mere dirt under their feet : it seems to them monstrous that any rights of the natives should stand in the way of their smallest pretensions : the simplest act of protection to the inhabitants against any act of power on their part which they may consider useful to their commercial objects, they denounce, and sincerely regard as an injury. So natural is this state of feeling in a situation like theirs, that even under the discouragement which it has hitherto met with from the ruling authorities, it is impossible that more or less of the spirit should not perpetually break out. The Government, itself free from this spirit, is never able sufficiently to keep it down in the young and raw even of its own civil and military officers, over whom it has so much more control than over the independent residents. As it is with the English in India, so, according to trustworthy testimony, it is with the French in Algiers ; so with the Americans, in the countries conquered from Mexico ; so it seems to be with the Europeans in China, and already even in Japan : there is no necessity to recall how it was with the Spaniards in South America. In all these cases the government to which these private adventurers are subject, is better than they, and does the most it can to protect the natives against them. Even the Spanish Government did this, sincerely and earnestly, though ineffectually, as is known to every reader of Mr. Helps' instructive history. Had the Spanish Government been directly accountable to Spanish opinion, we may question if it would have made the attempt : for the Spaniards, doubtless, would have taken part with their Christian friends and relations rather than with Pagans. The settlers, not the natives, have the ear of the public at home ; it is they whose representations are likely to pass for truth, because they alone have both the means and the motive to press them perseveringly upon the inattentive and uninterested public mind. The distrustful criticism with which Englishmen, more than any other people, are in the habit of scanning the conduct of their country towards foreigners, they usually reserve for the proceedings of the public authorities. In all questions between a government and an individual, the presumption in every Englishman's mind is that the government is in the wrong. And when the resident English bring the batteries of English political action to bear upon any of the bulwarks erected to protect the natives against their encroachments, the executive, with their real but faint velleities of something better, generally find it safer to their parliamentary interest, and at any rate less troublesome, to give up the disputed position, than to defend it.

"What makes matters worse is, that when the public mind is invoked (as, to its credit, the English mind is extremely open to be) in the name of justice and philanthropy, in behalf of the subject community or race, there is the same probability of its missing the mark. For in the subject community, also there are oppressors and oppressed ; powerful individuals or classes, and slaves prostrate before them ; and it is the former, not the latter, who have the means of access to the English public. A tyrant or sensualist who has been deprived of the power he had abused, and instead of punishment, is supported in as great wealth and splendour as he ever enjoyed ; a knot of privileged landholders who demand that the State should relinquish to them its reserved right to a rent

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from their lands, or who resent as a wrong any attempt to protect the masses from their extortion; these have no difficulty in procuring interested or sentimental advocacy in the British Parliament and press. The silent myriads obtain none."

It is not the home-keeping and colonising portions of the British people alone who wish to acquire territory as victors; the Italians are putting forward similar claims, as the following Reuter's telegram will show :—

Rome, Dec. 18.

In the Senate, to-day, Signor Tittani, ex-Foreign Minister, declared that if the other Powers acquired territorial possessions in the Eastern Mediterranean, Italy must also do so. Owing to her lack of coal, Italy ought to have prior claim to the concessions in the coal-fields of Heraclea. If France and Great Britain retained the whole or part of Germany's African Colonies, Italy should be compensated by the enlargement of her boundaries in Libya, Somaliland and Eritrea. The Premier warmly approved the speech.—"Reuter."

No doubt, in replying to the toast of his health at the banquet given to him in Paris, the King of Italy said that "Italy's spontaneous participation in the war sprang from her sense of right and justice." No such speech ought to be expected to have a retrospective bearing, and therefore we need not ask whether the invasion and conquest of Tripoly was the result of Italy's sense of right and justice. But surely speeches ought to have a prospective effect; and therefore one may ask, is it consonant with a sense of right and justice to seek to deprive other peoples of their land and liberties? President Wilson and many British statesmen have repeatedly declared that the late war was a war of liberation and self-determination, and that one of its objects was to make the world safe for democracy. What sort of liberation and self-determination were the people of Africa going to have? By a "world safe for democracy," was it meant a world safe for European democracies to domineer over and exploit?

So far President Wilson alone among the spokesmen of the Western peoples has not expressed any desire for selfish gain as a reward for participating in the war. But if all the other principal victors be out for land-grabbing, what can a solitary advocate of right and justice do, however great his moral ascendancy and the nation behind his back?

Probably it would be best for President Wilson to propose at the Peace Conference as one of the terms of peace that the people of the quondam German African colonies, of Libya, of Somaliland, of Eastern Mediterranean areas, &c., be all transported *at America's cost if need be*, to the prairies and savannahs of America, in order that they may find there a world *comparatively* safe for democracy.

Results of Unregulated Contact of Europeans with a Primitive Society.

It will not, of course, do to leave the primitive inhabitants of Africa or of the Pacific Islands to be exploited and treated by European traders of any or all nationalities as they liked. For then their fate would be sure to be worse than under their German masters. They should be left free to manage their own affairs under international guarantees of non-interference by outsiders, or, if such a course be deemed impracticable, or ineffectual in preventing abuse and cruelties, they should be placed under the government of an international commission, at first for a period of ten years, at the end of which an enquiry should be made for what further period, if any, such a commission should control their destiny. If Mesopotamia, Syria &c., are not to be made independent, they should also be dealt with as above. In the proposed international commission neutral non-colonising nations like the Swiss, the Swedes, the Norwegians, &c. should be represented.

We have taken the heading of the present "Note" from Note B, p. 223, in "*The Commonwealth of Nations*", edited by Mr. Lionel Curtis. In order to show that the "results of unregulated contact of Europeans with a primitive society" are of a particularly undesirable character, we shall give some extracts to be found in Mr. Curtis's above-named work. He says that "the following extracts from the *Life of John Paton*, a missionary in the New Hebrides, afford some glimpses of the conditions which come into existence where no European state has made itself responsible for controlling the relations of primitive people with European traders"* :—

'Instead of the inhabitants of Port Resolution being improved by coming in contact with white

* But in the Congo Free State and elsewhere where some European state or other *did* make itself responsible for controlling the relations of primitive people with European traders, conditions comparable to those described in the extracts came into existence.—Ed. *M. R.*

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men, they are rendered much worse, for they have learned all their vices, but none of their virtues,—if such are possessed by the pioneer traders among such races! The Sandalwood traders are as a class the most godless of men, whose cruelty and wickedness make us ashamed to own them as our countrymen. By them, the poor defenceless Natives are oppressed and robbed on every hand; and if they offer the slightest resistance they are ruthlessly silenced by the musket or the revolver. Few months here pass without some of them being so shot, and, instead of their murderers feeling ashamed, they boast of how they despatch them. Such treatment keeps the Natives always burning under a desire for revenge, so that it is a wonder any white man is allowed to come among them. Indeed, all Traders here are able to maintain their position only by revolvers and rifles; but we hope a better state of affairs is at hand for Tanna.....

'Thousands upon thousands of money were made in the sandalwood trade yearly, so long as it lasted; but it was a trade steeped in human blood and indescribable vice, nor could God's blessing rest on the Traders and their ill-gotten gains..... Sandalwood Traders murdered many of the Islanders when robbing them of their wood, and the Islanders murdered many of them and their servants in revenge. White men, engaged in the trade, also shot dead and murdered each other in vicious and drunken quarrels, and not a few put end to their own lives. I have scarcely known one of them who did not come to ruin and poverty; the money that came even to the shipowners was a conspicuous curse.....

'One morning, three or four vessels entered our Harbour and cast anchor in Port Resolution. The Captains called on me; and one of them, with manifest delight, exclaimed, "We know how to bring down your proud Tannese now! We'll humble them before you!"

'I answered, "Surely you don't mean to attack and destroy these poor people?"

'He replied, not abashed but rejoicing, "We have sent the measles to humble them! That kills them by the score! Four young men have been landed at different ports, ill with measles, and these will soon thin their ranks."

'Shocked above measure I protested solemnly and denounced their conduct and spirit; but my remonstrances only called forth the shameless declaration, "Our watchword is,—Sweep these creatures away and let white men occupy the soil!"

'Their malice was further illustrated thus: they induced Kapuka, a young chief, to go off to one of their vessels, promising him a present. He was the friend and chief supporter of Mr. Mathieson and of his work. Having got him on board, they confined him in the hold amongst Natives lying ill with measles. They gave him no food for about four-and-twenty hours; and then, without the promised present, they put him ashore far from his own home. Though weak and excited, he scrambled back to his Tribe in great exhaustion and terror. He informed the Missionary that they had put him down amongst sick people, red and hot with fever, and that he feared that their sickness was upon him. I am ashamed to say that these Sandalwood and other Traders were our own degraded countrymen; and that they deliberately gloried in thus destroying the poor Heathen. A more fiendish * spirit could scarcely be imagined; but most of them were horrible drunkards, and their traffic of every kind amongst these Islands was, generally speaking, steeped in human blood.

'The measles thus introduced became amongst our Islanders the most deadly plague. It spread fearfully, and was accompanied by sore throat and diarrhœa. In some villages, man, woman, and child were stricken, and none could give food or water to the rest. The misery, suffering, and terror were unexampled, the living being afraid sometimes even to bury the dead.....

'The sale of Intoxicants, Opium, Fire-arms and Ammunition, by the Traders amongst the New Hebrideans, had become a terrible and intolerable evil. The lives of many Natives, and of not a few Europeans, were every year sacrificed in connection therewith, while the general demoralization produced on all around was painfully notorious... It is infinitely sad to see the European and American Trader following fast in the wake of the Missionary with opium and rum!... And not less cruel is it to scatter fire-arms and ammunition amongst Savages, who are at the same time so be primed with poisonous rum! This were surely Demons'* work.

'To her honour, be it said, that Great Britain prohibited all her own Traders, under heavy penalties, from bartering those dangerous and destructive articles in trade with the Natives.....' Pp. 223-225 of *The Commonwealth of Nations.*

It was not in some long past age that John G. Paton, Missionary, wrote these words. He wrote them in 1892.

No nation has a monopoly either of devilry or of righteousness. The contemporary colonial records of the British or the French or even of the Spaniards do not, it is true, reveal the same kind or extent of horrible cruelty as the Germans were guilty of in Africa in recent years, for example, against the Herreros. But to give even the devil his due, it must be said that the Germans began their colonial enterprise much later than many other nations, and the earlier colonial records of the latter were marked by the same kind of cruelty. We Indians are probably not by nature less cruel than other people. If our colonial records, long buried in oblivion, could be recovered, probably they, too, would not make pleasant reading. But as at present we are not in for a share of the spoils, we need not discuss how we might have behaved if we had

* In the well-known English book of reference entitled *Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases*, by Peter Mark Roget, words of similar import are grouped together. The following is a group:

"rascal, scoundrel, villain, miscreant, caitiff; wretch, reptile, viper, serpent, cockatrice, basilisk, urchin; tiger, monster; devil &c. (*demon*); devil incarnate; demon in human shape, Nana Sahib; hell-hound, -cat; rake-hell."

Evidently Dr. Roget could not find a more wicked man than Nana Sahib or one equally wicked, in the whole range of human history.—Ed., *M.R.*

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been placed in the same situation as the colonising European nations. The victorious among the latter are dwelling too much on German atrocities. They might have been a little more forbearing and discreet, considering, as we have said above, that the colonizing records of no nation are quite odorous. Even the British people are not an exception. We say this, because they and their colonial fellow-imperials are claiming the largest share of the booty. It is best not to be too self-righteous. It is not only English settlers and traders who have been occasionally wanting in humanity; men of the British race who for the time being constituted the personnel of government have also sometimes in the past, and that not a remote past, been guilty of similar wickedness; and that not merely in their dealings with coloured peoples but also in their government of Christian white people. We say this on the authority of British authors, one of the latest of whom, Mr. G. K. Chesterton, has written a book entitled the "Crimes of England," in defence of which work he writes: "Telling the truth about Ireland is not very pleasant to a patriotic Englishman; but it is very patriotic." The tale that he unfolds is too gruesome and harrowing to be transcribed in its entirety. We shall refrain from quoting more than a few of the less gruesome sentences. Says Mr. Chesterton:—

"The march of Pitt's policy went on; and the chasm between light and darkness deepened. Order was restored and wherever order spread, there spread an anarchy more awful than the sun has ever looked on. Torture came out of the crypts of the Inquisition and walked in the sunlight of the streets and fields,..... The violation of virgins became a standing order of the Police..... The British Prime Minister publicly refused to stop the famine by the use of English ships. The British Prime Minister positively spread the famine by making the half-starved populations of Ireland pay for the starved ones."

There is no proof that the character of any nation has been so transformed as to make it impossible for it to do again in the future what it did in the past. Therefore what we urge is that no nation should in its reckless quest of wealth and power add to its foreign possessions and responsibilities and thus increase its temptations to be unjust and inhuman. If the proposed League of Nations be formed, the backward or primitive peoples who require protection against European settlers and traders should be placed under the joint protectorate of an international commission nominated by the League. That is the farthest limit of foreign control permissible. The ideal arrangement would be for the League to prohibit and prevent all European settlers and traders visiting the territories of these peoples, only *bona fide* educators being allowed admission.

A Foreign Preserve for India Not Wanted.

We have said above and said truly that India is not in at the division of the spoils. But there has been a proposal by a non-Indian, Sir Theodore Morison, that East Africa should be made an Indian preserve pure and simple. We are entirely against this proposal, and that for many reasons. The chief reason is that we want to rule only ourselves and our own country: we do not want to rule the Negroes of East Africa. We know by painful experience that it is impossible for one people to rule another quite justly, humanely and with a single eye to the welfare and elevation of the ruled. We do not, therefore, want to play the odious role, even in a subordinate capacity, of an imperial people. It is not our opinion alone that it is impossible for foreign rule to be entirely just, humane and beneficial. John Stuart Mill says in the last chapter of his *Representative Government*:

"It is always under great difficulties, and very imperfectly, that a country can be governed by foreigners; even when there is no extreme disparity in habits and ideas, between the rulers and the ruled. Foreigners do not feel with the people. They cannot judge, by the light in which a thing appears to their own minds, or the manner in which it affects their feelings, how it will affect the feelings or appear to the minds of the subject population. What a native of the country, of average practical ability, knows as it were by instinct, they have to learn slowly, and after all imperfectly, by study and experience. The laws, the customs, the social relations, for which they have to legislate, instead of being familiar to them from childhood, are all strange to them. For most of their detailed knowledge they must depend on the information of natives; and it is difficult for them to know whom to trust. They are feared, suspected, probably disliked by the population; seldom sought by them except for interested purposes; and they are prone to think that the servilely submissive are the trustworthy. Their danger is of despising the natives; that of the natives is of disbelieving that anything the strangers can do can be intended for their good. These are but a part of the difficulties that any rulers have to struggle with who honestly attempt to govern well a country in which they are foreigners.....

"The government of a people by itself has a meaning and a reality: but such a thing as government of one people by another does not and cannot exist. One people may keep another as a warren or

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preserve for its own use, a place to make money in, a human cattle farm to be worked for the profit of its own inhabitants. But if the good of the governed is the proper business of a government, it is utterly impossible that a people should directly attend to it. The utmost they can do is to give some of their best men a commission to look after it; to whom the opinion of their own country can neither be much of a guide in the performance of their duty, nor a competent judge of the mode in which it has been performed." &c., &c.

It cannot be said generally that either England or any other imperialising country sends some of its best men to govern dependencies. However, that is by the way.

Another reason why we are against Sir Theodore Morison's proposal is that he lays down the condition that in lieu of the boon or bribe of a preserve in East Africa Indians are practically to write themselves and their children's children down as unclean and untouchable creatures unworthy to have the right of unrestricted migration within the Empire. No, we cannot renounce that right, for the sake of any doubtful or even undoubted advantage. Sir Theodore's exact words are :

"The Dominions must reserve, unquestioned, their right to exclude what classes or races they like; India must renounce that claim to unrestricted migration within the Empire which she has never been able to enforce. But the magnitude of this renunciation must be recognised and India must receive compensation by having assigned to her a portion of the Empire in which she will have special interests and a privileged position."

Sir Theodore concludes his article on the subject in the *Hindustan Review* as follows :—

'In a colony of her own India would have a fair field and no favour; let her there show that the world has hitherto under-estimated the vigour, courage and resourcefulness of her sons, let her demonstrate by actually educating and elevating the negro that she can succeed where the white races have failed and prove by training the Africans to compete with his own sons that she is swayed not only by political ambition but also by the noblest ideals of humanity. When her reputation has thus been established abroad, her claim to responsible government at home will not need vindication.'

We absolutely refuse to admit that our claim to responsible government at home can be subject to the test proposed by the writer. Have the people of Switzerland, Serbia, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, &c., proved their claim to responsible government in the way proposed by him? England was a self-governing country long before she had any colony or dependency to govern.

By refusing to have any foreign territory as a preserve or as a colony where Indians are to have special interests and a privileged position, we do not mean to say that we do not want to emigrate and settle abroad temporarily or permanently. We do want to do so, and we also want to have citizens' rights, in the countries to which we may go, equally with the people of those countries. We do not want to have any "special interests" or "privileged position" in any foreign country, as these always mean injustice to the indigenous portion of the population.

Self-determination for India.

Many meetings have been held in different parts of India claiming the right of self-determination for India. We support this claim. In the abstract this claim means that Indians themselves are to frame a scheme of the kind of government they want. But, as India's lack of independence would prevent her from having a separate place in the Peace Conference in her own right, it would suffice for all practical purposes, if we could obtain all the essentially necessary modifications in the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme, proposed by the Congress, the Moslem League and the Moderate's Conference, accepted by the authorities. Or, as a Parliamentary Bill is expected at no distant day to take the place of the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme, we should rather say that our efforts should be directed towards essentially necessary amendments in that Bill in accordance with the resolutions of the representative assemblies named above.

Obviously, it would be a sort of contradiction in terms to pray for the right of self-determination. One can only claim or demand the right of self-determination. And it is easy to make a *demand* in words. But all who make demands should understand the meaning of the word demand. It is a claim which those who bring it forward should be prepared to enforce. It is farthest from our intention to suggest that those who are demanding self-determination should rebel if they fail to get what they want; for we are pacifists by conviction and not merely of necessity, and the British connection is at present necessary for us. What we mean is that those who make a demand must be prepared to suffer and to sacrifice, to the furthest possible

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limit, in all peaceful ways, for gaining their object. They must not think that their duty has been done by the mere utterance of the heroic word *demand* instead of the servile word *pray*.

And the best claim to the right of self-determination would be the concrete fact of even a single Indian village devising its own ways of attaining the perfection of corporate existence and finding the means to realise its ideals. That would be worth more than all our wordy resolutions. Cannot a single unit of Indian society, large or small, justify its claim to self-determination in this concrete way?

We are far from saying that Indians have not shown capacity for managing their own affairs, by successful work as Dewans of Native States, Chairmen of District Boards or Municipalities, &c.; but these fields of activity are not entirely free from official control, initiative, or suggestion.

The Press Must Be Free.

The Indian public does not perhaps fully and clearly realise what harm is done to the public life of the country and to the character of its inhabitants by the restrictions placed on the Press. The very first thing which the freedom promised to the country should imply is the guarantee of personal liberty, of which no one should be deprived without open trial before an ordinary law-court. Among the other things that ought to be implied, is a free Press. Even if all hampering restrictions be not removed, the laws affecting the press should be so modified as to deprive the executive of the power of demanding a security from a new press before it has been started and has had any chance of committing any offence, of the power of demanding a security on the occasion of a press removing to new premises or engaging a new printer, or on the occasion of a newspaper being started or ceasing to be printed at one press and beginning to be printed at another, without any reference to any offending article appearing or not appearing in it. And the Executive should always be required to give a distinct and definite reason or reasons for demanding security, and an appeal should always lie before a judicial officer against any such demand of security.

The public should unceasingly demand at least these changes in the press laws.

"Mobilisation of India's Agricultural Resources."

In our last number (pp. 641-43), we commented on an article in the Lond[on] *Times* bearing the above heading. It would appear that this process, eup[hem]istically called mobilisation, is about to commence or has already commenced in Sind. No doubt, there is much that is entirely legitimate in what has been recommended to be done in that province, but that much may be meant, at least partly, to save appearances. The cloven foot appears in the words we have italicised in the following Associated Press telegram :—

Karachi, Dec. 23.

As a result of the deliberations of the Commit[tee] appointed to consider the question of increasing the production of crops in Sind, the following recommendations have been made.—That the municipalities be recommended to make available for agricultural use only all night-soil and products of scavenging; that efforts be made to stimulate the *full* use of irrigation wells *for growing grain crops* and that takavi advanced for the construction and repair of such wells, *that Government be asked to issue orders to Khatedars or rentees of more than ten acres to put not less than one-third of their cultivation under cereal or pulse crops; that grains and particularly wheat should receive preference in issue of water from Government canals and tanks as against non-food crops* according to the conditions of each locality, that on perennial canals water should be allowed to be used for the purpose of irrigating lands for the sowing of cotton *after June 30* and that cotton should be allowed to take water until October 31; that dry beds of the tanks should be given out to *the cultivators of cereals wherever possible*; that suitable waste lands be given out for the temporary cultivation on easy terms. *Lands should be given out in kharif for food crops only* and for juari and bajri wherever possible in preference to rice since rice takes much more water than juari and produces smaller volumes of food for the water consumed. For rabi it recommended, that eksali land be given out for wheat where they can be grown or for barley where wheat does not flourish; *that cultivation of oil-seeds be discouraged wherever cereals and pulse crops can be grown*; that in view of the scarcity of fodder as well as of grain cultivation of adsawa (spring) juari be encouraged as much as possible; that as inundation of the current year has shown emphatically the necessity of scientific rotation, steps should be taken to provide regulators on canals wherever required; that clearance of the canals should be completed by August 30 at latest and that zamindars should be encouraged to take up clearance contracts, that the Agriculture Department should through the Publicity Board and affiliated local committees distribute pamphlets broadcast emphasising the necessity of increasing the cultivation of food crops and showing simple improvements possible in indigenous methods of agriculture with indigenous implements; also durbars should be held under the presidency of Collectors, Sub-Divisional Officers and Mukhtyarkars, etc., to explain and distribute the pamphlets and that awards should

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be offered for good cultivation of food crops.—"Associated Press."

We do not know who appointed the Committee referred to in the telegram, and why, or who constituted its personnel. *The Times* suggested that where the peasant was to be deprived of his independence and ordered to grow food crops instead of industrial crops (such as cotton or oil seeds), a fair minimum price was to be guaranteed for the food grains in order that the grower might not be a loser. But in the telegram there is no mention of such guarantee of minimum prices.

It is to be noticed that the so-called mobilisation is about to begin in a province where good cotton grows. Probably the process has also commenced in other provinces where cotton or other industrial crops grow. The educated public should keep keen watch over the doings of the agricultural, irrigation and land revenue administration departments everywhere, and see in what ways and to what extent agriculturists are being deprived of their liberty to grow whatever crops are most profitable for them to grow, and estimate the probable amount of their loss due to such deprivation of liberty.

The Times is a Northcliffe paper, and the Lloyd George ministry is or was a Northcliffe-made ministry; and so when the Thunderer thundered that Asia must be forced to wear old clothes in order that Europe may not starve, it was obvious that it was not mere stage thunder and that there was most probably some reality lurking in it. Are we justified or are we not in concluding that a glimpse of the reality is to be found in the recommendations of the Sind Committee? The Bombay Government may be able to answer.

We must not forget to notice one or two points of detail. *The Times* wrote that "the orders must be issued in time," and so they have been recommended to be. *The Times* wanted the cultivation of many food grains and pulses, but not of rice;* so the cultivation of rice has been recommended to be discouraged. We quote below the exact words of the *Times* for ready reference.

"The one thing essential is that the orders should be issued in time. Once the annual rains have started, the peasant must work; his time for thinking and planning is then over, and interference from above might do almost as much harm as good. If, however, plain orders are issued in the spring and measures are taken to ensure an adequate supply of seed and capital, the result would be seen in increased supplies of maize, millets and pulses coming forward in the following autumn, and of wheat, gram and barley a few months later, in time to reach Europe at the critical period when it is waiting for the northern harvests to begin."

* Europeans are not a rice-eating people.

Aeroplanes and the Exodus to the Hills.

An Anglo-Indian paper has found a new argument, in favour of the Indian and provincial governments' annual migrations to the hills being perpetuated, in the fact that aerial mails would soon be started and official letters and other papers would then reach the tin gods on the hill-tops in a very much shorter time than now. As if the delay in the transit of letters, etc., were the chief or only argument against the exodus to mountain summits! As if contact and intercourse with the mortals toiling in the plains below, whose affairs the tin gods manage and mismanage, were of no importance at all!

We have, however, a better proposal in the line of the Anglo-Indian paper. As aerial mails would soon begin to pass between India and England in a shorter period of time than it now takes the railway mails to reach from Madras or Bombay to Simla, we suggest that India be governed direct from London, and the offices of Viceroy and provincial satraps and all their entourage be abolished. There would, no doubt, be a strong objection urged against our suggestion, and that would be the remark made in New Zealand by Godley, who was afterwards to become the head of a department in Whitehall, *viz.*, "I would rather be governed by Nero on the spot, than by a board of archangels in London"; but this objection applies, in kind, though not in the same degree, to government from Simla, Darjeeling, Ooty and Mahabaleshwar also.

"The Situation in India"

Lord Sydenham has contributed to the Daily Mail Year Book for 1919 an article on "The Situation in India." The publishers of this annual could not have chosen a more prejudiced person to write on the subject. He is introduced "To The Reader" as "Lord Sydenham, G.C., M.G., with the weight of many years' experience." Experience forsooth!

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Sir Abbas Ali Baig has outlined the proposals of the Secretary of State for India in the same Year Book.

Mill Labour in Madras.

The lock-out in two mills in Madras has happily ended in the labourers gaining their chief points. Great credit is due for this successful termination of the struggle between capital and labour to the disinterested and self-sacrificing efforts of Mr. B. P. Wadia and Mr. C. F. Andrews and other workers. Mr. B. P. Wadia and other workers have been working for the welfare of the labouring population for a long time, and Mr. Andrews arrived on the spot when the labourers were in the thick of the fight. Our public workers in industrial areas have much to learn from what the workers in Madras have done. Whether under European management and capitalised by Europeans or under Indian management and capitalised by Indians, industrial concerns are sure to multiply fast in the immediate future. It is necessary, therefore, that in all industrial areas there should be labour unions and union funds for emergencies. Our labourers have no knowledge and experience of how such unions are worked in Western countries. And our educated men, too, are generally wanting in such knowledge and experience. But they can learn much by studying the literature on the subject. It is only natural, therefore, that the labourers in our country should follow the advice and guidance of the educated section of the public. It is equally natural and only to be expected that European capitalists in the country should raise the cry that the agitators are creating unrest among the labour population. We should not be deterred from doing our duty by the interested clamour raised by these capitalists and their friends the Anglo-Indian journalists.

The Viceroy at the Calcutta Convocation.

From the Viceroy's speech at the Calcutta University Convocation, it appears that effect will be given to the unanimous recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission in disregard of any public criticism thereof. Said he :

For myself, I should like to say that if the members of the Commission are unanimous in their main recommendations I shall lose no time in giving effect to them. It would be futile to appoint a Commiss of such strength and eminence and then pigeon-h their suggestions. I hope that the course I prop will meet with general approval and I shall have support of his Excellency your Rector and of Government. I am perfectly conscious that th must be some criticism of and opposition to wh may be proposed in the nature of reforms, but tha only to be expected in a matter of such complex It is scarcely likely that a general unanimity on part of the public can be secured, but I would those who feel themselves constrained to take up attitude of dissent to weigh carefully the question issue as a whole before they make up their minds.

We do not think the Viceroy will entirely right in the course he wishes adopt. No doubt, the views of such learned body as the Commission should treated with great consideration and re pect. But in matters like education, t views of experts may not necessarily right in all respects, or entirely practical in a country like India, of which the maj rity of the members have had no previo experience. There is not a single represe tative of the Bengal public in the co mission. Sir Ashutosh Mukherji, the on Bengali in it, represents the Calcutta Un versity as it is, which is on its trial as were and for many of whose defects a well as merits he is mainly responsib The procedure followed by the commi sion, including the framing of questio and the oral examination of witnesses there was any), was not calculated bring to the fore a great part of the dependent educational opinion in the pr vince, so far as it exists. For such a sta of things, the educated men of Bengal a to blame to a great extent. The pa played (or, to be accurate, omitted to played) in the matter by the two da English organs of indigenous opinion Calcutta has been thoroughly discred able. Still, though the people of Beng have almost failed to do their duty, w think His Excellency should serious consider any informed criticism that ma be offered on the recommendations of t Commission when its report is published

The Viceroy's speech gives clear indic tions of the directions in which the Co mission would recommend the introdu tion of reforms.

In the first place, you have in this university student population which is the largest of any u versity in the world and without parallel. You ha some 23,000 students preparing for university degre and those students are not concentrated in Calcu but dispersed over a wide area. This vast multitude under the control of a single organization. It purs

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the same studies, assimilates the same text books and goes up for the same examinations. Moreover, as if this were not a sufficient task for one governing body, the same body is responsible for the care of more than 600 schools. Again, of these 23,000 students, some 19,000 follow purely literary courses which lead only to clerical and legal careers. I will repeat today what I said to you two yers ago: 'So long as students think that the only avenues of employment are in the legal and clerical professions, so long shall we get congestion and overcrowding in those professions with consequent discouragement, disappointment and discontent.'

INFLUX OF STUDENTS.

Once more when I had the opportunity of visiting you, I was much struck by the fact that a large number of students seemed to be doing work which should have been done at school and not in a university. If this be so, it must necessarily follow that the colossal numbers of the university are in some measure due to the influx of students who should still be undergoing school courses and the consequent strain on the administrative and teaching organization can well be imagined. Once more your university has enlarged the measure followed on the lines of the development of the London University. It began by being an affiliating university and as such confined itself to the conduct of examinations like the London University. It realized that this was not the primary function of a university and it began to graft upon itself the function of teaching. Again, like the London University it found—I think, I am not putting this too strongly—that such a material change could not be effected from within and that external help was necessary if true reform was to be effected on sound lines.

It is to be hoped that, whatever reforms are sought to be introduced, breadth will not be sacrificed to height, that for the sake of giving "good" or "efficient" education to a smaller number, opportunities will not be denied to the larger, and that no steps will be taken which will practically make secondary or university education, forbidden fruit to the poor.

As regards avenues of employment, like the Chancellor, the Vice-Chancellor, Sir Lancelot Sanderson, too, indulged in trite admonitions based on the fact of the overcrowding of the bar, etc. He observed :—

I would impress upon you that it is not "absolutely" necessary that you should all be lawyers. It is not even necessary that those who are not lawyers should be Government officials. Be the one or the other by all means if you are really satisfied that your interests, your abilities and your circumstances make this your best chance of doing something useful and worth doing. But do not drift into either—certainly not into the legal profession which is already greatly overcrowded—from mere lack of imagination or energy or from an idle desire to follow a beaten track.

It is evident that this country is on the eve of great industrial and commercial development:

One of the most important uses to which a University education can be put is to use it as the foundation for a technical and specialised education. The technical knowledge that has no solid basis is generally a miserable outfit. But if your degree is not a sham, you should at least have the basis for some special education. Moreover, to be a specialist in something, to understand some one thing really well is the surest way to consolidate and even to widen our general education. And there is no limit to the number of specialities :—engineering, mechanics, chemistry, agriculture and many other things are open doors through which your knowledge can advance and beyond which lie a thousand opportunities of usefulness of what Bacon called "the relief of man's estate."

All this is undoubtedly true; but it is also true that avenues of employment for young men are at present not many. Large numbers of them crowd the law classes, mainly for two reasons. First, because, as in many other countries, law is the most lucrative of professions; second, because law colleges can and do admit a very much larger number of students than the medical and engineering colleges. In fact, for years only about 12 or 15 per cent. of the students seeking to enter our *one* fully equipped medical college have been able to find admission. And the proportion of students who fail to gain admission into the only engineering college in the province is very large. And there are as yet no agricultural and technological colleges in the province. For such a state of things Government, though very greatly to blame, are not alone to blame. There ought to have been a very much larger number of educational benefactions for professional and vocational education than there are. In fact, as yet there has not been any large endowments made by any private person in Bengal for the promotion of medical, engineering, or technological education. The gentlemen whose strenuous endeavours have resulted in the establishment of the Belgachia Medical College, are worthy of all praise. But their efforts require to be far more handsomely supported by the public than they have been, if the college is to fulfil its purpose. And the country requires very many more colleges and schools like it.

It is, no doubt, something out of the way that B.Sc.'s and M.Sc.'s should enter a law college and seek to qualify for the legal profession. But what are they to do? Manufacturing concerns which can utilise their knowledge are almost non-existent, and even if they existed, the training of these science graduates is for the most part of too un-

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practical a character to at once fit them for industrial careers. Only a very few can have professorships in colleges. A larger number could become science teachers in high schools. But unfortunately the Calcutta University does not prescribe the study of physics or chemistry or any other science for its matriculation.

Sir Gooroodas Banerji.

It was a well-merited tribute that the Viceroy paid to the memory of the late Sir Gooroodas Banerji at the last Calcutta University Convocation. "His image", said His Excellency, "will rise to our

Sir Gooroodas Banerji.

minds as that of one who even in his extreme old age retained a buoyancy of demeanour and an alertness of intellect which one looks to find among men entering on the prime of life. More than that, he was a living refutation of the view that western lore is incompatible with eastern simplicity and manners. He had drunk deeply at the wells of western thought and science, and yet he held firmly to all that is best in the civilisation where he was born. He has left an example to us, modest, untiring, cheerful and large-hearted to the end."

Sir Gooroodas was a thoroughly conscientious and hard-working man. Those who observed with what alertness of mind he worked indefatigably as a member of the Universities Commission during the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon, must have wondered how there could be so much energy in the lean and emaciated body of that mild Hindu. The dissenting note which he wrote at the conclusion of the labours of that commission as embodying his views on university education in India is distinguished by great intellectual acumen and lucidity of expression. His view that in dealing with the problems of education in India breadth should never be sacrificed to height ought always to be borne in mind. And, indeed, a great height cannot be reached unless there be a certain measure of proportionate breadth. The highest education can be given to and received by only the best intellects in a country. But if we are to be sure that we have really discovered the most intelligent of our youth, we must provide opportunities for the education of all boys and girls up to a certain standard. Opinions differ as to what that standard ought to be. But we think it ought at least to be equivalent to the high school standard of the most advanced western countries. Our own opinion is that a country cannot be said to have done its best for its youth until it has provided opportunities for the education of all of them up to the standard of graduation in arts or in science or in technology.

Sir Gooroodas Banerji was an orthodox Hindu, but knew how to tolerate differences of opinion in religious matters and even to respect and cooperate with those who did not worship with him in the same temple.

Throughout his career he was keenly interested in the cause of education. He worked hard for the Calcutta University as Vice-Chancellor, as a member of the Syndicate and as an ordinary Fellow. He was among the advocates of what is known as the National Education Movement in Bengal. The Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science and the Calcutta University Institute enjoyed his active sympathy. In fact, even little boys seldom failed to secure the honour of his presence and his encouraging words at meetings of their debating clubs, reading rooms, &c.

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A Distinguished Young Chemist.

About a couple of years ago we gave an account of the brilliant work initiated by two young enthusiastic researchers in the field of physical chemistry, namely, Messrs. Jnanendra Chandra Ghosh and Jnanendranath Mukherji. It is with great pleasure that we are now able to inform our readers of the recent remarkable contribution made by Mr. Ghosh, who is at present lecturer in physical chemistry in the Calcutta University College of Science. To appreciate the significance of this work we have to stray a little into the domain of physical chemistry so far as it is possible for us lay people to do so. Every student of chemistry knows that the foundation of physical chemistry rests mainly on the works of Van't Hoff, Arrhenius and Gibbs. The brilliant theories of dilute solutions and chemical equilibrium of Van't Hoff and the equally epoch-making theory of electrolytic dissociation of Arrhenius are indeed landmarks in the history of the physical sciences. But ever since their discovery physical chemists have been confronted with a wide field where deductions from theories do not agree with observed facts. This stumbling block goes by the name of "the abnormality of strong electrolytes." This discrepancy from theoretical deductions was recognised from the very first and various empirical formulæ have been proposed—Van't Hoff himself proposing one such.

Mr. Jnanendra Chandra Ghosh.

During the last thirty years many attempts have been made by prominent workers in the field to find out a consistent explanation of this discrepancy. One need only turn over the abstracts of papers dealing with electro-chemistry to know the various empirical relations and hypotheses deduced by different authors during this period. Suffice it to say that no one has hitherto been able to give a consistent explanation of the vast data which have accumulated. The idea has gained ground that some of the fundamental assumptions made in the classical theory of electrolytes are not applicable in this case.

Mr. Ghosh points out in a series of papers that neglect to recognise the electrical attraction between the ions in the solution is the root cause of this discrepancy. He does away with the fundamental distinction between electrically dissociated and non-dissociated molecules of the electrolyte on which the theory of Arrhenius rests, and builds anew in a brilliant way a more comprehensive quantitative theory of strong electrolytes. The agreement between theory and observations is very noteworthy. The theory is as illuminating as it is simple. To sum up, it can be safely said that Mr. Ghosh has made his mark in the scientific world and we offer him our hearty congratulations. His series of papers on the subject are being regularly published in the Journal of the London Chemical Society. We are gratified to learn that Mr. Ghosh has been recently awarded the Premchand Roychand studentship, which is justly regarded as the blue ribbon of the Calcutta University. Young as Mr. Ghosh is we look for further efforts and achievements on his part.

It may be noted in passing that Mr.

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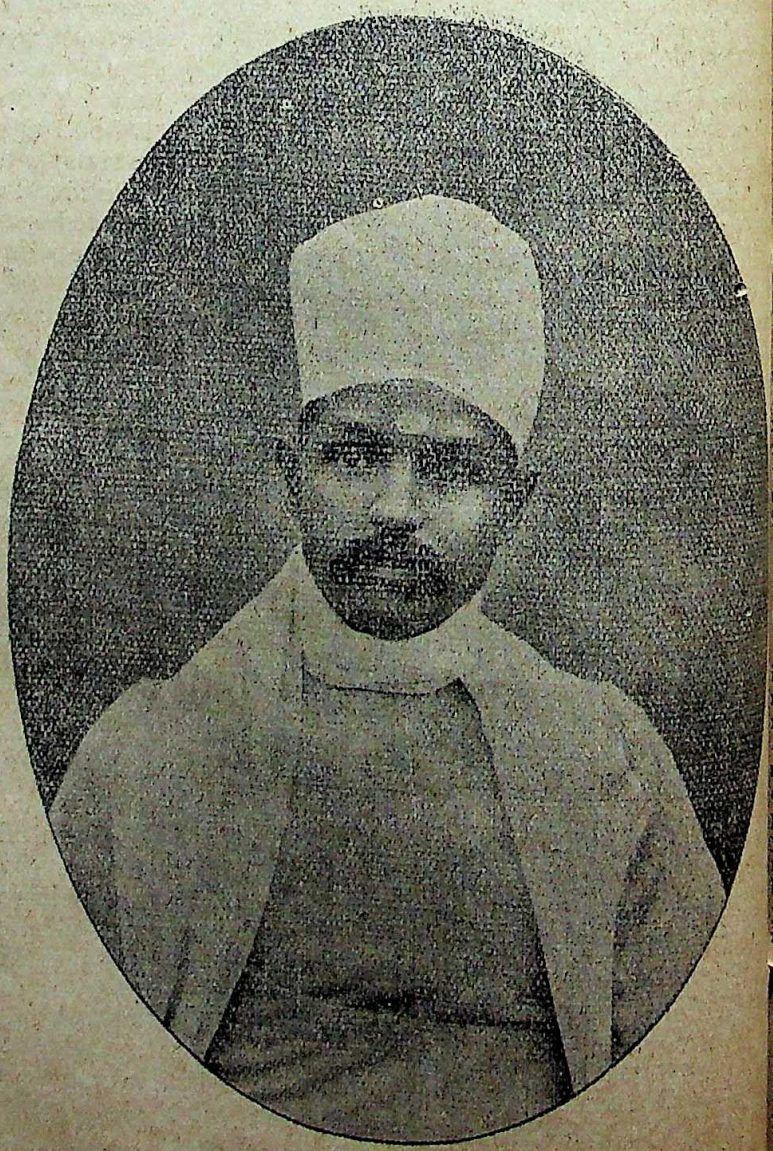
Ghosh is the *sixth* pupil of Dr. P. C. Ray to obtain the P.R.S. We once called Prof. Ray a Doctor of Doctors, because several students of his have obtained the doctorate of the London and Calcutta universities. He may as well be called a manufacturer of P.R.S.'s. It will no doubt be a proud day for him, when, as he expects, some of his students will have greater achievements than his to their credit. Probably he looks forward to that day with pleasure, for his motto is, सर्व्वत्र जयमन्विच्छेत् पुत्राद्दिच्छेत् पराजयम्, "One should seek victory everywhere, but defeat at the hands of one's son;"—he, a confirmed old bachelor, considering his students his intellectual offspring.

The Congress Session at Delhi.

In spite of the official interference with the people's arrangements to take Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the President Elect of the Congress, through the principal streets of the city in a procession, as has been hitherto the custom at all previous sessions, the citizens of Delhi were able to give him a most enthusiastic welcome, proving, in spite of the august authority of the great Sir George Lowndes, that the people's pandit was a leader of men.

Patriots will rejoice to learn from an Associated Press telegram that this being the first time that the National Assembly meets in the Imperial City, the enthusiasm of the local residents was intense, and they began collecting in the pandal from 10-30 A.M. In view of the importance of the session delegates from all parts of the country have arrived in large numbers and it is estimated that more than five thousand have registered themselves. Of these some hundreds are peasants and agriculturists. Half-an-hour before the commencement of the proceedings t pandal was full to over-flowing, ev ladies turning up in large numbers. T President's procession, headed by a Indian band, came in at exactly 1-15 p and the President-elect was given a hu ovation. In front of him were volu teers. Amongst distinguished visit was the Hon. Sir C. Sankaran Nair, me ber, Executive Council. The proceedin commenced with the singing of natio songs after which the General Secreta read telegrams and letters of sympath The Chairman of the Reception Commit then delivered his address in Urdu.

Amongst telegrams of sympathy w one from Mr. Polak from London a another from Sir Rash Behari Gho



Hon. Madan Mohan Malaviya.

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Dr. Sapru wired his best wishes for the success of the Congress, while Babu Ambica Charan Mazumdar, ex-President of the Congress, wrote to say, he was physically incapable of undertaking the journey to Delhi and no one would be more sorry than himself if he failed to do his last duty to his country at the present juncture. Mr. Gandhi wrote saying he was too ill to attend and wishes the Congress all success.

Industrial Careers.

In the course of his convocation speech the Viceroy said :—

> We do not want merely Indian capital, we want Indian men and not Indian men only as labour but as leaders who will turn their attention to industrial enterprise, and equip themselves for a great industrial regeneration in India. We want to see men devoting themselves to scientific research. We want to divert some of the great stream of students, which now pours into channels leading only to the clerical and legal professions, into channels which will lead to industrial and commercial enterprise.

This is a noble ambition. But if for the realisation of the high hopes embodied in this passage the Viceroy depends, as he appears to do, on giving effect to the recommendations of the majority report of the Industrial Commission, disappointment must be in store for us. Said he :—

> We have now before us the report of the Industrial Commission which tells us how this may be done. I can assure you that in the case of this report, too, I have no intention of letting its volumes moulder upon our shelves. Action has already been taken upon it and before a year elapses I hope to see the foundations laid of a scheme for progressive industrial development in India.

We wait to know what action has already been taken. The Viceroy proceeded to observe :—

> But let me once more emphasize the point that it is men that we want to do this thing. If the men are forthcoming there will be no difficulty about money. Capital will go where it sees possibilities of advantage. I have every confidence that we shall see this industrial renaissance come about and where could it more fitly be inaugurated than in this the premier university in India? I commend this to you all. These two Commissions will have furnished us with information of what can be done and how best it can be done. It only remains for us to obtain your cooperation. The personnel exists among you if only it will equip itself for this great task.

We also believe that the personnel exists among us to do all that requires to be done. But the pity is, in official parlance, Indian men, even as leaders, mean provincial services men and subordinates. These cannot bring about an industrial renaissance in India. The Imperial services recommended to be created by the Industrial Commission have been proposed to be manned by young British graduates of British Universities, who "should be encouraged after about three years' service to take study leave!" If young men are to be trained at India's expense to fill the highest offices of control and initiative and research, why are not these men to be Indians? Is this the way to get *Indian* men? It would be quite valueless to recognise in words that the personnel exists among us, but at the same time in actual practice to give effect to suggestions and recommendations which are practically based upon the assumption that the personnel exists only in the British Isles and India can breed only sub-ordinates. If the filling of all the highest posts in the industrial departments meant merely the payment of high salaries to a few more Britishers, the mischief would have been of a comparatively limited character. But so long as industrial research and development in the country remain entirely under the control and guidance of foreign officers, foreign enterprise and capital are sure to be unduly favoured at the expense of Indian capital and enterprise, which is a vastly greater evil.

Speech of the Chairman of the Congress Reception Committee.

In welcoming the delegates to the 33rd session of the Indian National Congress held at Delhi, Mr. Haziq-ul-mulk Haji Hafiz Hakim Mohammad Ajmal Khan, Chairman of the Reception Committee, delivered an instructive address, which showed grasp of the essential conditions of progress in India. He was right in saying that "the history of India teaches us that one of the greatest sources of the weakness of our country has been its great diversity of race and language, of religion and tradition." This diversity could have been (and still can be) turned into a source of strength if there had been charity, forbearance, toleration and the spirit of co-operation, which are the results of true spirituality and real culture. A cultured and civilised man, seeing that there is so much variety and diversity in the world, ought to understand that these are part of the Maker's plan and make for perfection and strength and joy. Sir George

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Cornewall Lewis truly says that "even unity in matters of religion is, for civil purposes, disadvantageous. The existence of various sects is a guarantee for religious liberty, and a protection against religious tyranny and persecution." Mr. Wu Ting Fang, LL.D., late Chinese Minister to the United States of America, says of his own country that "toleration of religious beliefs and the embracing of three religions have done much to keep China coherent and intact. This may appear to be paradoxical, but if I read the history of the world aright, a nation embracing one solitary religion, however excellent it might be, and prohibiting all others, is not likely to exist permanently. The people of such a nation are naturally narrow-minded and bigoted, and believing that their religion is the best in the world, they are self-sufficient and intolerant and will not condescend to hear or learn better religious truths." The *Japan Year Book* for 1916, p. 220, contains a paragraph which has its lessons for us. It runs as follows :—

"One of the most conspicuous features of the religious world in Japan is the prevailing tone of friendliness and harmony between different sects and creeds. The attitude of antipathy which both Buddhists and Shintoists once assumed towards Christianity has practically disappeared, especially since the outbreak of the late [Japan-Russian] war, when the tremendous wave of national uprising swept over the whole length and breadth of the country. On that memorable occasion the representatives of all religious bodies in Japan, from Shintoists to Greek Catholics, met in a conference in Tokyo and passed a resolution justifying the cause of Japan, and in a conference held soon after, they voted that a permanent organization to be styled 'Dai Nippon Shukyoka Kyokai' (Association of Japanese Religionists) should be found for the purpose of reconciling and harmonizing the different religions in Japan."

Mr. Ajmal Khan went on to observe that India's great diversity of race and language, of religion and tradition

was the cause of the disruption of the political order of the country before the advent of the Musalmans and this, to my mind, is in the main responsible for the gradual decline and extinction of Muslim power in this country. It should have been our duty, when Time wrested the control of our destinies from our hands and entrusted it to the care of a distinguished European people, to study the causes of our weakness in the light supplied by the West, to realize our responsibilities to generations yet unborn and to shape our lives and actions in a manner which would make them really useful to our country and its future citizens. But for full one century we observed a lethal carelessness and neglected our duty, with the result that we were left so far behind the rapidly progressing nations of the world that we lost even the traces of their footsteps which could be relied upon to guide us in our efforts to overtake them. When this period ended and education enabled us to realize our unenviable position we spent our energies in fratricidal struggles and pursued this policy as a national ideal.

Not very long ago some prominent Hindu and Muslim leaders realized that the real good and prosperity of our country depended on the unity and co-operation of the two great communities of India—Hindus and Musalmans. The idea took shape at a slow pace no doubt, but as everything right makes its own way, this idea of unity too spread and gradually became popular.

A great part of the address was devoted to the consideration of the announcement of August 20, 1917. As regards self-determination, the speaker observed :—

I think you will agree with me when I say that if Ireland in spite of treasonable relations of a certain section of her people with the enemy, her open efforts against recruiting during the present war, the feeling of disaffection which she has openly and freely expressed against England from time to time, can claim the right of Self-determination and be given Home Rule, India, who readily responded to every appeal of the Government and whose invaluable assistance has been acknowledged and praised by His Majesty the King Emperor, his Ministers and the Viceroy, cannot be deprived of the rights which the powerful hands of the Allies are restoring to the weaker and oppressed nationalities today.

On the Announcement of August 20, the following general observations deserve to be quoted :—

This announcement admits India's right to self-government and in so far as it does that, we thank the Government for it. But I have to observe with regret that the restrictions and limitations contained in it have prevented the public from offering it an unqualified welcome. It has failed to satisfy the people of this country. Had it omitted the words "progressive realisation" or even mentioned a fixed period within which complete self-government was to be attained, the Government would perhaps have succeeded in winning public confidence. Even without this omission India would have offered the announcement a warm welcome had she not been aware of the fact that in political dictionaries the word "progressive" had a widely different meaning from the one it bore in common parlance. But in a country where, according to the latest statistics (1915-16) conditions of education are such that for a population of over 24 million people (British India) there are not more than 147 Government colleges and 1598 high schools and only 3.13 per cent of the population are under instruction, and more than this, where the pace of progress in every direction depends entirely on the good will and pleasure of the government, not one or two but a number of generations will have to come and go before the "progressive realisation" of responsible government is over. If the announcement is given effect to in its present form it will require a telescope, which is the last word in the realm of scientific invention, to see the time when India shall be considered fit for self-government. If our competence and fitness for self-government is to be measured in the manner in which it has been done in the Reform Report, I am afraid

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we shall never feel satisfied with the Government's estimate of ourselves. It is admitted on the one hand that Indians are fit for the portfolios of Law, Education and such other departments as may hereafter be entrusted to the proposed second Indian Member in the Executive Council of the Governor General, while on the other hand these very departments are proposed to be kept out of their control and treated as reserved subjects in the Provinces.

THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF AUGUST 20 UNSATISFACTORY.

Under these circumstances we should be excused if we consider the announcement of the 20th August as unsatisfactory and declare that the proposals based on the announcement cannot win our support and confidence.

The speaker expressed the opinion that in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report Indians have been treated liberally in the matter of local self-government. "But," said he, "when I compare this generous treatment with the proposal in regard to the Provincial and Imperial Governments, I am reminded of the famous partition between the poet and his brother, who said: 'From the floor to its roof the house belongs to me and from the roof to the Pleiades is all thine.' "

Regarding the proposals in the Reform Scheme relating to the Government of India Mr. Ajmal Khan said :—

With regard to the changes proposed in the Government of India, it will not be wrong to say that the illustrious framers of the Report have taken unnecessary trouble in dealing with them at such length. They would have saved much of their valuable time and conveyed their meaning better if they had just said that with the exception of the addition of another Indian to the Executive Council, the position of Indians so far as the Government of India was concerned would remain as it was, for the proposed changes and reforms in the Central Government are more like phantom figures than real living beings. The Scheme recommends a second appointment of an Indian. But at the same time it proposes to "abolish such statutory restrictions as now exist in respect of the appointment of members of the Governor-General's Council so as to give greater elasticity both in respect of the size of the Government and the distribution of work." Apart from the objection that it does not represent our demand, I am afraid that in the redistribution of the work of the Council the idea underlying the division of Reserved and Transferred subjects of the Legislative Councils may find its way into the Executive Council of the Governor-General and adversely affect the position of the Indian members, so far as the importance of the departments to be entrusted to them is concerned, with the result that the proposed two Indian members combined may not prove equal to even the present one member.

We heartily endorse what the speaker said as regards how we can win responsible government in spite of all obstacles in the way.

But though the Scheme does not lead us to the road to self-government and though the Report lays down that, even if all the provinces reach the state of full responsible government, the form or the degree of responsibility reached in India will not exactly correspond to that attained by the Dominions, yet there is one thing which can guarantee the attainment of self-government in spite of it. That one thing, Ladies and Gentlemen, is the unity between the two great communities of India, Hindus and Musalmans.

Considering how essential Hindu-Moslem Unity is for our welfare, the speaker was justified in observing :

The manner, in which India is moving on the path of unity for some time past is not very pleasing to the supporters of Hindu-Moslem unity and I consider that it is high time that responsible Hindu and Muslim leaders realize their responsibilities in the matter. As yet they have not made serious efforts to guide aright their respective communities to the great and sacred goal that we have in view. If on the one side some supporters of the unity actively endeavour to bring the two communities to one centre, there is on the other side a group of, no doubt, misguided and mischievous persons trying to divide them and perpetuate their differences. In attempting to create this division it is sometimes the aid of religion that is sought and sometimes that of politics. Those engaged in such attempts, whether openly or behind the screen, must clearly understand that this way does not lie the road to national amelioration and advancement. If any community wishes to secure a legitimate and reasonable right from the other, the only way to do that is through sincere friendship, mutual regard and deliberation. Any other way is disastrous. It should be the first duty of those who sincerely desire Hindu-Muslim co-operation to make serious and sustained efforts to stop any recurrence of the painful incidents which sap the very foundations of unity between the two communities. If they want to win liberty and freedom for their country they must remain united.

His exhortation to his co-religionists shows his patriotism.

Before I close this subject I would like to address a few words to my co-religionists. It is difficult to make amends for the injury they have already done to their interests by keeping aloof from the Congress and if they abstain from taking part in the important movements that are fast developing in the country, in a perfectly constitutional manner, it will be well-nigh impossible for them to maintain their position. For the last 33 years the Congress has been offering a common platform for the whole of India. It has appealed for co-operation to Musalmans in the same manner as to Hindus, Parsis, Sikhs and Christians. If Musalmans fail to respond to that appeal of co-operation between Indians progress is not for them. Now especially when the political organisation of the Musalmans, the All-India Muslim League, has, after safe-guarding their special interests, joined hands with the Congress, there is no excuse left for them and I feel sure that in the future they will attend the Congress in ever increasing numbers, co-operate with their Hindu brethren and fearlessly safeguard the honour and interests of their motherland.

Mr. Ajmal Khan's observations on the Khilafat and Muslim Holy Places and Muslim States deserve the serious atten-

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tion not only of the British Government but of all the Allies of the British Empire as well. Musalmans "take the keenest brotherly interest in each other's welfare and desire to see their States in the world free and independent. They want to live honorably and let others live honorably."

The safety and independence of the Holy Places is another question which touches Musalmans deeply, These places are sanctified by the pious mémories of their great prophets and sacred injunctions of their Holy Book, and are in fact a very considerable phenomenon in their social, political and religious life. Their present condition is causing them great anxiety and profound pain. They want to see them in truly independent Muslim hands and I urge upon the Government the recognition of their most cherished and deep seated religious sentiment.

Closely associated with this is the question of the Khalifat. It is a purely religious question whose decision rests entirely with Musalmans. It is a part and parcel of the Muslim faith and no kind of outside interference with its settlement will be tolerated by the Musalmans. If all the powers of the world combine to force a Khalifa on Musalmans the humblest of them will not follow him. If any one can have a right to choose a new religion for Musalmans he can also appoint a Khalifa for them. It is not for me to point out that when the meanest nationalities and the smallest countries are being given the fullest liberty in temporal matters, it will be highly detrimental to the great principles of true statesmanship, which are the very basis of every civilised and good government, if Musalmans are made to feel that it is proposed to interfere with their religious questions.

The speaker was quite right in demanding the repeal of the Press Act and the Defence of India Act. Against the former, "the country has protested times without number, but so far the protests have gone unheard. A Free Press is absolutely essential for a healthy national life, and we should once more demand from the Government the repeal of this intolerable piece of legislation. As the war is over now, the Defence of India Act, too, which was essentially a piece of war legislation should be repealed without any further demands on the part of the country." The fate of the political prisoners did not fail to receive the sympathetic attention of Mr. Ajmal Khan. "Every Indian heart," said he, "bleeds at the pains and sufferings which the brave and patriotic sons of the country are suffering in jails and internment camps for no other fault than their love for their country. Now that the Government has changed its policy towards India, it is high time that they were one and all without exception released." We have in our last number given some reasons why an amnesty should be proclaimed for all persons imprisoned after trial, or interned, or confined as State prisoners in jail for purely political offences. As the war is over, these prisoners may be released without delay. On the question of the release of the deportees during the secretaryship of Lord Morley, that statesman wrote (pp. 315-16. Vol. II. *Recollections*):

"Now I must say a word about the vexatious subject of Deportation, and it may easily be a short word, because we both of us are only too well acquainted with all the general arguments, and both of us would be only too glad to be rid of the deported gentry. It is only a question of time. *When* can we prudently let them go? We ought to have some good moment and occasion. The very earliest compatible with prudence, consistency, and common sense would be best, for reasons both of justice and policy. When would such a moment be?.....Would not the public completion and announcement of your Regulations be an occasion? The release of our *detenus* at such a time would be a mark of confidence in our policy and position."

Similarly we may say that the release of political prisoners on the occasion of the passing of the Indian Reform Bill in Parliament, *at the latest*, "would be a mark of confidence" of the British Government in their "policy and position."

Even the Report of the Rowlatt Committee, which has become a sort of gospel with the bureaucracy, suggests the release of a large proportion of the *detenus* and state prisoners, as will appear from sections 195 and 196 of it.

It is not possible for us to say what proportion, if any, of the *detenus* and state prisoners consist of real revolutionaries who wanted to bring about the independence of India by conspiring with Germany and by other means. Assuming that there are a few such men among them, it is safe to presume that they are possessed of sufficient intelligence to understand that the British Empire is today the mightiest fighting unit among the nations of the world, and that, therefore, it would be impossible for Indians to become independent by driving away the British people from India by force. True patriots should try a different method of obtaining freedom. This consideration alone should suffice to show that there would be no danger in releasing the bulk of *detenus* and state prisoners. As for would-be homicides and dacoits, they ought to be dealt with according to the ordinary law of the land.

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"Equal Partners."

The thoughts of ordinary Indian political workers and revolutionaries are apt to be engrossed with India's disabilities under British rule and the British connection. But we ought also in due measure to think of the ability which in spite of our disabilities we possess of making the world better, happier and richer in non-material and material wealth than it is. It is idle to speculate on what might have been ; we must make the best of the circumstances in which we find ourselves. Nor is it of any use to idly dwell on the achievements of our ancestors ;—they are not *our* achievements. Whatever the advantages or disadvantages of British rule may be, one thing is clear ; namely, that the British connection has been the means of breaking down our walls of isolation and exclusiveness, it has been the means of mingling the current of our life with the world-current. Why think merely or mainly of what boons or curses the world-current has brought us or can bring us ? Why not think of also the blessings which may be made to flow from us along the current all over the world ? Why not think also of the opportunity which our restored and recovered intercourse with the world has given us to uplift and enrich the world ? It is not merely by winning rights that we can become "equal partners" in the British Commonwealth or in the wider commonwealth of the world. We must equal others in *our* own achievements in religion, philosophy, literature, science, art, inventions, industry, commerce, philanthropy and civic and political life. We should cease to think merely of getting, we should think also, and perhaps more, of giving. And it must be *our* giving, not that of our ancestors.

Great Britain has hitherto supplied the key-note. Seeing that we are five times as many as the white people of the Empire, why should not our note be the key-note ?

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's Presidential Address.

It is unfortunate that Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's presidential address at the Delhi Congress could not be sent in advance to the press. We have not, therefore, had sufficient time to deal with it adequately in the present number. It is also probable that what has appeared in the papers is a full summary and not the full text. [This "Note" was written before we had seen the concluding portion of the address, which was wired to the papers a day later.]

In response to the delegates' demand the Pandit began his address in Hindi and spoke in Hindi for about half an hour. He thanked the people for the very warm welcome they had given him at the station, on the way to the pandal and in the pandal. They had not been able to carry out their desire regarding the manner in which they wanted to welcome him, but he felt that this also was not without its own compensating feature and would lead to some good.

The action of the authorities forcibly brought to their minds the fact that, however much they might wish to honour their President, he came without any authority and the official order could stop what they in their enthusiasm wished to do. This, said the president, had its own lesson in teaching them what they should demand, namely, the real authority in their own country. He did hope for a day when an Indian Prince or Statesman would be appointed to be the Viceroy of India. He referred to the attendance of the peasant delegates and observed that to-day they could truly describe their assembly as national. He prayed to God that the Congress may gather strength through them and that they, whoever they be by caste, be able to carry the torch of the Congress light to their homes. He regretted that in spite of his desire to address them in their national language he could not do so. They had amidst them Madrasi guests and they ought to be hospitable to their guests. But before proceeding to deliver his address he would tell the peasants what was the aim of Congress.

The address proper, has been thought out in such a way that the war naturally occupies the first and a very prominent position in it, the reform scheme coming next and, with related matters, occupying somewhat more space than the war. The speech is not *very* strong in language, but powerful in substance.

The President did not take it for granted that in the world's history or European history, Germany alone has been guilty of thinking that might is right.

To my mind the hand of Providence is clearly discernible both in the devolopment of this war and its termination. The world and particularly the European world needed a correction and a change. It had been too much given up to materialism and had been too much estranged from spiritual considerations. It had flouted the principle that righteousness exalteth a nation. In spite of the vaunted civilization of Europe some of its nations have been living in a state of international anarchy and their relations to one another and to the outer world have turned upon force. They have been dominated by an overpowering passion for wealth and power and in their mad pursuit of it have trampled upon the rights and

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liberties af weaker states and peoples. Spain, Austria and France, each sought the mastery of Europe in the past. Germany attempted it now. England has not since the fifteenth century attacked the independence of any European state but has befriended them. Hence they have been threatened by their more powerful neighbours. But she too has followed a different policy in Asia and Africa. During the last half century only she has waged wars to annex Egypt, the Soudan, the South African Republics and Burma, besides several other minor wars. There have been great quarrels among the nations of Europe about markets and colonial possessions. There have been contentions between France and Germany for the control of Morocco, between Russia and Austria for the control of the Balkans, between Germany and the other powers for the conrol of Turkey. These great rivalries among them have led them to live in constant fear of war and ever to keep themselves prepared for it. The earth has been groaning under the burden of big battalions and armaments. There have been treaties and alliances but they were entered into to keep up the balance of power among them. The determining factor in international relations has been force. Any nation which wished to attack another could do so with impunity if it made itself superior to that other in brute force.

Coming to the consideration of the recent war he said :

Many of the Allies also had too often in the past acted on the evil principle that might is right and not all of them perhaps were yet prepared to act in their dealings with all nations and peoples on the principle that right is might. At the special service of penitence and humble prayer held on the third anniversary of the war the high-souled Lord Bishop of Calcutta dwelt upon the fact that time and again the Allies had been held back from victory by circumstances which were not or could not be expected. And His Lordship said what was God saying all this while, to our nation and Empire : "You must change, you must change before I can give you victory." "You must change" is addressed to the nation as a whole and to all the individuals of it. The United States of America joined with us and their adhesion makes the continuation of the war certain. Thus our nation is granted another chance to change itself. The same living demand is reiterated : "You must change before I can give you victory." It was the evident purpose of Providence that the powerful nations of the world should undergo a new birth and not only that this war should re-establish the principle that right is might but international anarchy should be ended and the warring nations of the world should agree to establish a moral order and a permanent arrangement among them to ensure just and fair dealings with one another and the rest of the human family in the future. For the accomplishment of this purpose it was necessary that the war should not end until America joined it and until the nations agreed to the peace proposals which were to be the basis of this order. It was therefore only when they had so agreed that Providence enabled America to come in at the critical moment to help the Allies and to turn the scale against Germany. This is not a matter of mere inference and argument. President Wilson had distinctly said that America did not come into the war merely to win it. As he put it, she came in to be instrumental in establishing peace secure against the violence of irresponsible monarchs and the ambitions of military coteries and make re for a new order for new foundations of justice fair dealing. "We are about to give order and ganisation," said the great American who has dently been appointed by God to be the ma mason in building His new temple of internati justice ; "we are about to give order and orga tion to the peace not only for ourselves but for o people of the world as well, as far as they will s us to serve them. It is international justice. seek not domestic safety." He had outlined basis of peace. The Allied Governments had acce his proposals at once. The central Powers acce it when they could not help doing it. And he is at the conference at Paris to help in the settleme peace. As he recently said : "Peace settlements w are now to be agreed upon are of transcend importance to us and to the rest of the world. gallant men of our forces on land and sea cousciousiy fought for the ideals of their cou I have sought to express these ideals and they been accepted by statesmen as substance of their thought and purposes. As the associated Go ments have accepted them I owe it to them to to it so far as in me lies that no false or mist interpretation is put upon them and no pos efforts omitted to realise them. It is now my to play my full part in making good what offered their lives and blood to obtain.

America's ideals were then describ and President Wilson's fourteen poi summarised. The Pandit then dealt w India's position with reference to Peace Conference.

Unfortunately the Government of India not responsible to the Indian public and, as mat stand, there often is a great divergence of v between them and the public of India. This b so one may be allowed to say without reflec against my friend Sir S. P. Sinha that it would been more in consonance and also in keeping the proposals of the constitutional reform w contemplate the appointment of ministers among the elected members of the Councils, Government had seen their way to ask the Con and the Muslim League which they knew were g to meet here this week or the elected members Imperial and the Provincial Legislative Counc recommend an Indian or Indians for appointmen the Government as India's representative at the ference. In view of the fact that Canada is g to have as many as six representatives it need have been apprehended that a request that I should be allowed to have more than one repre tative would be regarded as unreasonable. The a widespread opinion in the country that somet like this should have been done. This view is urged because of any delusion that the proposal constitutional reform relating to India will be cussed at the Peace Conference. I suppose every understands that they will be discussed in the Bri Parliament.

The history of the hope of and strugg for obtaining self-government during British period of Indian history is to found in the lines quoted below :—

In the early days of British Rule an Eng statesman regarded it as of a temporary charac

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They clearly said that it was their duty to so administer India as to help her to take up her own government and to administer it in her own fashion. But as time rolled on and vested interests grew up and became strong a contrary spirit came to dominate the British policy in India. The administration came to be conducted less and less in a manner conductive to the development of the people as a nation and more and more so as to perpetuate their subjection. Indians noted it and protested against it. Many large-hearted Englishmen deplored it. Foreign critics also noted the fact. An eminent Frenchman, M. Challey, wrote in his book published a few years ago: "Had England taken as a motto 'India for the Indians', had she continued following the idea of Elphinstone and Malcolm to consider her rule as temporary, she might without inconsistency grant to the national party gradual and increasing concessions which in time would give an entire autonomy to the Indians". But that is not now her aim. For half a century and more the Indians and liberal-minded Englishmen had been urging England to adopt the policy of India for the Indians, to indianise the administration and to give power and opportunity to the Indians to administer their own affairs. Thirty years before the war the Indian National Congress came into existence and it had ever since its birth urged that a fair measure of self-government should be given to the people. The scheme of reform which the Congress put forward in 1886 was calculated to secure them such power but they have not got it till now. Since 1908 we have specially stated that self-government on colonial lines was our goal. I draw attention to these facts so that it may be remembered that we had been pressing for a recognition of our right to self-government long before the war. It is not the war, its events and its result that have led us to ask for self-government for the first time. Even if the war did not come, our claim to it should have been granted long ago as a mere matter of right and simple justice.

It is only right and proper that it has been asserted that self-government ought to be ours as a mere matter of right and simple justice. This fact is so often forgotten or wilfully ignored by both British officials and non-officials, and even by many of our own countrymen, that we think the Pandit would have been justified in devoting to it a very prominent section of his address. As it lurks in two or three out of several hundred lines, the casual or hasty reader may miss it altogether. The very first paragraph of the pronouncement proper could very well have been devoted to the enunciation of the doctrine of the inalienable right of nations to self-government, in disregard and scorn of any possible fling at doctrinaire politics.

The announcement of August 20,1917, is characterised as "a momentous utterance" "but it was unnecessarily cautious and cold." On the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform scheme, the Pandit observes :—

The official scheme proposed a limited measure of control in the provincial governments and absolutely none over the Imperial Government. The official proposals thus fell very short of the Congress League scheme. They were, therefore, generally regarded as inadequate. It was clear that while acknowledging that the proposals constitute an advance on existing conditions in certain directions the bulk of public opinion in India was not satisfied with the scheme as it stood. Almost everybody who was anybody wanted more or less important modifications and improvements in the scheme.

The speaker then enumerated many modifications of the scheme which all parties have agreed in suggesting. He hoped that "the principles for which Great Britain and the allies have fought" would be acted upon in the case of India.

The principles for which Great Britain and the allies fought have now been embodied in the peace proposals of President Wilson to which I have referred before. These principles have been adopted with the hearty concurrence and support of Great Britain. Indeed the credit for adopting them is in one sense greater in the case of Britain and France than in the case of America. For Britain and France had borne the brunt of the war for four years and by their unconquerable courage and heroic sacrifices made it possible for themselves and the Allies to achieve the final victory. Besides their sufferings and sacrifices had also been incomparably greater than those of the Americans and their feelings far more deeply injured. It was the more praiseworthy of them, therefore, that they readily agreed to the peace proposals, which ran counter in some instances to the decisions which they had themselves previously arrived at. Now the principle that runs through the peace proposals is the principle of justice to all peoples and nationalities and their right to live on equal terms of liberty and safety with one another is clearly embodied in them. Each nation is to be given the freedom to determine its own affairs and to mould its own destinies. Russia is to have an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for independent determination of her own political development and national policy. Austria-Hungary is to be accorded the opportunity of autonomous development. International guarantees of political and economic independence and territorial integrity are to be secured to the Balkan States and to the independent Polish States which are to be created. Nationalities other than Turkish now under the Turkish rule are to be assured security of life and autonomous development in the adjustment of colonial claims. The principle to be followed is that in determining such questions the sovereignty and interests of the population concerned are to have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined How far these principles of autonomy and self-determination are to be applied to India, that is the question for consideration. We are happy to find that the Government of Britain and France have already decided to give effect to these proposals in the case of Syria and Mesopotamia. This has strengthened our hope that they will be extended to India also.

The President's exposition of "self-de-

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termination" was very lucid and illuminating and "practical" withal. We will quote the greater portion.

There are two aspects of self-determination as it has been spoken of in connection with the peace proposals. One is that the people of Britain, colonies and other places should have the right to say whether they will live under the suzerainty of one power or of another. So far as we Indians are concerned we have no need to say so and do not desire to exercise that election. There is however the second and no less important aspect of self-determination, namely that being under the British Crown we should be allowed a complete responsible government on the lines of the dominions in the administration of all our domestic affairs. We are not yet asking for this either. We are asking for a measure of self-government which we have indicated by our Congress-League scheme of 1915. We ask that the measure of self-government or responsible government which you please to give to us should be judged and determined in the light of the principle of self-determination which has emerged triumphant out of this devastating war. In order that this should be done it is not necessary that the proposals of reform which have been elaborated by Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford should be laid aside and a brand new scheme prepared. The special congress and the Moslem League have expressed their willingness to accept those proposals with the modifications and improvements which they have advocated. This great Congress, representing the people of all classes, creeds, Hindus, Mussalmans, Parsis and Christians, representating all interests, landholders and tenants, merchants and businessmen, educationists, publicists and representatives of other sections of the people, is assembled here to-day to express the mind of the people on this question. One special and particularly happy feature of this Congress is the presence at it of hundreds of delegates of the tenant class who have come at great sacrifice from far and near to join their voice with the rest of their countrymen in asking for a substantial measure of self-government. This representative congress of the people of India will determine and declare what in its opinion should be the measure of reform which should be introduced into the country. Let the British Government give effect to the principle of self-determination in India by accepting the proposals so put forward by the representatives of the people of India, let the preamble to the statute which is under preparation incorporate the principle of self-determination and provide that the representatives of the people of India have an effective voice in determining the future steps of progress towards complete responsible government. This will produce deep contentment and gratitude among the people of India and strengthen their attachment to the British empire.

Our Frontispiece.

The name of this picture does not bring out the ideas which the artist wishes to express pictorially. The artist would prefer to call it "Life Eternal,"—sacrifice and the passing on of light and warmth being the essence of that life. Mr. Chughtai tries to bring out his meaning by means of the following imaginary conversation between the Lamp and the Moon :—

"*The Moon.*—You are a very tiny thing compared with me. Your light is limited to small cottages, mosques, ruins, &c., and the duration of your life is not longer than a night; and yet so many moths gather round you in a single night and sacrifice their lives for you! But no one comes near me to make such a sacrifice, although I have been shining in the vast blue expanse of the sky for thousands of years amidst the gliterring stars and illumining the whole world.

"*The Lamp.*—Your light is external and borrowed, for you reflect only the light of the sun; whereas my light is mine own and proceeds from the core of my being. It is the result of sacrifice,—the burning of the heart (the oil). That is why the moths gather round me and sacrifice their lives. This ever-recurring and never-ending tale of sacrifice typifies the life eternal. You have produced no other moon since you were born. But the light that is in me has lighted up many other lamps, which are the life of the mosque, the ornament of the temple, the joy of the huts of poor men, where the nation dwells."—*Chatterjee's Picture Albums, No. 3.*

Journalistic Unfairness.

When there are meetings held for and against a measure, *newspapers* should in all fairness report the fact of both kinds of meetings being held. It is, therefore, very unfair that the two English daily organs of Indian opinion in Calcutta have not been reporting any meetings held in favour of Mr. Patel's bill, fewer though they be in number than those held against it.

Printed and published by Abinash Chandra Sarkar, at the B. M. Press, 211, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.
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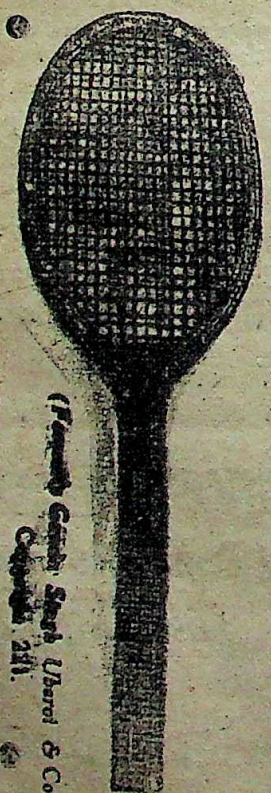

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Abanindranath Tagore's romantic pict of Shah Jahan dreaming of the Taj Mah is so well-known that comment is superflu Gandhari, the wife of the blind Ki Dhritarashtra, is the subject of Nanda Bose's picture. The artist depicts her voluntarily blindfolded, to keep her husba company, and looking at the charmi figure in the picture, one hopes that the Ki had the good sense to take her will for

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deed. "Behula at the Court of Indra," by Mrs. Sukhalata Rao, is a brilliant sequel to her picture—in the previous number—of the same heroine on the raft. The golden glow which pervades the scene is quite what one would expect in heaven, but this determined young woman's face clearly indicates that she does not mean to stay there, having only come in order to get back her husband. "Sita and Lakshman in the Forest" is a fine example of Saradacharan Ukil's work; the glimpse of purple on Sita's shoulders amply compensates for the sombre hues of the rest of the picture. "Work and Worship" is from an oil painting by Jaminiprokash Ganguli, and is characteristic of his strong treatment of pastoral subjects. The late Surendranath Ganguli's "Kartikeya" is another well-known masterpiece of mythological art, but the colour in this reproduction is more of a yellow than the warm orange of another reproduction we have seen.

A pretty allegory is embodied in "The Lamp and the Moon" by Abdur Rahaman Chughtai, and the equally ethereal beauty of Charuchandra Roy's "My lamp goes out every time" tempts one to look for an allegorical interpretation to this picture also. The three examples of the old school are full of interest, "The Swing" being remarkably advanced for its time, especially the costume of the lady on the swing.

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Mr. Muhammad Abdur Rahman Chughtai has given a first rate rendering of a line from the *Rubaiyat* of Omar Khayyam, "*The flower that has once blown for ever dies.*" One of the best pictures in my opinion is *At Dawn of Day* by Mr. C. Ray. It is well worthwhile for every one to order a copy and judge for himself.

The Mahratta says :—

Chatterjee's Picture Albums, No 3, Modern Review Office, Calcutta, Rs. 2. This number contains very beautiful pictures : 'Queen Gandhari' 'wild duck,' "work and worship" 'the lamp and the moon' 'the God Kartikeya' and 'by torch-light' are really extremely fascinating. They are certainly a marvel of penmanship.

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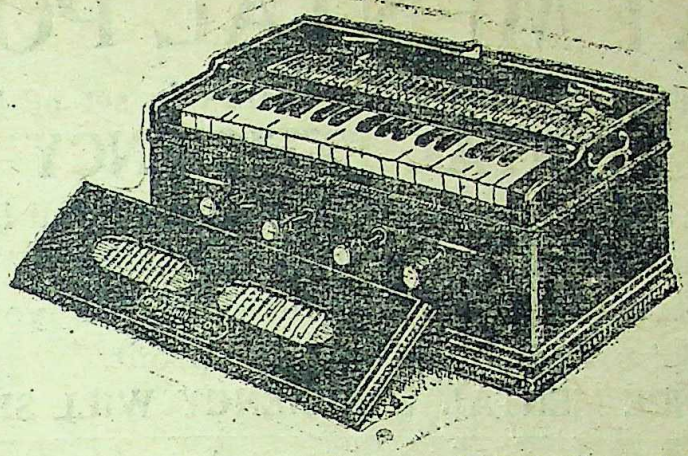

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To Contributors.

Articles, and Reviews and Notices meant for any month's issue, should reach the editor before the 1st of the previous month.

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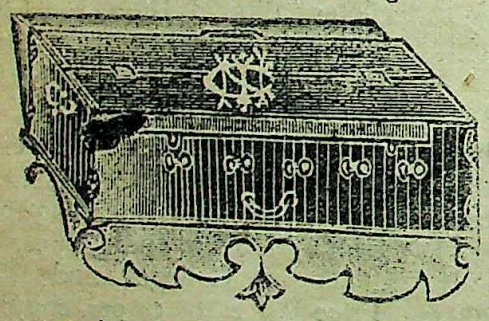

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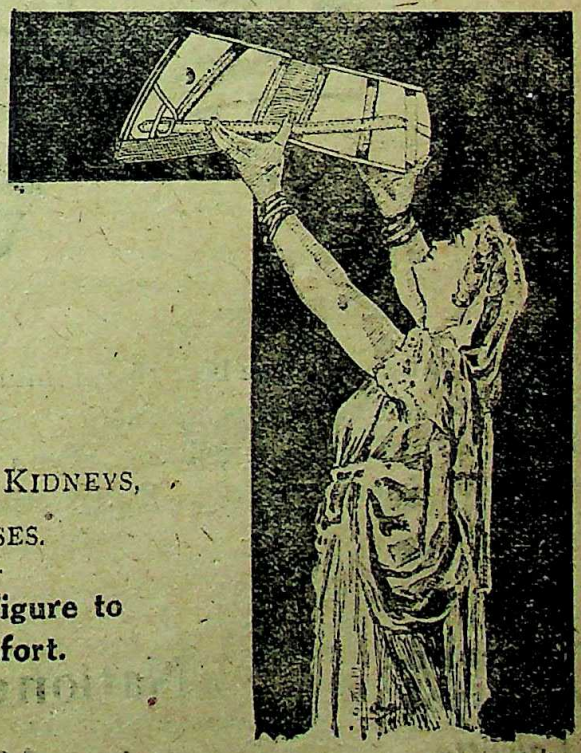

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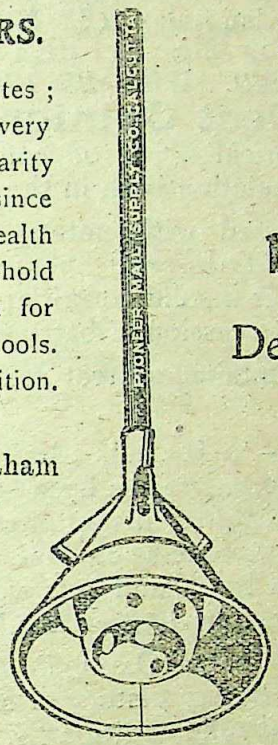

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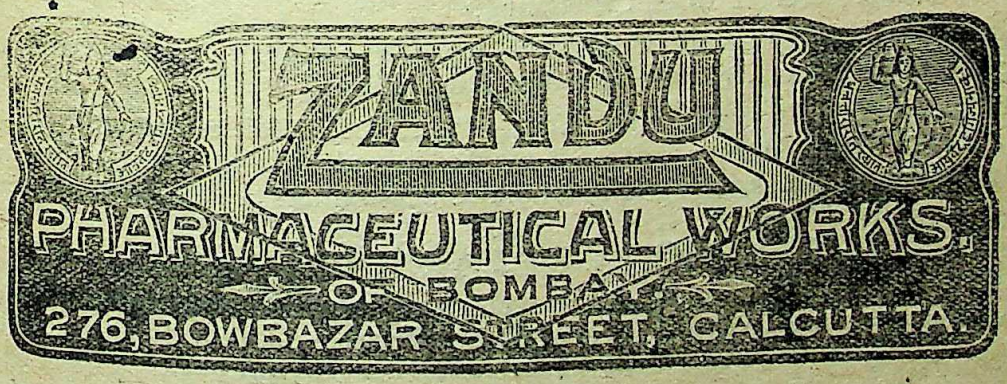

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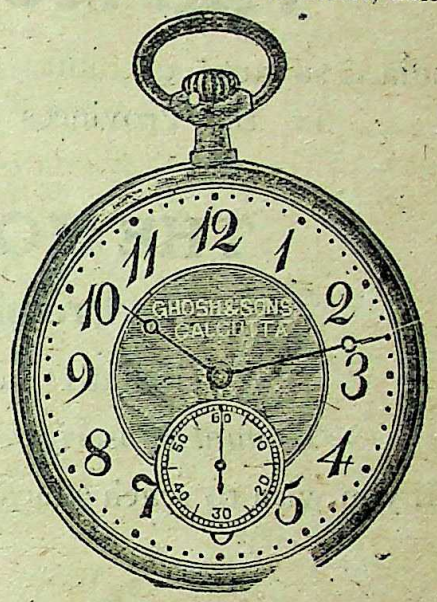

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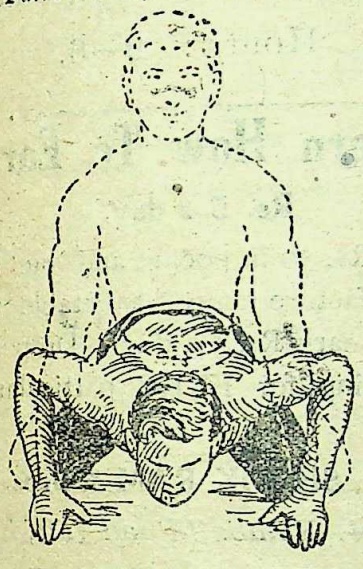

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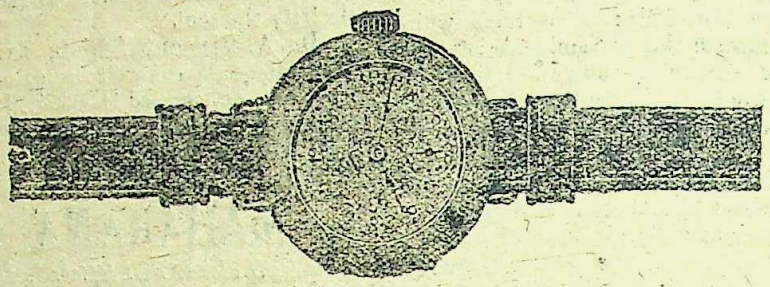

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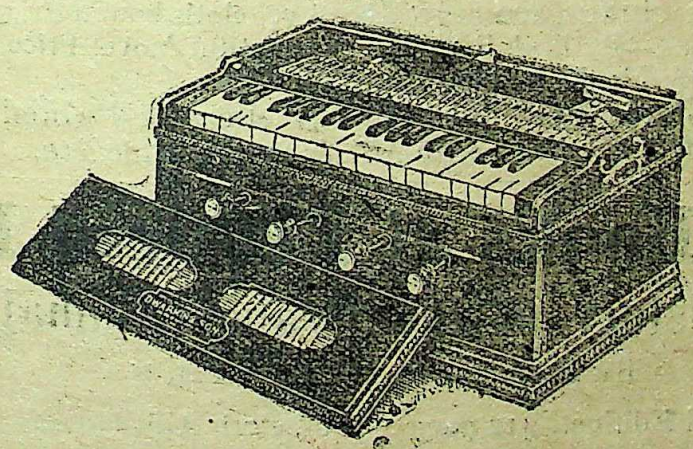

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THE MODERN REVIEW

VOL. XXV No. 3 | MARCH, 1919 | WHOLE No. 147

THE TEMPLE CITIES.

ALTHOUGH the impressiveness of Indian monuments comes down from their own times, and their fame is as old as travel, our actual modern knowledge of Indian Architecture, and its appreciative study, date essentially from the works of James Fergusson, who is thus among the true discoverers of India to the world, indeed in great measure to herself: and he thus is only second to Sir William Jones, with his discernment of the significance of Sanskrit language, literature and learning. We may be but speculating in viewing Jones' essential insight as the renewal of the bardic feeling and historic spirit of his ancestral Wales; but we may more certainly interpret the mental attitude which guided Fergusson, as a later fellow-citizen of Robert Burns by birth, and then of Walter Scott by education. In an exposition of civics and town planning which has in so many ways set out from Edinburgh, we cannot but see how its character of striking architectural effects, upon an impressive natural scene, must have communicated to his mind much of those traditions and outlooks, historical and geographic, humanistic and scientific, which have so long made Edinburgh an educative environment, and this in far more than any merely scholastic or academic sense. As Linnæus's ordered enthusiasm sent out a younger generation to botanise over the world, so Scott was a yet wider impulse to the brightest of his young readers, through his vivid visualisation of history, and this largely in terms of architecture: in fact, as he tells us in his biography, of the panoramic contrast of the romantic old city with the modern "New Town"; the first familiar from boyish home and school surroundings, the other in contrast emphasised by daily professional walk to the courts in old Edinburgh from his neo-classic mansion in the New Town. How largely this recreative historic vision stirred up young Oxford to many-sided movements of the renewal of the past and young France, young Germany as well, has been fully recognised in the biographies of the historians of that generation, in all countries alike. And while most of these historic students, these lovers of old architecture, naturally specialised in their own countries, Ruskin discovered for himself and his readers the old beauty and deep meanings of the "Stones of Venice"; while Fergusson, further travelled, thrilled in his earlier years to the "Rock-Cut Temples of India" (1845), and devoted his long and fruitful life primarily towards completing his "History of Indian and Eastern Architecture" (1876), and to the due presentment of this within the "History of Architecture" (1855 onward)—a work which as the last edition of the "Britannica" puts it, "for grasp of the whole subject, comprehensiveness of plan, and thoughtful critical analysis, stands quite alone in architectural literature."

Yet after all, the best function of such encyclopedic summaries, is to furnish fresh starting points: and for all countries, and India among them, writers have been busy. Some are geographically more thorough, or historically more accurate; others again more clearly trace evolution from simple origins; and others again are esthetically more appreciative.

II.

With books like all these available for reference, it is unnecessary, even were it possible, to attempt to review the great past of Indian Architecture, and though one may in a lecture, with advantage, flash upon the screen a succession of pictures chosen from all this varied magnificence, to

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reproduce even a selection in these pages would exceed their limits, yet be far too incomplete when done. Yet the main outline of Indian architectural evolution may be put more simply. From the simple mud-hut of the peasant, upon its necessary plinth with its verandah, and with its gradually added cook-room and yard, its sleeping chamber, its adjacent guest-room, and so on—there grows up the Indian house, and even mansion; by and by even the great palace. Its verandah is now raised, enlarged colonnaded, and in marble, as the Audience-hall and Throne-room for the Durbar of a sovereign; and the women's yard, with its tulsi plant, its single tree, now extends, through long cloistered perspectives of shady fragrant pathways and lilied waters, to the gloriously flowering garden-courts of his queen.

Here however we need not enter into detail of the stages of this evolution, nor give examples of the esthetic charm which Indian palaces so often possess. For present purposes, our problem, as students of cities and their planning, is to get beyond architectural studies, as commonly understood. What we need are interpretations, sociological and civic; *i.e.* on the one hand in terms of the social life and psychology from which buildings of each type arise, and of the movements these express; and on the other of the main types of City Development which are their fullest concrete expression, and which react in their turn, on the mental world of their inhabitants. Thus around the palace aforesaid, arise the fort, the mansions of the noble and administrative classes, the bazaars, and notably those of the luxury-industries, and so on into manifold detail.

III.

How may we understand the development of the Temple, and the Temple City?

From yet more simple beginnings than those of the Palace arise the splendours of the Indian Temple, and grow to more elaborate and more enduring magnificence. We may start, for instance, here in Madras, from the storm-water pool, or even the hole from which mud, for plinth and house, has been taken; or later, from these two united into one, the Tank. The water settles over-night to clearness, and invites the morning bath. Refreshed by its coolness, moved by its dawn-reflections, woman and man, young and old, house-holder or ascetic, all alike, respond, in t fold thrill of admiration and contemplati This glory of the Universe without, t ecstacy of the soul within, day after d renew and intermingle. These daily infl ings and upwellings of emotions cosmic a human, not separate but interacting, s expression; and they find it in sim natural symbol—cosmic eternity in enduring mystery of the stone—hum life and love, and their passing, the transient perfections of the flow For childhood, for meditative age, a for woman, in whose instinctive i ing and subtle intuition both extreme development so strangely mingle, s simple symbol-rituals may suffice; a so they endure. But the unending, e changing pulsation of the tides of spirit go on, saturating all the var phases and moods of individuality a sex, and rippling from them anew. All changing environments of nature—throu its regions, from Himalayan peaks a snows, glaciers and torrents, rivers a plains to sea; through its seasons of h and cold, of rain and drought; a through their labours, from sowing reaping—lay each their hold upon the hea strings, their influence upon the emotio and the changing situations of human became stronger influences still. To all th impulses the lyre of life cannot but r pond, and in ways by turn passive a active, eolian and creative. So the sp sings of and to Nature, in all its forces a aspects, all their majesty and wonder, their beauty and terror: and thus Vedic Gods appear; now as Nat visions, again as mighty personalities, these interchanging, and in ways untr able—beneficent and avenging by turns

For the philosophic spirit images fo yet ideas clarify: the abstract emer from the concrete, the general from particular, and unity from all. Again unity differentiates, into triadic uni into intellectualised attributes and per tions, passivities and activities. In t these all become vitally and viv imaged anew, as in the breaths of Brah in the dance of Shiva, in Kali, cataclys and destructive, yet mother of life an Life individual, associated, collecti Love, through all passions, simplest highest; Death too, in all its myster its fears, its hopes;—all these seek find expression, and this more and m

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protean. Religious emotions and aspirations, ideas and doctrines, thus ever develop: they find expression in new imagery, in fresh symbolism; and thus at length in Temples, to house and synthetise them, each and all.

Here then, in this rhythm of ideation and imagination in their dealings with emotional experience, which has been for so many ages pulsing in the soul of India, is the origin and explanation of her varied temples and their styles; each the stage and scene-work for some new canto of the unending epic of her religious evolution. In all lands religions have grown, and lived; but commonly also died: here, beyond all other lands, religion is ever rising anew, in fresh metempsychoses, recurrent avatars.

IV.

Coming now to that remarkable temple-evolution, which is the glory of Southern India, and of its Tamil culture especially, our series of lantern slides must be omitted, or rather taken as seen, as they may practically be in any collection of photographs. For the fuller knowledge of these marvellous monuments, with which nothing since ancient Egypt can compare in magnitude, nor anything since Gothic Cathedrals in elaboration, we need a monograph; one comprehensive in range, developmental and comparative in treatment, and well illustrated above all. Combination is needed of local and of special knowledge with general research, of historical and mythological knowledge with architectural and sculptural taste, and from psychologic interpretation to skilled photography. Local knowledge like that of Mr. Subramania Aiyar for Madura Temple, critical taste like of Mr. Ganguli for sculpture, show that such qualities are available, and why not in collaboration under an able editor? In other Presidencies the Archeological Departments have been productive, but here in Madras is one of the greatest of opportunities; not simply for a volume, but rather for a series of monographs, which would be widely appreciated throughout India and the world, and by architects and artists everywhere, not merely by Indian scholars. By help of the plates of such volumes, we should follow out the actual evolution of Tamil Temple-building in general, and of its architecture, sculpture and decoration, of its symbolism too, and all in due fulness of detail.

To this vision of Temples I can add no new facts: others have of course seen far more than I. I can but add my testimony to all that is most appreciative of their varied magnificence, and this seen from far or near. Even the commonest street is given order and beauty by the simply pillared mantapam with which its vista so often terminates; or is raised to dignity, even to sublimity, when it leads up to a mighty many-storied Goparam, with its manifold exuberance of sculpture, or towering dark behind its lofty central lamp-series, a light-house of the night. The lofty walls running so straight and far on either side of these colossal pylon gateways, and with their plainness in perfect contrast with that enrichment, are in turn relieved by pillared palms, and their swaying crowns give life and brightness to the whole.

It is natural for the European to admire Tanjore Temple, since likest of all buildings perhaps in India to a Cathedral, with its lofty central tower and spire; and with its beautiful small temple beside giving it scale, much as St. Margaret's Church does for Westminster Abbey, indeed to my eye more harmoniously. One rejoices in the stately and spacious cloister which encloses the whole, and cannot refuse admiration to the colossal monolithic bull, who is the pride of Temple and City. But when all this is said, it is from one's visit to such a temple as that of Madura that there remains the deeper emotional impression, of atchitecture majestically voicing religion, and of religion inspiring architecture with its symbolic mysteries. Both are of course unfamiliar to the European, as indeed to the Indian of other provinces: but neither can say that such architecture is monotonous, though at times wellnigh overpowering by its magnitude, or again by its elaboration. That in this architecture there are strange elements, as of fear and fearfulness, of terror and gloom, is true enough, and others of sensuous exuberance also; both expressing presumably the absorption of autochthonic cults and traditions earlier than the coming of Hinduism. Yet here is the Hindu Pantheon, from kindly Hanuman, and wise Ganesha by the gate, to great Shiva, veiled in darkness of the inmost sanctuary. And here too is carved, painted, and

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modelled, the human story, from the personages and doings of the epics, and of legends without end.

Magnitude is a mighty resources of architecture, and here in Madura—where the mere Entrance Mantapam of King Tiramulu has sixty feet monoliths for gateways, is 333 ft. long, and might cost a million sterling to build and carve today, and the Temple to which it leads covers an area which would hold four European cathedrals,—the impression of immensity is extraordinarily given. Not in the Western way (save that of the long entrance hall, itself of cathedral magnitude)—by a single main perspective, with lofty roof and range of view from western door to choir and altar, and to chapels behind—but in its own. In the open air one sees towers beyond towers, enters by court beyond court to flowering garden-close, and comes to spacious stair-walled bathing-tank with pleasant ways and painted walls around. Within the long corridors, the stupendous cloisters, the hall of a thousand columns, are each of amazing magnitude and magnificence; yet all are felt subordinate to the sacred place within, as the ancestral temple of earlier days, and so of fullest sanctity; which it has been for this later architectural profusion to enclose and to enshrine.

By some again the incredible wealth of sculpture is lightly dismissed, as "barbaric," or conversely, faintly praised, for "patient industry." But this again is too much to submit it to the Procrustean measures we bring from other civilisations, other conceptions of art. We better understand, and so naturally prefer, architecture and sculpture in our Northern ways; but here is a different combination of these, in which sculpture and pillar are more fully one; glypto-tecture shall we call it?—and not mere patient industry, say rather passionate. These wild threatening shapes, half-heraldic, half-demonic—with horse and rider, lion and dragon strangely combined, rearing in fury, repeated in nightmare, are not of course our carven tradition—yet have much of our Apocalyptic and Dantean horror, which Durer, and Orcagna, for instance, have sought to render in graphic fashion, with more variety indeed, but not more terrific effect. All religions in fact have struck these notes of feeling; even the joyous Greeks,—from the Gorgon's Head to the Battle with Serpent-Giants around the altar of Pergamus. What wonder then to find this here in the tropic world, with all its intensification of the growth and flowering of life in its exuberance, yet ever threatened by the sudden onset and destroying spread of death?

V.

Still, to gain appreciation from brother Europeans for South Indian sculptures we would not begin with these. Books like those of Mr. Ganguly, and of Dr. Coomaraswamy, give us some of the best and notably show us two forms not only supreme in Indian art, but permanent contributions to the world's iconography of ideals. One of these is of course the Buddha, throned upon the lotus, calm in meditation; and the other its perfect contrast, the dance of Shiva within his arch of flame,—surely the most vivid of all symbols yet devised, of cosmic forces controlled by creative energy. We have learned to read of late of the "Elan Vital", the "Urge of Life"—but here is its expression in immemorial art.

From sculptures like these, each essentially among the world's few permanent masterpieces of divinely human imagination, (albeit often debased in execution), we may next turn to forms stranger and less attractive to Western eyes. With only our limited zoological sympathy for the elephant, Ganesha may be to us difficult to intelligible; but as we enter into the varied understanding of the great beast with which the Indian regards him, and know the tales he tells of his wisdom, faithfulness, courage, we understand better his place as symbolic guardian of the doors, as master of enterprise, helper of the future. This god's mingled animal and human form becomes less unpleasing when we recall the Indian mother's pet name, "little elephant" for her chubby and rotund babe, as he makes his early clumsy strivings to creep forth on the journey of life.

But of Hanuman, what can be said? reduced so often to the rudest of all shapes adored by mortals, and then daubed with vermilion over that? Nor is there any great edification in the tale as we are told it by our countrymen, or in their mythological dictionaries, of how this is the king of monkeys, who helped Rama to cross Adam's Bridge to Ceylon over a bridge

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tails. But if this anecdote were all, would it suffice to explain his old and widespread cult? I know not how a scholarly and reverent Hindu interprets this village god in his humble shrine; but I submit to him, in all goodwill, this anthropological speculation. How if we have here perhaps the very oldest legend of humanity, coming down from the time when in the evolution of our species there was already the high human type of Rama, yet also surviving in that corner of India the humbler, still incompletely developed, and so more monkey-like, type of Hanuman and his people? And that the contrasted, yet mutually understanding, leaders made peaceful co-operation instead of war? If indeed "an honest god's the noblest work of man", even the rude adoring of this simple old tutelary spirit of nature and the primeval village might be better for our souls than that self-worship as superman, which in Europe has so much replaced its older and gentler theology.

True, popular Indian art has grown at once conventional and rude; but in Calcutta (and why not also in Madras) there are living promises, and earnests, of its renewal.

Do I alarm any by these gentle, yet frankly defensive, interpretations of the Hindu Pantheon? I cannot see why those who respect and understand Western personifications, like the Muses, like Pallas for wisdom, Apollo for beauty and manhood, Hercules for heroic labour, and so on,—even if they do not know that the more we enquire into the significance of any such ideal beings, the more we are compelled to respect them, and the civilisation and religion which they express,—should be such intolerant literalists to the gods of coeval, and certainly not less spiritually gifted peoples. And I cannot but think that the deficiencies of our Western appreciation of Indian mythology find part of their explanation in a spiritual pride which hinders our learning its meaning; and partly in that withering of poetic imagination and creative idealism, which have given every mythology its birth, and which alone can keep it living.

VI.

Leaving now the Temple for the open air, and not without some feeling of relief from the varied emotional stress of a first course through its labyrinth upon a stranger, we see standing near the gate the Temple Car; itself a veritable tower, upon colossal wheels, the carven palace of the god upon his seasonal procession. Its carving is vivid, its lions of heraldic vivacity and vigour, and with a sort of strange humour expressed from head to tail, which compel one to defend it as a true and individual work of art, singularly free from mere conventionalism, into which it is ever the danger and curse of ecclesiastical art in all lands to fall.

But of all things Indian of which the West has heard unfavourably—Protestant Britain, and perhaps America above all—this "dreadful car of Jaggernath" is probably the extreme one: and of course where such peculiarly unfavourable an impression has been created, and such gruesome stories told, there may well have been some foundation for them. Still, there is less danger of human self-sacrifice now-a-days; and accidents may be guarded against. So in my town-planning discourses, I cannot but defend this ceremonial of the car, as a civic institution, and a festival essentially beneficent. That to this we largely owe the fine lay-out of the main quadrangle of streets of a Temple-City will not be denied; nor that this lay-out, by setting this high standard for the best streets, must have helped to maintain that of other also. How much better a way of encouraging the maintenance of good roads, before the demands of motors. What better lesson of discouragement of the perpetual encroachment upon streets which is a minor (yet in aggregate a main) cause of congestion of thoroughfares? And how superior this way of at once carrying public opinion against encroachments, and summarily removing them when made, to that by perpetually serving magistrate's notices, with all that these involve!

I can imagine nothing more helpful to city improvement than the re-establishment of car-routes, by a conjunction of Temple authorities and municipal planning office; and this wherever extension or widening is really required: and I have more faith in the good sense of both types of man and mind than to believe that their present mutual estrangement, by too exclusive devotion to their respective specialisms, can much longer continue. I ask nothing better than to plan streets worthy of the car being used to

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inaugurate them, and to clear them too from time to time; while the collective pull, in which all citizens are encouraged to take a hand, is already an admirable form of civic education, which might readily be developed in India, and even initiated in other countries, say by American Civic Societies!

In some cities there is a Floating Car, and it may be a Water Festival to keep it company, with lantern illuminations in the evening. Instead of filling up Tanks in malaria panic, as so many misguided sanitarians and municipal bodies have done, I look forward to the revival of this floating Car and Water Fete upon every considerable Tank; and this not simply as one of the most delightful and joyous forms of festival, but also as the best of ways of assuring the respect and the purifying of these beautiful and cooling waters. These great Temple Tanks and city tanks, when not neglected of course, but properly kept and laid out, are the very finest, and most beautiful, of public places and public gardens in the world. Calcutta seems one of the few Indian cities where such Tank Squares are appreciated; yet even there, there seems to be far more of filling up than of making new ones. A true combination of planning and gardening with sanitation, will however set about accomplishing this everywhere: and the present, or rather recent, panic of tank-filling will be remembered only as an unlucky dream.

We thus return once more to the City-planning which constantly underlies all the present discussion, even where not at first sight in evidence. So let us next consider the town-plan of Madura, with its processional square of streets, and its ancient fortress walls and moat, now converted into a second series of streets. But outside these survivals of old religion and old governmental control respectively, the town has lost its sense of unity and order, and begins to break down towards that congested slumdom, which is now so largely destroying it.

VII.

We need therefore to seek out some better example than Madura, some other old Temple City not yet cursed by premature industrialism, and pushed towards chaos. This good example I peculiarly find in Srirangam, a city of which I had never heard in Europe, nor indeed in India until lately; but close beside Trichinopoly, a name well known to Europeans, by old associations, if mostly with cheroots.

As guidance offered to this city, for its own sake, and also as a needed criticism of Fergusson's less satisfactory influence and authority upon current opinion, I here cite the South Indian Railway Illustrated Guide. It says of Srirangam Temple:—"This island contains one of the largest and richest temples in Southern India. This Temple can hardly be considered architecturally beautiful; and, as is too frequently the case with Dravidian Temples, is imposing simply on account of its enormous extent. It is rather a fortuitous assemblage of walls, gopurams, and mantapams, than a structure built to a well-arranged and preconceived design. In all probability the temple is the work of many Kings; and originated in the central shrine, which successive monarchs left untouched, while rivalling each other in surrounding it with halls and lofty gopurams. Be the explanation what it may, the fact remains that the architectural merit of the entire structure becomes less the closer the proximity to the central shrine. This is to be more regretted, as it must be admitted with Fergusson, that, could the principle of design be reversed, Srirangam would be one of the finest temples in Southern India."

This writer appears to think that successive kings should have cleared away their predecessors' buildings. Here we see advocated for old temples, as so commonly for old towns, clearance first. Always demolition—whereas these old fashioned Kings left the central shrine—their holy of holies—untouched.

The main point is that Fergusson has condemned this style of architecture as a failure; since to him it seems that a reversal of the temple-plan would have been the right thing. But despite all the respect previously expressed for this really eminent and initiative writer, I am here compelled to propose the reversal of Fergusson; through a re-interpretation of this Temple, at once more appreciative, and more rational also, because developmental in its own way, not merely esthetic in ours. So let me state my thesis strongly in defence; as to maintain, against all comers, that here is a case of Fergusson missing the point, and failing to understand: for

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Sriraugam, in its own high characteristic way, of *plan* and *growth*, when we understand these as it was built to be understood, is, so far as I can discover, the greatest Temple of all time, and all faiths! (I do not say all styles).

Of course such reconsideration must be on its own merits. We must not bring to it our external foreign taste; and because it is not like Tanjore Temple, or a European Cathedral, complain that it is "a fortuitous assemblage without design."

We have to ask "What is this? How did it arise?" As in any science, so in any criticism, we seek to see the thing as it really is: only thereafter have we any right to consider wherein it might have been amended and improved; and this again not according to our personal and arbitrary desires, but towards its own efficient purpose.

Our problem then is first of all to read its history; that is to decipher its growth; and this not from books, but from its actual plan, here before us, and starting from the centre outwards.

Here in ancient days there was a local shrine, central to the island and its villages. Some thoughtful teacher at one time, some saintly soul at another, became an influence extending beyond the island, and pilgrims began to come. A little Temple was raised to include the shrine, and its court would be inhabited by its holy man, doubtless with his disciples. Outside this gather more dwellings; first the huts of Sanyassins, but later more permanent, and increasingly of Brahmin character. Granaries are needed, and arise first as round-huts of the old type still common even as dwellings in Madras, and surviving as corn-stores in Bengal villages, though there superseded as dwellings by rectangular plans. The whole area becomes included within a larger wall with a southward gateway—(on the third wall from centre in plan.) Within the enclosure, and outside it also, further developments proceed, both material and spiritual; as of increasing granaries and additional shrines. Outside arise new dwellings, of larger magnitude and space: in time these likewise become spiritualised in property and use; and at length transformed as well. New shrines thus appear; and here also, though probably far later, the N. B. space becomes the Hall of a Thousand Columns. The new rectangular wall is more carefully oriented than its predecessors; three gateway Goparams are built, the largest to the eastward. There is now a clearer differentiation of temple and town, of sacred and secular; for a new street is kept clear all round the wall, presumably as a Car Street, and with house-lots opposite. These are today of very varying breadth, suggesting that those now narrow may have arisen by division. Another wall again rises, to surround this clear rectangle of dwellings facing the Car Street next the Temple wall; and this is given four gateways towards the cardinal points; but these comparatively small, in subordination to those within, and on three sides of the previous temple enclosures. But outside this a new town extension is provided. This is again a rectangular street system, parallel to the last, with a fresh Car Street, and now houses on either hand, and lots less deep. Evidently, with city growth, caste distinctions and wealth requirements are being more emphasised. The lower and poorer castes are kept outside the larger gateways of this wall; and their houses cluster especially to the South and East, but not to the less auspicious West. Note on plan how these poorer dwellings spread and sub-divide from these gates on either hand, in lots of small and irregular size, and with a narrow lane running obliquely N. by E., from near the East Gopuram.

Finally comes the great completion by Tiramulu, king of builders. In the South Bazar it will be seen that existing properties were respected, as they stand mostly facing northward towards the road along the south wall. But this road is narrow; so instead of wasting compensation and upsetting business (as modern municipalities and their engineers in the industrial age, of lapsed planning, have done, and still largely incline to do), the sensible course is taken, and also the more practical for business and communications, more seemly also—that of making a new Bazar Street east and west; and of allocating new plots of larger size on each side, upon the land hitherto unoccupied. Some houses next the wall outside, also a small temple (perhaps private, perhaps for the humbler caste hitherto outside) seem to have already sprung up on the west side. The new street northward is continued with houses on each side: but on the

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east, the open space next the wall suffices; and also on the north, so that new and deeper plots are kept opposite, so far as existing irregular holdings allow. This new town enclosure, as yet the final one, is thus kept in good proportion. Its rectangular wall is built, and the four great gopurams, N., S., E., and W., are now begun, of course in true alignment to their predecessors. These gateway towers are on a scale unparalleled, as their megalithic beginnings show; but they remain unfinished, like other works of Tiramulu, owing to his untimely and tragic death, and as too monumental for the means and inclinations of his successors.

The same process of the Temple guiding and including its city development, is even now going on, clearly and simply, at the adjacent smaller (Shiva) Temple town, a mile or so eastwards, of which the plan is reproduced (on a larger scale) below that of Srirangam. Outside the triple temple walls (marked by dark lines,) runs the Car Street, with houses of its caste community. A great wall, with four goparams, encloses the whole; and a secondary street surrounds this fourth wall, and is thus obviously included within the temple-system, and so far sharing its sanctity. Here then is plainly a second Srirangam, and still in progress. It is not a little interesting to find within the Temple itself, a great building activity, with carvers busy at work, at once traditional and skilled: so here, more than in any other old temple or cathedral I have seen, the old constructive spirit is still living.

Returning to Srirangam, we notice on the way that, despite minor irregularities, the lay-out of fields and rural holdings shares the rectangular lay-out and orientation of these temple-cities, greater and less. That is the ancient folk-way: simple ploughing and sacred building are at one; life at its simplest runs parallel to life at its highest.

It is this mode and process of growth—so essentially regular, so natural, yet so reasoned, so peculiarly defined, so monumentally organised, through zone after zone of growth in succeeding centuries—that the writer of our Railway Guide described for us at the outset (page 218) as "rather a fortuitous assemblage of walls, gopurams and mantapams, than a structure built to a well-arranged and pre-conceived design." Let it not be supposed that this is merely the carelessness of a minor writer or a passing error of Fergusson's: broadly speaking, the guidebooks of the world are still too much at this level, as regards the cities they describe: even the best of them; for the most part Baedeker and Murray themselves. Their statements of facts, catalogues and dates of buildings etc. are not complained of: it is their understanding of cities which is deficient. The idea and method above outlined is not adequately before their authors—that of reading the essential history of a city from its plan; which, in so far as showing its growth, is the essential record of its outward history, and even of its inner evolution. Hence the guide-books of the future must each be much of an anti-Baedeker, and super-Murray.

That our writer above is not without some feeling that "fortuitous" is nonsense, he shows by his next sentence (q.v.) that (undeniably of course) "the architectural merit becomes less the closer the proximity to the central shrine. This is the more to be regretted, as it must be admitted with Fergusson, that could the principle of design be reversed, Srirangam would be one of the finest temples in Southern India."

In the would-be utilitarian age, nothing has been more futilitarian than its esthetics. Our writer is solely thinking of this or any other temple as a show-place; and thus essentially constructed for his people, the tourists, as indeed too much does Fergusson also. Any real comprehension of the nature, purpose and function of a temple is here absent. For that is the spiritual power-house of its folk and faith, accumulating its influence throughout the growth of ages, and expressing this as new generations set themselves to enshrine these venerable glories in more and more spacious extensions of its walls, in higher uplift and richer adornment of its advancing gates and towers, but also in more and more reverent conservation of the ancient sanctities within, small in their housing though these were. The real growth process, as Fergusson assuredly knew, and felt, when not in the mere tourist and dilettante mood cited above, is that of Egyptian temples; where the mighty pylons which all these successive goparams so strikingly recall, and in some ways rival and even surpass, are but the impressive gateways which proclaim the sacredness of the little cell to which the whole magni-

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ficence leads inward, and which it exists but to enshrine. So with the inmost significance of that Temple of Jerusalem which, most of all temples, has aroused the imagination and reverence of the West. This sanctity, this sublimity, was not in its golden gateways or its marble courts, wonders of the world though they have been; but in its inmost enclosure, small, jealously veiled, its Holy of Holies; because recalling the simple tabernacle tent of wanderers in the wilderness, and with its sacred chest of inscribed stones, and other relics. To imagine the inversion of such a plan is thus to lose its meaning altogether: and this not only of the monument in question, but of the religious spirit it expresses; indeed of all religions, and thus necessarily of their essential architecture also.

VIII

So far, I trust, I have made good my criticisms; but I may make clearer my initial claim for Srirangam, as the very noblest of all cities in its way. Am I asked, how can a little place like this be foremost among cities in its evolution? I might answer that Athens and Jerusalem, Benares or Gaya are not remembered for their size: yet this answer may seem weak, when so few, even in big Madras, have ever heard of Srirangam at all, and in the larger world hardly any.

Return, even on plan, once more, through these mighty entrance gateways, which annnounce to all comers from whatever airt the ancient sanctities within; and then, as we return under their towering and heightening succession, each higher and statelier than the last—each expressing an increasing claim of their idealism upon their world—we recall the psalm of David—"Lift up your heads, ye gates!"—with fuller sense of its glory. But beyond this nobleness of architectural development, is the social genius, the civic spirit and symbolism, which in this temple beyond all others, have periodically and increasingly included the growing city itself within the extensions of its sacred walls. So here—and strictly as planning lecturer, not missionary preacher—let me remind my audience or reader that the Eastern scriptures adopted by the West, begin with the tale of the birth of humanity, and its fall, from happy rural labour in that orderly four-square garden of which we still see the plan on Indian carpets; and they end with the culmination of redeemed humanity in the ideal city. Again four-square like Srirangam; and like it, with the streets and temple at one.

IX

There is manifest in the city before us the contrast between that ideal,—which though no longer that of a literalist belief, all the more serves as an expression of civic evolution—and the actual present; since I am under no illusion that actual Srirangam has reached such apocalyptic perfection. For, like other places and people, when not moving in onward direction it has been receding downwards: yet why not again resume its ancient (and even comparatively recent) progress? Here then, in these days of reviving town-planning, of reviving education also, are such suggestions as a planner may offer.

Returning, then, to the everyday matters of Srirangam, we find that as sanitary improvements are needed, lanes are to be cut behind the houses along the long walls. A suburb extension is needed; and I am asked to criticise the plan—as usual, of "standard" quality, already sufficiently explained elsewhere. I ask, "Why abandon the tradition of your city to copy this?" I am told, "Walls are too expensive; besides, they keep out the breeze." I answer—"Your main tradition is not in the walls, but in the cardinal points, to which your very fields are set. So for your suburbs and extensions, give up all idea of more walls; enough to repeat them by lines of trees: the great thing will then be to go on laying out proper avenues. Thus your new town will develop in due continuity and harmony with its city's past, and yet with the character of modern times, of the surrounding country, and of modern cities at their best as well. If this be done, city, suburb, and surrounding country will harmonise, like the three notes of a chord. But will this improvement of the plan be made? I know not. The "standard plans" in Indian cities are still as hard to dispose of as they were in England ten years ago. So strong is the habit of a generation, that even their municipal victims often defend them. In the rituals and temples of administration, no less than of older faiths, indeed more rapidly, custom acquires authority, and precedents are printed into power.

Thus this old city should again consciously enter upon a new zone of growth, and this in continuity and in keeping with

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the plan of its admirable historic development. By all means let the prosperous classes have the pleasant suburban houses and gardens they desire; but with their new suburbs, as aforesaid, in continuity harmonious with the town; also let the poor, the humble castes, even the casteless, be provided for as well. So may little old Srirangam give a new and great example in India, of how the worst of all its modern plagues—that of slumdom, breeder of the rest—may be effectively stayed.

Again, let this city link itself up with its smaller sister to the eastward and why not also with big Trichinopoly itself, of which it may increasingly become a partner—of preponderatingly spiritual type as that of more temporal type; yet in neither city restricted.

Albeit of less advantageous business situation, Srirangam has educational advantages; above all a primary one, the traditional atmosphere of idealism and learning. So it may here renew its lead. But "how are we to find sites and money for college building?" What so costless, what finer, what more magnificent beginnings than these for the uncompleted gopurams of the city gates? Complete then, that on the South—the main gateway—simply yet effectively, for the traditional and sacred learning, as Sanskrit, Pali and Tamil College; with its lecture-rooms, its library in lower storeys, and its students' chambers in those above. Make that towards the North the high outlook of Astronomy, of Geographic Survey, of those of Social and Natural Science. Devote that on the West to History, local and regional, Indian and other. Then for the fourth gopuram that towards the dawn, the right use will soon appear—the most vital of all.

PATRICK GEDDES.

REPORT OF THE INDIAN INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION

BY SIR P. C. RAY.

IT is not my purpose to go in detail over the Report of the Indian Industrial Commission. I shall confine myself to a few salient points.

It is fortunate that the main object of appointing the Commission has been explained in no equivocal terms by Sir William Clark. According to the late member for Commerce and Industry, the building up of industries where the capital, control and management should be in the hands of Indians was the special object which we all have in view. He was particularly careful in pointing out that the development of Indian industries would not mean that "the manufacturer who now competes with you from a distance would transfer his activities to India and compete with you within your boundaries." His Excellency the Viceroy in his address at the Calcutta University Convocation the other day also laid particular stress upon this aspect. According to Lord Chelmsford, "We do not want mere Indian capital, we want Indian men and not Indian men only as labour but as leaders who will turn their attention to industrial enterprise and equip themselves for a great Industrial regeneration in India."

It is thus evident that the declared policy of the Government of India is decidedly against the *exploitation* of India's minerals and her almost inexhaustible resources of raw materials by foreigners, be they British, American, or German.

It is necessary to pause here for a moment to discuss some of the potent causes which have conspired to bring about the ruin and even extinction of the staple Indian industries. The East has been immobile, inert and conservative to the core for centuries. In a manner she was living in peace and repose, dreaming dreams or absorbed in meditations on the essence of the Supreme Being. Every village with the graduated hierarchy of the caste regulations was an ideal republic. There was the village artisan and the smith—the barber, the washerman, the priest—the landlord, the tenant-cultivator—the weaver and the small trader, and so forth—each doing his allot-

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ted duty. But contact with the mobile, progressive and energetic west changed all that. At barely a moment's notice India found herself confronted with a formidable rival. She must run at railway speed or be lost forever, and thus came a tremendous crash and the collapse of her industries. Here again, Nemesis overtook unhappy India. What was once an apparent source of strength now became the weak point in her armour—I mean the pernicious caste system. As I have said elsewhere :

The caste system was established *de novo* in a more rigid form. The drift of Manu and of later Puranas is in the direction of glorifying the priestly class, which set up most arrogant and outrageous pretensions. According to Susruta, the dissection of dead bodies is a *sine qua non* to the student of surgery and this high authority lays particular stress on knowledge gained from experiment and observation. But Manu would have none of it. The very touch of a corpse, according to Manu, is enough to bring contamination to the sacred person of a Brahmin. Thus we find that shortly after the time of Vagbhata, the handling of a lancet was discouraged and Anatomy and Surgery fell into disuse and became to all intents and purposes lost sciences to the Hindus. It was considered equally undignified to sweat away at the forge like a Cyclops. Hence the cultivation of the *Kalas* by the more refined classes of Society, of which we get such vivid pictures in ancient Sanskrit literature, survives only in traditions since a very long time past.

The arts being thus relegated to the low castes and the professions made hereditary, a certain degree of fineness, delicacy, and deftness in manipulation was no doubt secured but this was done at a terrible cost. The intellectual portion of the community being thus withdrawn from active participation in the arts, the how and why of phenomena—the co-ordination of cause and effect—were lost sight of—the spirit of enquiry gradually died out among a nation naturally prone to speculation and metaphysical subtleties and India for once bade adieu to experimental and inductive sciences. Her soil was rendered morally unfit for the birth of a Boyle, a Des Cartes, or a Newton and her very name was all but expunged from the map of the scientific world.*

That the exclusive monopoly of privileges by the higher castes ends in the long run in their moral and intellectual deterioration is almost the burden of President Wilson's campaign speeches. We can make room for only one or two short extracts :

"The nations are renewed from the bottom, not from the top ; that the genius which springs up from the ranks of unknown men is the genius which renews the youth and energy of the people.....A nation is as great, and only as great, as her rank and file."

Again,

"It is one of the glories of our land that nobody is able to predict from what family, from what region, from what race, even, the leaders of the country are going to come."—*The New Freedom.*

The invention of the steam engine by Watt in 1766 brought about an economic revolution from the effect of which India has suffered most, since it was followed up by or rather was contemporaneous with three successive inventions in twelve years, that of the spinning jenny in 1764 by the *weaver*. Hargreaves, of the spinning machine in 1768 by the *barber* Arkwright, of the "mule" by the *weaver* Crompton in 1776. The mischievous and suicidal effects of the caste-system now began to operate. Almost fron the Vedic ages the blacksmith, the weaver and the various classes of artisans have remained much the same in this land of stagnation and torpor ; they have failed to advance *pari passu* with progressive Europe and with their primitive methods had to succumb to the competition of the cutlers of Sheffield and the weavers and spinners of Lancashire, who, not having had the handicap and disadvantage of following a hereditary calling, could always recruit new blood and bring in or invite new ideas and originality. The Brahmanical and other high castes have always disdained to do manual work, with the result that they have been fit only for literary and clerical pursuits. No wonder that our *intelligentsia* should fail to develop a right tradition of industrialism.

The ruin and downfall of Indian industries was further hastened by the selfish policy of British statesmen, who by the imposition of prohibitive duties protected the British manufacturer and who began to look upon the vast continent as a field for the supply of raw material required by them.* It is a happy sign of the times

* "History of Hindu Chemistry."

* *Cf.* "It was in such a state of her industrial life that India passed under British sway and was drawn into the vortex of the whole world's international commerce and intercourse, and came to be exposed to the full force of the competition, of the highly perfected industrial organisation of Europe and America. Unprepared for such a formidable competition, and obviously unable to cope with it unaided, she was fairly entitled to the aid of the State at least for a time during which to put herself in a proper posture of defence. But the British Government in the country did not think that their duty lay in any such direction. They did not think it right or expedient to foster by artificial aids the system of native industries, and save it from its destined doom. And accordingly they not only declined to stand between us and our rivals and extend to us a helping hand in the fight, or even observe a strict impartial attitude of

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that both the Government and the people are now realising the critical situation we are in and have been devising means to avert the disaster in which we have been landed; but the efforts which have been hitherto made in this direction are fitful and spasmodic and no continuity in the policy is discernible. But the most fatal mistake—a mistake which now almost borders upon a political crime—has been the hostile attitude of the Government towards elementary mass education. There is a saying in Bengali that it is folly to cut at the root of a tree and at the same time to water its top branches. Thus we read: "There is no doubt a great deal of scope for improvement. The average yield for India is 98 lbs. of ginned cotton per acre; while the figures for America and Egypt are 200 lbs. and 450 lbs., respectively. The fluctuations in the field of *gur* are equally striking. Thus in the irrigated area of the N. W. Frontier Province it is two tons per acre while in Assam it is only 0.9. The Agricultural Department of Bombay, however, by the proper application of water and manure, has secured an yield of six tons per acre. Mr. Fletcher, Imperial Entomologist, adds his valuable testimony to the effect that the annual damage by crop-pests cannot be placed at less than five thousand lakhs of rupees." On this ground he advises the Government of India to follow in the wake of Canada, which has got an Entomological Service, having for its aim: first, the prevention of the introduction and spread of injurious insects; second, the investigation of insect pests affecting agriculture, horticulture, forestry, and the health of domestic animals and man; and third, the imparting of the information so obtained to those interested and concerned by means of bulletins, circulars, press notices, addresses, letters, and personal visits. For these purposes there exists at Ottawa and at the various field laboratories throughout the country a staff of men of such scientific training and ability as will enable them to make the service of the greatest benefit to the people of Canada. Mr. Fletcher, therefore, puts in a vigorous plea for the establishment of a Central Entomological Research Institute which would cost roughly fourteen lakhs non-recurring and four and a half lakhs recurring when the scheme was in full working order.

Similarly we have already got an Agricultural Research Institute at Pusa, with all its paraphernalia of expensive machinery and the "Imperial" and "Provincial" Services.

But we always begin at the wrong end. I should be the last person to disparage the necessity for scientific research. The simple fact is, however, overlooked that our agricultural population, steeped in ignorance and illiteracy and owning only small plots and scattered holdings, are not in a position to take advantage of or utilise the elaborate scientific researches which lie entombed in the bulletins and transactions of these Institutes. Mr. Mackenna very rightly observes: "The Famine Commissioners, so long ago as 1880, expressed the view *that no general advance in the agricultural system can be expected until the rural population had been so educated as to enable them to take a practical interest in agricultural progress and reform.* These views were confirmed by the Agricultural Conference of 1888.....The most important, and probably the soundest proposition laid down by the conference was that it was *most desirable to extend primary education amongst agricultural classes.* Such small countries as Denmark, Holland and Belgium are in a position to send immense supplies of cheese, butter, eggs, etc., to England, because the farmers there are highly advanced in general enlightenment and technical education and are thus in a position to profit by the researches of experts. The peasant proprietors of France are equally fortunate in this respect; over and above the abundant harvest of cereals they grow vine and oranges and have been highly successful in sericulture; while the silk industry in its very cradle, so to speak, namely, Murshidabad and Malda, is languishing and is in a moribund condition.

Various forms of cattle-plague, *e.g.*, rinder-pest, foot- and mouth-disease, make havoc of our cattle every year and the ignorant masses, steeped in superstitions,

neutrality and allow us to settle our account as best we could, but going further they did all they could to help on the foreign competitor as against us in various ways—by adopting Free Trade measures, by pushing Railway extensions, by making grants of special privileges to foreign enterprises, etc.—"G. V. Joshi's Writings and Speeches"—p. 786.

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look helplessly on and ascribe the visitations to the wrath of the goddess *Sitala*. It is useless to din Pasteur's researches into their ear. As I have said above, our Government has the happy knack of beginning at the wrong end. An ignorant people and a costly machinery of scientific experts ill go together.

The panacea recommended for the cure and treatment of all these ills is the foundation or re-organisation of costly bureaus and Scientific and Technical Services, the latter with the differentiation of "Imperial" and "Provincial" Services, which are in reality hot-beds for breeding racial antipathies and "sedition." For the recruitment of the Scientific Services the Commissioners* coolly propose that not only "senior and experienced men" should be obtained from England but that "recruits for these services—especially chemical services—should be obtained at as early an age as possible, preferably not exceeding 25 years." What lamentable ignorance the Commissioners betray and what poor conception they have of this vital question is further evident from what they say :

"We should thus secure the University graduate, who had done one or perhaps two years' post-graduate work, whether scientific or practical, but would not yet be confirmed in specialisation. We assume that the requisite degree of specialisation will be secured by adopting a system whereby study leave will be granted at some suitable time after three years' service, when a scientific officer should have developed a distinct bent."

In other words, secure a dark horse and wait till he develops a distinct bent ! The writer of this article naturally feels a little at home on this subject and it is only necessary to cite a few instances to illustrate how under the proposed scheme Indians will fare. At the present moment there are four young Indian Doctors of Science of British universities, three belonging to that of London. Two of them only have been able to secure Government appointments, but these only temporary, drawing two-thirds of the grade pay. One has already given up his post in disgust, because he could get no assurance that the post would be made permanent. In fact, both of them have been given distinctly to understand that as soon as the war conditions are over, permanent incumbents for these posts will be recruited at "home." In filling up the posts of the so-called experts one very important factor is overlooked. As a rule only third rate men care to come out to India. The choice lies between the best brains of India and the mediocres of England, and yet the former get but scant consideration and justice. It may be urged that these gentlemen had not their cases represented at the India Office. The answer may be given in the eloquent words of the late Mr. A. M. Bose :

"Not that they did not try to get appointed in England. No, gentlemen, after taking their degrees in the great English and Scotch Universities, after having won all their high distinctions—distinctions not less high than those of their English brethren in the service, in some cases perhaps even higher—they tried their very best, they made what I may almost describe as frantic efforts at the India Office to get an appointment from England. But all their efforts were in vain. After waiting and waiting and after heart-rending suspense, they were told that they must ship themselves off, as soon as they could, to India for the Government to appoint them there."

The creation of so many Scientific "Imperial" Services means practically so many close *preserves* for Europeans.

There is another strong reason in favour of employing Indian agency, as has been pointed out elsewhere :

"A European naturally looks to India as a land of exile and his thoughts are always turned homeward. As soon as he joins his appointment, he begins to look forward to his furlough and even during summer holidays he often runs home. Socially speaking, the European lives quite apart and it is only in rare cases that he is found to mix on equal terms with his pupils. The result is that he fails to create anything like an intellectual atmosphere.

"Moreover, the European when he retires from the service leaves India for good and all the experience which he gathered during his service of office are clean lost to the country. But the mature experiences of an Indian after retirement are always at the disposal of his countrymen ; he is in fact a valuable national asset."*

The case from the Indian point of view has been so ably put by Mr. Malaviya that it need not be further discussed. One painful reflection, however, oppresses the writer. That three Indian members of the Commission in their sober senses could make up their minds to affix their signatures to this portion of the Report is what surpasses his understanding. It never evi-

* With the notable exception of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, whose "Note" is really the most important portion of the Report. All honour to this patriotic son of India.

* *Vide* Memorandum submitted before the Public Services Commission by Dr. P. C. Ray—*Essays and Discourses* ; p. 166.

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dently occurred to them that they were committing themselves to the scientific suicide of India.

The Indianisation of the Scientific Services has become a paramount necessity, not only because it would afford scope for the play of the Indian brain, but also in the interests of economy itself. The claims of the dumb millions, who after all are the real tax-payers, have hitherto been systematically ignored. The primary education bill of Gokhale was shelved because of the prohibitive expenditure it would have involved. On similar grounds sanitation and drainage schemes are postponed to the Greek calends. The revenues of India are of an inelastic nature. If we are to find money for these crying needs it must be done by the utilisation of indigenous agency. When the Reform Scheme is given effect to, a large number of Indian members will naturally occupy places both in the Provincial and Imperial Executive Councils. If, however, the present princely and exhorbitant scale of pay were to be retained all along the line, the result would be simply ruinous. The poor ryot would then be justified in saying that what his educated and favoured compatriot was clamouring for was not so much the welfare of the land as the division of the spoils—the share of the loaves and fishes.

The most essential and vital aspect of the Industrial Commission must not be overlooked. The policy to which the Government of India is committed is foreshadowed in the following extract from Lord Hardinge's Despatch to the Secretary of State, dated the 26th November, 1915 :

"It is becoming increasingly clear that a definite and self-conscious policy of improving the industrial capabilities of India will have to be pursued after the war, unless she is to become more and more a dumping ground for the manufactures of foreign nations who will be competing the more keenly for markets, the more it becomes apparent that the political future of the large nations depends on their economic position. The attitude of the Indian public towards this important question is unanimous and cannot be left out of account. Manufacturers, politicians and the literate public have for long been pressing their demands for a definite and accepted policy of State aid to Indian industries: and the demand is one which evokes the sympathy of all classes of Indians whose position or intelligence leads them to take any degree of interest in such matters. After the war India will consider herself entitled to demand the utmost help which her Government can afford to enable her to take her place, so far as circumstances permit, as a manufacturing country."

The after-war problems have now to be tackled, but a most serious situation now arises owing to the unpreparedness of India. The war has proved to be a veritable God-send to Japan and she has taken the fullest advantage of the psychological moment. Japanese goods have flooded the Indian market. In our utter helplessness we have only to be passive on-lookers and realise our absolute dependence upon foreign countries for the supply of manufactured articles and finished products most of which could be easily prepared at home; but here a most difficult and delicate problem has to be grappled with. Indications are not wanting which go to show which way the wind is blowing. Already some powerful British companies have been started or promoted, with huge capital and gigantic resources at their back, and every patriotic Indian who has learned to think for himself is naturally filled with dismay and consternation. Within the last few years in and about Calcutta, a few *Swadeshi* industries have sprung up, which after gasping for breath in the infant stage have arrived at the period of adolescence. But their very existence is now at stake and in fact they are threatened with extinction. Remember, again, these indigenous enterprises never sought the help of any special legislation nor asked for or obtained any pecuniary help from the State. To mention only one instance. "Messrs. Cooper and Allen started the Government Boot and Army Equipment Factory *and, at the outset, they received a considerable amount of financial assistance from Government.*" (Indian Industrial Commission's Report, Appendices, p. 56.) The italics are ours. In marked contrast with it the *National Tannery* of Sir Nilratan Sircar may be mentioned. This noble and patriotic son of Bengal has not only devoted his valuable time and energy but has also risked his fortune for the cause. It is urged that it is one of the redeeming characteristics of the British Government that it grants equal opportunities and facilities to all and in such matters it holds the scale of justice even. This is true, but only in a qualified sense. It is notorious that the poor ryot when he finds himself pitted against his wealthy zamindar is simply ruined. The former is harrassed from one law-court to another and where as he can barely secure the services of his formidable opponent,

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can engage counsel at a fee of Rs. 1,000 per diem, if necessary. This is justice and fairplay with a vengeance! We are threatened with this kind of warfare in the industrial world. The British and American capitalists, with their centuries of experience, marvellous powers of organisation and co-operation and elaborate machinery, and almost unlimited command of capital, have already appeared on the scene and their Indian competitors will naturally go to the wall. President Wilson has sounded the note of alarm in his own country in no uncertain voice. "To-day if a man enters certain fields," says he, "there are organisations which will use means against him that will prevent his building up a business which they do not want to have built up; organisations that will see to it that the ground is cut from under him and the markets shut against him..... American enterprise is not free; the man with only a little capital is finding it harder to get into the field and more and more impossible to compete with the big fellow. Why? Because the laws of this country do not prevent the strong from crushing the weak." * If this is the state of things when the competition is American *vs.* American, we can easily gather how the Indian will fare in his competition with the American and British syndicates and combines and trusts. Let me adduce a concrete specific instance to illustrate my point. Twelve years ago a small venture was undertaken, which was purely of the nature of a pioneering demonstration experiment. A company was floated to enable our struggling and starving young men to have an opportunity of taking part in inland navigation. A steam launch was purchased and it began to ply in a narrow river, the upper regions of which are getting silted up. As soon as it was discovered that the business was a paying one, a powerful British company sent a couple of big steamers and reduced the original fare of one *rupee* from terminus to terminus to one *anna*, so that the Swadeshi company might be crushed out of existence. As the latter had still the hardihood to persist in this desperate game, the former sent an additional steamer and the fiat went forth, *delenda est Carthago*. Thanks to the self-sacrificing zeal and patriotism of a medical practitioner and a local zemindar, the *Swadeshi* company somehow or other manages still to strive. It is not, however, necessary to state here to what extent it has been affected financially all this time or to pause to inquire by how much the present writer, a "patron" of the undertaking, poor schoolmaster as he is, suffered in pocket. Yet the Industrial Commission Report expresses the pious hope that "there is no reason why India should not be ready to man her own ships when they are built."

Even when a Swadeshi concern is once started after overcoming immense difficulties in the initial stages, serious obstacles have to be encountered in the matter of marketing the products or the output of its factory. The damaging evidence of Mr. Adamjee Peerbhoy of Bombay, which for obvious reasons the President of the Commission wanted to be heard *in camera*, but which has leaked out, goes to prove, what is, however, notorious, that the Heads of the big purchasing departments show but scant consideration to the claims of Indians when there are British competitors in the field—it is but natural that they should fraternise with their own countrymen. The excellent intentions of the Government as embodied in Resolutions with sonorous periods get whittled down to precious little in filtering through the official strata.

One of the most important factors in the development of the resources of India is that relating to the working of her vast and in many cases untapped mineral wealth. The Report lays down elaborate suggestions as regards "concessions" and the acquisition of mineral rights and so forth, but is ominously silent on the most important point. Indians are hopelessly backward in industrial matters—they are far behind Europe and America in the modern metallurgical and technical education—they are lacking in co-operation and power of organisation; but that is no reason why the fullest advantage should be taken of their helplessness by foreign exploiters. The fact is overlooked that England holds India as a trustee and guardian and in a future age she will be called upon to render an account of her stewardship.

Our benign Government has already accepted in principle the imperative necessity of protecting the weak, ignorant and backward classes from the grasp of

* *The New Freedom*, pp. 12-13.

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pettifogging sharpers and dishonest sowcars, *e.g.*, by enacting the Encumbered Estates Act. The object evidently was to prevent their being sold out of their patrimony. Some such Act is urgently required for safeguarding our national patrimony.

After all, India *is* progressing and waking up and if her sons to-day are unable to work her own mines, their children or children's children will be able to do so. If in the meantime all the mining rights and concessions in Burma, and Assam and other provinces of India proper are leased out to foreign exploiters nothing will be left for future generations. The late Mr. Gokhale often used to tell the present writer that the greatest injury which the British Government is inflicting upon this unhappy land—an injury which is beyond her powers of recuperation—is the slow but continuous exhaustion of her mineral wealth. As the *Statesman* put this point with great clearness :

"In the case of the mining industry, for instance, it (*i.e.*, the development of the country's resources by English Capital) means not merely that the children of the soil must be content for the time being with the hired labourer's share of the wealth extracted, but that the exportation of the remainder involves a loss which can never be repaired. Though the blame largely rests with them, we can well understand the jealousy with which the people of the country regard the exhaustion, mainly for the benefit of the foreign capitalist, of wealth which can never, as in the case of agriculture, be reproduced. It is, in short, no mere foolish delusion, but an unquestionable economic truth, that every ounce of gold that leaves the country, so far as it is represented by no economic return, and a large percentage of the gold extracted by foreign capital is represented by no such return, implies permanent loss.

As we said in a previous article, the exploitation of the mineral resources of the country by the foreign capitalist stands on a different footing ; for, in this case the wealth extracted is not reproduced, and, on the not unreasonable assumption that it would sooner or later have been exploited with Indian capital, may unquestionably be said to deprive the people of the country, for all time, of a corresponding opportunity of profit.

Vide "G. V. Joshi's Writings and Speeches," pp. 954-55.

The future historian of India will have to write a dismal chapter indicating that when her people at last woke up they found all the wealth in the bowels of the earth carried away by foreign exploiters and only empty dark caverns and subterranean vaults and passages left behind.

It is not necessary to proceed further. The future of *industrial* India is gloomy indeed. Happily there is a silver lining in the dark cloud.

Sir W. Clark, as we have already seen, fully alive to the danger of the situation, was careful to point out that industrial progress did not "merely mean that the manufacturer who now competes with you from a distance would transfer his activities to India and compete with you within your boundaries ;" and successive Governors General have given distinct pledges that every effort will be made to enable Indians to have a fresh start. The task will be a tremendously difficult one in view of the clamorous opposition of powerful interested parties. A Viceroy of India, close upon half-a-century ago, in his attempt to do justice to the people entrusted to his care, was confronted with the determined hostility of his countrymen out here and in his bitter anguish exclaimed : "Millions [out of the revenues of India] have been spent on the conquering race, which might have been spent in enriching and elevating the children of the soil. . . . It is impossible, unless we spend less on "interests"—and more on the people . . . The welfare of the people of India is our primary object. If we are not here for their good, we should not be here at all."* Noble words, nobly uttered.

President Wilson in commending the League of Nations' covenant for acceptance observes : "We are done with annexations of helpless people. In all cases of this sort it shall be the duty of the League to see that nations assigned as tutors, advisers and directors of those peoples shall look to their interest and development before the interests and material desires of the mandatory nation itself..... Under their tutelage the helpless peoples of the world will come into a new light and a new hope." If, however, the exploitation of India goes on at this rate, England will be giving the lie direct to the noble ideal and aspirations breathed above. Recent events have, however, shown that British statesmanship can take courage in one hand and justice in the other ; it is to be hoped it will prove equal to the occasion.

Postscript.—Since the above was in type, I have learned with sorrow that one of the three principal *Swadeshi* industrial concerns of Calcutta, which

* The Earl of Mayo.

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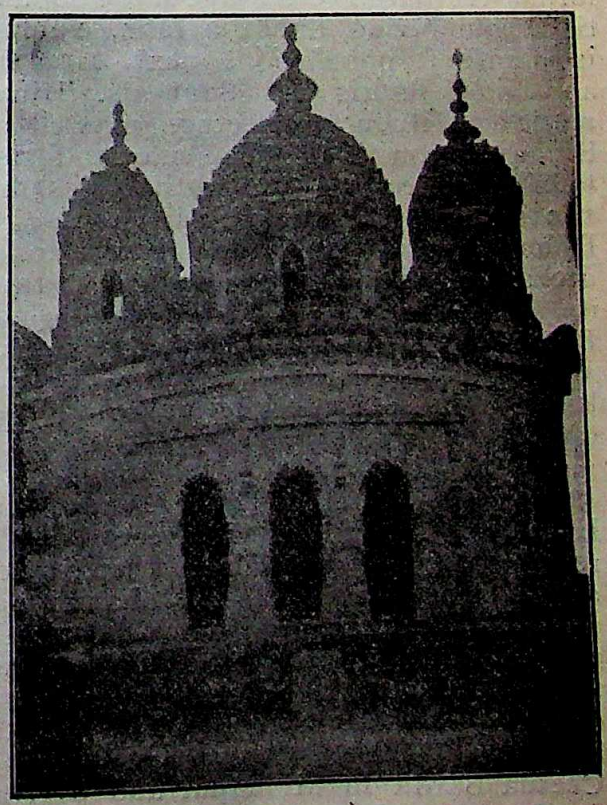
was hitherto regarded as a pride of Bengal, is threatened with extinction, so far as its swadeshi character is concerned. I mean the Calcutta Pottery Works. It is not necessary here to recount with what zeal, sacrifice and singleness of purpose, combined with expert knowledge, Mr. Satyasundar Dev. helped the undertaking and made it a successful concern. In fact it might be said that the very cement of its kilns and furnaces represents the life-blood of Mr. Dev. A powerful British company, partly with threats of overwhelming competition and partly with the offer of a rich bait, has succeeded in practically buying it out. I understand the negotiations have been already completed. This regrettable affair is a sad commentary and reflection on the intelligence and patriotism of Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nundy Bahadur and Rai Baikunthanath Sen Bahadur, the proprietors of the factory, who are both wealthy men. Alas! Even such men could be prevailed upon to part with their heritage for a handful of silver.

The fate of the other two concerns referred to above is also trembling in the balance. If this is an earnest of what bids fair to become of "a self-contained India," she will soon be reduced to the position of a "human cattle-farm" and a plantation, with her people as coolie and "Babu" labourers; and the "Industrial Commission" had better be called "Foreign Exploitation Commission."

A NOTE ON THE HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF BISHNUPUR

THE chronology of the Bishnupur dynasty bears the name of 57 kings who have swayed the destinies of the principality for more than ten centuries.

"The ancient Rajas of Bishnupur trace back their history to a time when Hindus were still reigning in Delhi, and the name of Mussalmans was not yet heard of in India. Indeed, they could already count five centuries of rule over the western frontier tracts of Bengal before Bakhtiyar Khiliji wrested that province from the Hindus. The Mussalman conquest of Bengal, however, made no difference to the Bishnupur princes." (R. C. Dutt.) Towards the close of the sixteenth century the suzerainty of the Muhammadan Viceroys of Bengal was for the first time acknowledged by the Bishnupur Raj, and an annual tribute of Rs. 1,07,000 was promised, but the tribute does not appear to have been regularly paid, the Rajas being treated more as Wardens of the Marches and allies than as subjects. Muhammadan historians record that when Murshid Kuli Khan introduced a more centralised form of government in 1707-8 A. D., the Raja of Bishnupur was exempted from his rigid regulations. The freedom of Bishnupur from Moslem influence may still be traced in the fact that only about 5.6 per cent. of the people of the district at present follow



Madangopal Temple.

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Shyam Roy Temple.

the religion of the Prophet, and Brahmins form a very large percentage of the population, numbering about a lakh, coming, in point of population, next after the aboriginal Bauris and Santhals. Hindu music and Hindu architecture, as well as Hindu religion (of the Vaishnavite form), found munificent patrons in the Rajas, and though the architectural glories of Bishnupur only excite the admiration of archæologists now, the place still retains its supremacy in the vocal art. Jadu Bhatta's is the most famous name among Bishnupur musicians. Babu Gopeswar Bannerjea, author of several books on music is the best known of the living musicians of Bishnupur. Only once, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, was Hinduism seriously threatened in the reign of Raghunath Singh II when, infatuated by the wiles of a Muhammadan mistress named Lalji Bai, who was brought in the train of Sobha Singh's daughter, whom Raghunath Singh married, after defeating Sobha Singh, who was the notorious but brilliant chieftain of Chetua Barda in Midnapur and overran Burdwan and unsuccessfully attacked Bishnupur. Raghunath Singh was about to embrace Islam with his whole Court but the senior Queen, with the advice and approval of his ministers, sanctioned the murder of the Raja by his younger brother Gopal Singh, who then ascended the throne and saved the kingdom for the religion of his forefathers.

The Rajas of Bishnupur were at first Saivas, *i.e.*, worshippers of the god Siva and this is attested by two temples, one called Shandeswar about five miles away from the civil station, erected by Raja Prithwi Malla in 1335 A.D., being the oldest temple extant in these parts, and the other named Malleswar in the heart of the town erected nearly three centuries later in 1622 A.D. In the palmy days of their power and prosperity the Rajas were however followers of the Vaishnav cult and the city of Bishnupur itself came to be known as "Veiled Brindaban," and names derived from Vaishnav mythology were given to the embanked lakes known as Bandhs in and about the town, and also to several of the surrounding villages. Modern rescearch has discovered a larger number of Vaishnav manuscripts in this

Kalachand Temple.

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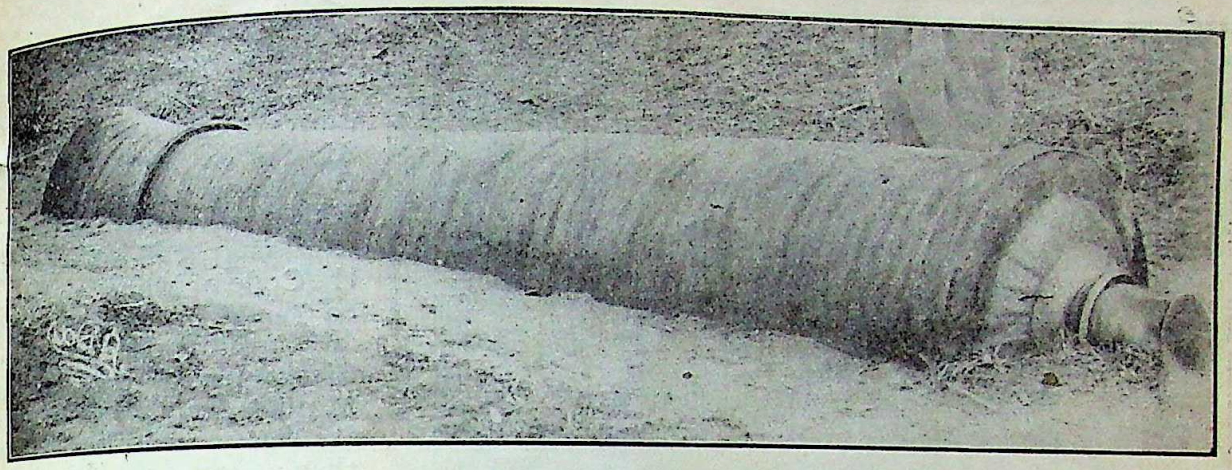
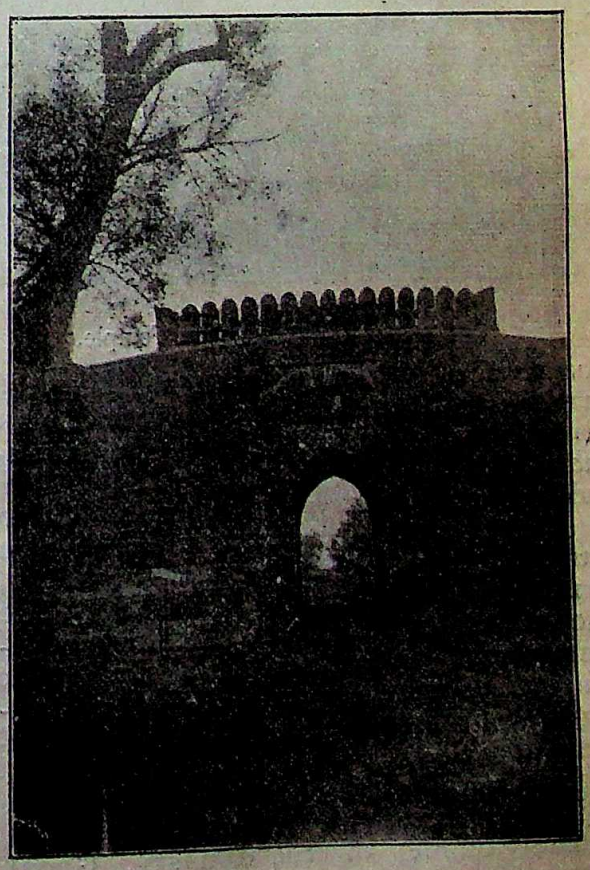


Dalmadal Cannon.

sub-division than in any similar area in Bengal. From a slip attached to the manuscript of the recently discovered "Srikrishna Kirtan" of the famous poet Chandidas, which has caused such a stir in literary circles, it appears that it was preserved with unusual care in the Library of the Rajas of Bishnupur more than two centuries and a half ago. All the temples, save the two named above, are dedicated to one or other of the forms of Vishnu, the great Bengali apostle of Vaishnavism, Sri Chaitanya, being among the number.

In the days of its greatest expansion, the kingdom of Bishnupur included almost all the neighbouring districts, and was known by the name of Mallabhum, *i.e.*, the country of the Mallas or wrestlers. Midnapore is said to have been named after Medini Malla, first cousin of Adi Malla, the founder of the Raj; Kharagpur owes its origin to Kharga Malla, who reigned between 841 and 889 A. D.; and the name of Bankura has been traced to Banku Ray, the youngest son of King Hambir, a contemporary of Akbar. Murari Misra, author of the Sanskrit drama *Anargha-Raghava*, which is freely quoted from in that standard work on Rhetoric, the *Sahitya Darpan*, Ramai Pundit, the author of the *Sunya Purana* which is devoted to the propagation of the worship of Buddha in the guise of Dharma and is one of the earliest specimens of genuine Bengali literature extant, and Subhankara the arithmetician, whose system of ready-reckoning is still memorised by Bengali schoolboys, flourished in this kingdom, and later Vaishnav literature makes frequent mention of the only independent Hindu Kingdom in Bengal where Vaishnavism was accepted as the State religion.

The Army was organised on a feudal basis and was maintained by grants of land known collectively as the *Senapati-Mehal*. A comprehensive system of military police prevailed, known under the names of *Ghatwals*, *Sadiwals*, *Simandars*, &c., who held service-tenures under a quit-rent known as *Panchak* and whose duties included the prevention of robberies, the



Stone Gate.

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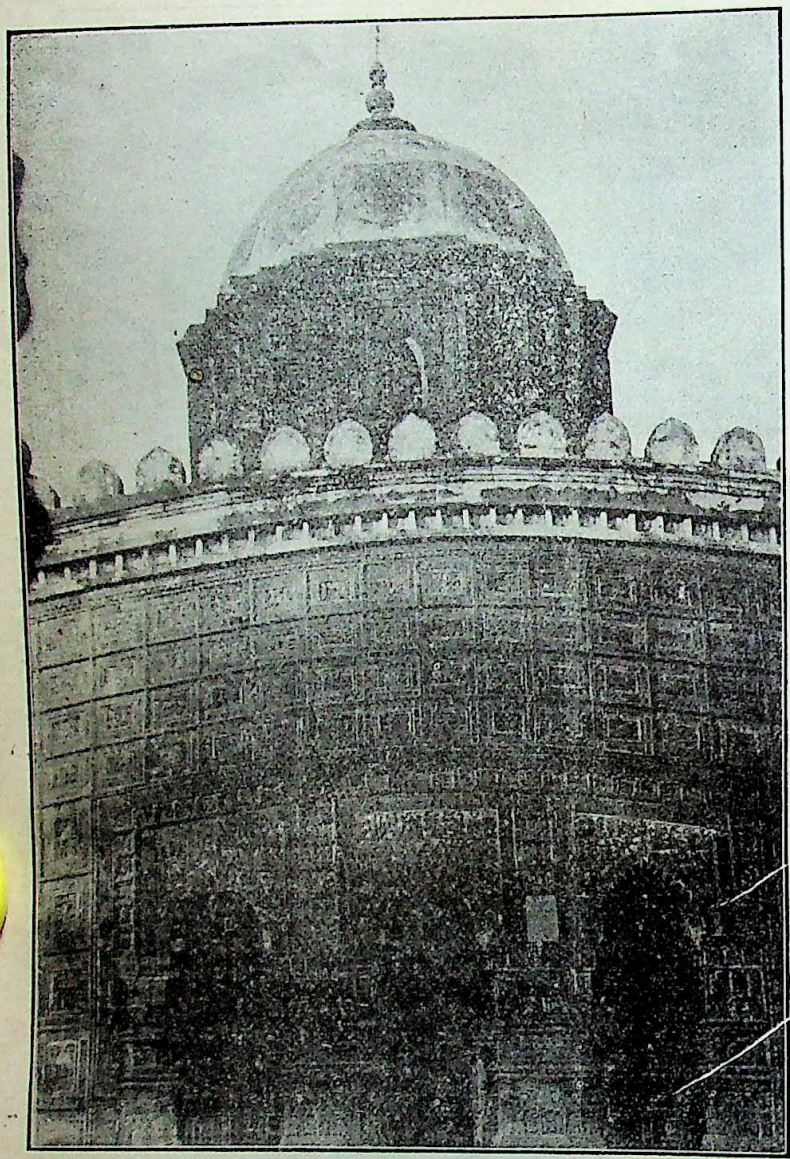

Madanmohan Temple.

maintenance of boundaries, and the preservation of peace and order. Justice was administered in the villages by the *Patradharis*, i. e., those who were appointed under a *patra* or royal charter, and also by *Mukhyas* or headmen, the king in council, assisted by learned Court Pandits, forming the highest court of appeal. The unqualified eulogium bestowed by competent foreign observers on the simple yet efficient system of administration prevailing in Bishnupur proves that the government was suited to the needs of the unsophisticated people among whom the Rajas held sway.

The founder of the dynasty, Gopal, better known as Adi Malla, settled at Laugram, off Police Station Kotalpur. Many curious legends testify to his Kshattriya origin, and although his descendants called themselves Mallas for many centuries, they later on assumed the Kshattriya title of Singh. Mallas are called Vratyas in the Code of Manu, and classed with Dravidians. "The fact that the Rajas of Bishnupur called themselves Mallas (an aboriginal title) for many centuries before they assumed the Kshattriya title of Singh, the fact that down to the present day they are known as Bagdi Rajas all over Bengal, as well as numerous local facts and circumstances—all go to prove that the Rajas of Bishnupur are Kshattriyas because of their long independence and their past history, but not by descent. The story of descent is legendary, but the Kshattriyas of Bishnupur can show the same letters-patent for their Kshattriyahood as the Rajputs of Northern India or the original Kshattriyas of India could show, viz., military profession and the exercise of royal powers for centuries." (R. C. Dutt.) Adi Malla was crowned in 695 A. D. corresponding to the first year of the Malla Era, which falls short of the current Bengali Era by 101 years. He defeated the chief of Pradyumnapur (of Police Station Jaypur) and following an ancient Hindu custom, celebrated the coronation ceremony by worshipping the flag of Indra, the Jupiter of the Hindu Pantheon—a custom which prevails to this day at Bishnupur, the occasion being marked by large festive gatherings of Santhals, with whose aid Adi Malla is said to have vanquished his adversary. He was followed, down to the middle of the sixteenth century, by forty-eight rulers in succession who were engaged in waging constant warfare with the neighbouring chiefs and in extending and consolidating their dominions. The capital is said to

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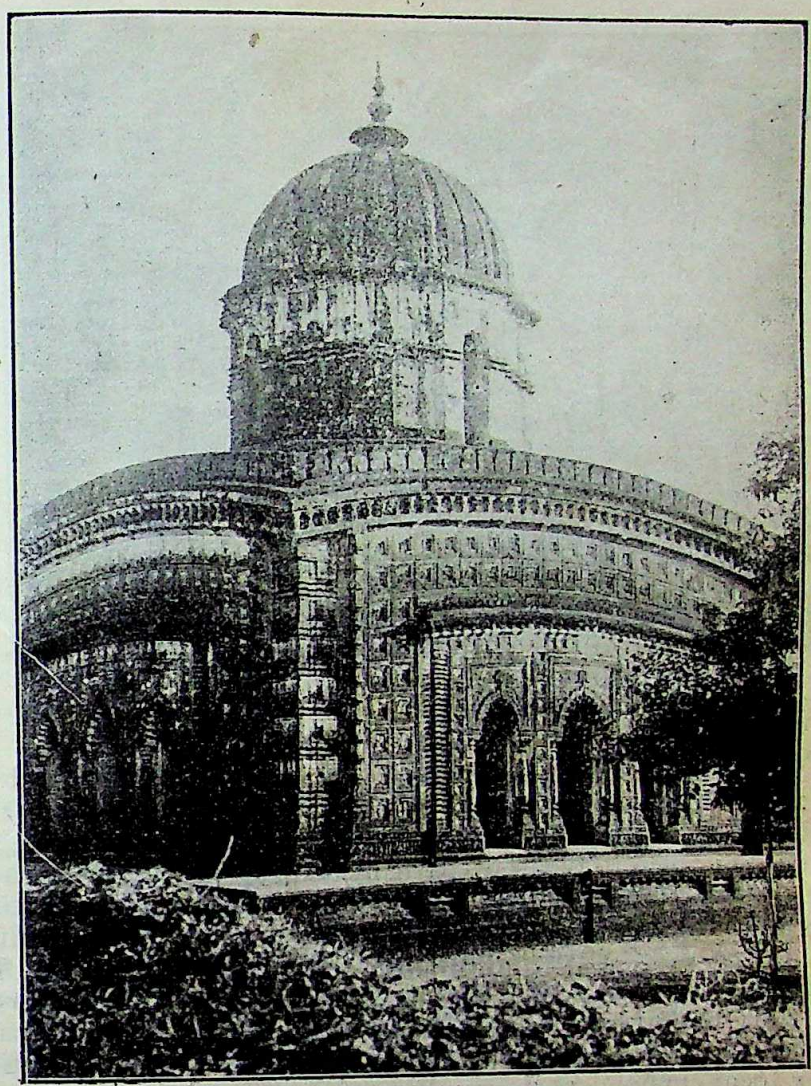
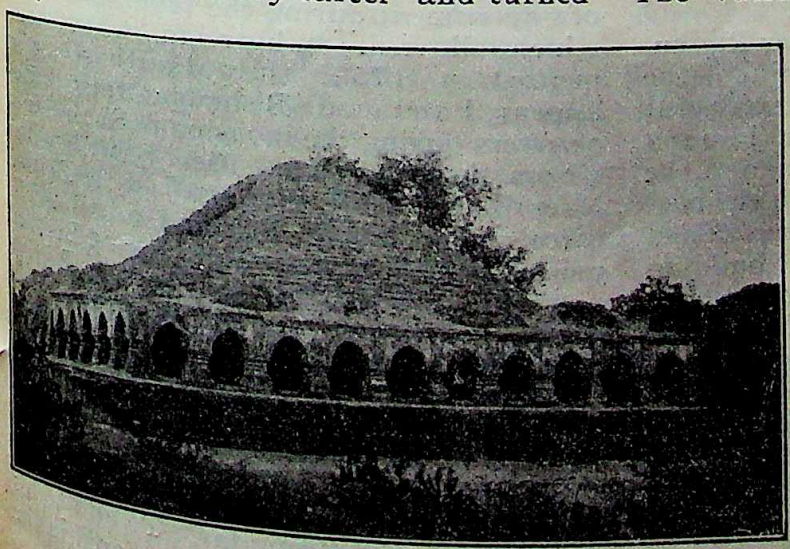
have been removed to Bishnupur by Jagat Malla, the nineteenth king of the dynasty, about the middle of the eleventh century.

With Hambir we take leave of the more or less legendary accounts, and enter into what may be termed the historical period, for he was the first king to be mentioned by the Muhammadan historians. He gained the title of "Bir" or Hero by defeating the Pathans in alliance with the Moguls. A moat outside the outermost line of fortifications, about a mile from the present civil station, known as the "Ford of Skulls," preserves the memory of the bloody encounter. When the Mogul Viceroy Man Singh invaded Orissa, his son Jagat Singh was detached to check the Afghan Commander Kutlu Khan but was put to flight and rescued by Bir Hambir and brought to Bishnupur. The fort received its last embellishment in the reign of this king, and guns were mounted on its walls, and the fine large stone gateway of the citadel was built by him. But an unexpected incident put a sudden stop to his military career and turned him into a gentle and devout Vaishnav. The Vaishnav works relate that the celebrated Srinivas Acharya, on his way from Brindaban to Gour with valuable Manuscripts, was robbed near Bishnupur by Bir Hambir's men, but he so moved the Raja by his exposition of the Bhagavata Purana that the latter forthwith became a convert, and even composed two well-known songs which have been preserved in Vaishnavite collections.



Radha-Shyam Temple.



Ras Mancha.

His successor Raghunath Singh I (1627—57) first gained the title of Singh. As he was going to the house of his religious preceptor

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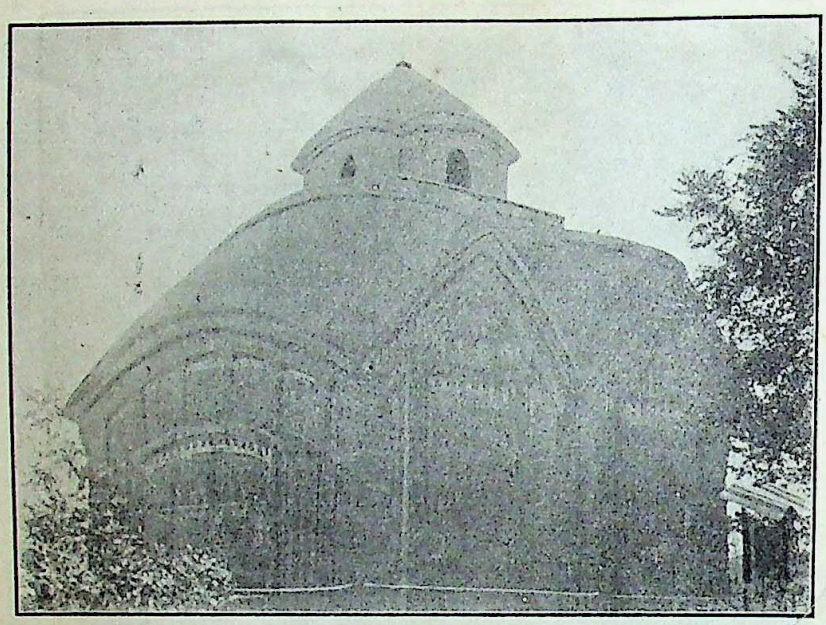

Jore Bangla.

at Jajigram, he was arrested by the Kazi of Burdwan for arrears of revenue and sent to Rajmehal, where the Viceroy, Prince Suja, being pleased with his exquisite horsemanship granted him the title of Singh (Lion), which is the title the dynasty has borne ever since. Raghunath built some of the best-known temples, and by this time Bishnupur seems to have risen considerably in importance, being described by local chroniclers as rivalling the city of Indra in beauty and containing theatres, barracks, stables, storehouses, armouries and a treasury. But with the introduction of the arts of peace, the military glory of the principality began to decline.

Bir Singh succeeded his father Raghunath. He was a cruel king, but kept the subordinate chiefs in order, and excavated the lakes or Bandhs, of which the Jamuna Bandh near the Railway Station and the Lal Bandh outside the fort are in the best state of preservation. He further added to the beauty of the town by building temples, which had now become the fashion with every succeeding ruler or his queen. It must be said to their credit that though they lavished all the resources of the State in adorning these places of worship, they took little care to build a suitable palace for themselves, and the contrast cannot fail to strike the most casual visitor to the ruins.

The end of the seventeenth century left the Bishnupur Rajas at the summit of their fortunes. Gopal Singh (1730—45) was a pious prince, and he issued an edict that all his people should count their beads and repeat the name of the god every evening at sunset. This evening prayer, owing to its compulsory character, was not very popular, and is still known by the name of *Gopal Singher Begar*. In his reign when Ali Vardi Khan was the Viceroy of Bengal, the Marathas under Bhaskar Pundit appeared before the gates of Bishnupur, and encamped in the portion of the town occupied by the sub-divisional office which still goes by the name of *Maratha Chhauni*. Gopal Singh retreated inside the fort and ordered both citizens and soldiers to offer prayers to the presiding deity Madan Mohan to save the city. The prayer was heard, and the legend relates that the guns were fired without human assistance by the god himself. The Marathas, being unable to pierce the strong fortifications, retired, but mercilessly ravaged the surrounding country, as graphically described in the *Riaz-us-Salatin*.

The last of the Rajas of Bishnupur was Chaitanya Singh, who true to his name was a devout Vaishnav of retiring disposition and therefore unfit to hold the reins of government during the troublous times which followed. In his reign, which commenced in 1752, the Marathas again appeared and made Bishnupur their headquarters during the invasion of Shah Alum whom they assisted. They retired when Nawab Mir Jaffer, supported by a British force under Major Calliaud, advanced to meet them, but left a small force at Bishnupur which was turned out by the British at the end of the year (1760 A. D.). The country was impoverished by these successive raids, and in 1770 it was desolated by famine. Bankura was ceded to the British, as part of the Burdwan Chakla, in 1760, and Chaitanya Singh was reduced from the position of a tributary prince to that of a mere Zemindar. To add to his miseries, a rival claimant appeared in the

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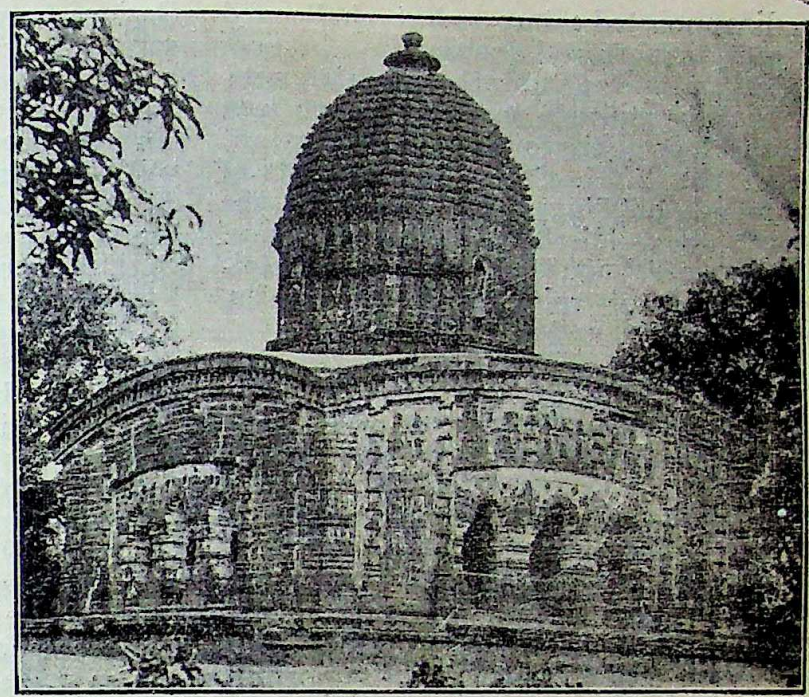
person of his cousin Govinda Singh, and litigation in the British Courts now took the place of the pitched battles of yore, and brought him to the verge of ruin. The Raja was imprisoned for arrears of landtax, and Mr. Keating was appointed Collector; but the inhabitants, supported by the Collector's head-assistant, made common cause with the hillmen to oppose the Government, and were not brought under control without some difficulty (1790 A.D.). "The disorders in Bishnupur would," says Sir William Hunter, "in any less troubled time, have been called rebellion." This attempt to throw off the British yoke has been described by a learned local historian as "the last flicker of the military spirit." It is said that Chaitanya Singh went to Calcutta to lay his case before the British Courts with the family idol Madan Mohan, first established by Bir Hambir, and pawned it to Gokul Mitra of Bag Bazar. As however he was unable to repay the loan, the god was set up at Bag Bazar where it is worshipped to this day, and the temple of Madan Mohan at Bishnupur has remained empty ever since. The removal of the presiding deity of the Raj symbolised its downfall in the popular mind, and many pathetic ballads, commemorating the incident, are sung by local bards. Lord Clive, finding the system of primogeniture prevalent in the Raj, had confirmed Chaitanya Singh in possession, and the Sadar Dewany Adalat also decided in his favour, but soon after the Raj was resumed by Government for arears of revenue. At the decennial settlement of Lord Cornwallis the Raja was reinstated on his engaging to pay the exorbitant revenue of four lakhs of sicca rupees, and eventually in 1806 the estate was again sold for arrears of land revenue and bought up by the Maharaja of Burdwan. The family has since been dependent upon small pensions granted by Government and upon what little *debutter* property they had. The title died with Raja Ramkrishna Singh. The descendants of Chaitanya Singh are to be found at Bishnupur and also at Indas and Kuchiakole. Though the Raj is no more, the leading representatives of the family are still popularly called Rajas and Ranis, as the case may be, and are treated with great respect by the people.



Radha-Govinda Temple.

BISHNUPURI.

(*To be concluded*).

SOCIAL WORK IN THE AMERICAN ARMY CANTONMENT

By SUDHINDRA BOSE, M.A., PH. D.
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NOT long ago I visited one of the largest American military camps (cantonments) for the training of soldiers. As an American citizen I expected the drilling and marching of soldiers in olive drab khaki, the exhibition of the mannual of arms, and the digging of trenches to inspire a patriotic thrill. In this I was

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not disappointed; but what challenged my interest most and aroused my keenest admiration, more than the martial activity of this military establishment, was the workings of the forces of socialization. To me the Y. M. C. A. and Knights of Columbus buildings, the library, the theatre, the soldier's co-operative store, and the hostess house were far more inspiring than all the rifles, cannon, grenades, bomb-throwers, and machine guns.

Training Camp Commissions

The men in uniform have left their homes and friends, clubs and college societies, dances and theatres. They have entered upon a strange experience in which everything is secondary to the necessity of making an efficient fighting force—an experience in which they are cut off from the normal relations of life. In order partially to remedy this evil, to create a normal environment, to promote social and recreational work in the army and navy, the War Department and Navy Department have appointed Commissions on Training Camp Activities. The task of these Commissions "is to re-establish, as far as possible, the old social ties—to furnish these youngmen a substitute for recreational and relaxational opportunities to which they have been accustomed—in brief, to rationalize, as far as it can be done, the bewildering environment of a war camp." The Commissions have not created much new machinery: they have for the most part employed agencies which were already in operation. Inside the cantonment social activities are directed by such organizations as the Young Men's Christian Association, the Knights of Columbus, the American Library Association, the Young Women's Christian Association.

Young Men's Christian Association

The Young Men's Christian Association, which works in close co-operation with the Commissions on Training Camp Activities carries on its educational, religious, and recreational activities in its own buildings in the cantonment. The visitor to one of these buildings can see at any night something of interest always going on. There are musical entertainments, moving pictures, and lectures. There are also classes in French, English, history, government, and mathematics. Besides, one can find a special room supplied with newspapers, magazines, books, pens, ink, pencils, stationery—all free. Letter-writing is one of the most favorite occupations of the soldiers in the "Y" building. Such legends as, "Write Home", "Mother's Letter First", are found on every wall. It has been estimated that soldiers and sailors write a million letters a day on Y. M. C. A. stationery.

Activities similar to those of Young Men's Christian Association are also provided for by the Lutheran Brotherhood and the Knights of Columbus. Although this brotherhood is intended to look after Lutheran Christians and Knights of Columbus after Catholic Christians, the facilities of both of these organizations, as well as those of Y. M. C. A., are accessible to all soldiers without reference to their regligious creeds. The meetings of every one of these societies are open to all men in uniform whether Protestants, Catholics or Jews. "No meetings are held in any of these buildings", writes Mr. Raymond B. Fosdick, Chairman of the War Department Commission on Training Camp Activities "to which all the troops in camp are not invited, regardless of religious or other preferences. Indeed, the admission of such organizations to the camps was on the express condition that their activities must not be limited to any particular constituency; and from the first there has been a broad spirit of co-operation among them".

Educational Work

The Training Camp Commission has appointed a committee on education to look after the educational interests of the men. In the camp there are many foreign-born Americans who can neither read, write, nor speak English. For them, as well as for those native-born Americans who have had no schooling, classes in English have been organized. The study of French is immensely popular; and so conversational French is given to officers and enlisted men in hundreds of French classes. But education in the cantonment proceeds beyond elementary English and French. Instruction is also given in such subjects as clerical work, shorthand, typewriting, telephony, telegraphy, engineering, animal husbandry, and German. There are in addition many regular university courses which make it possible for college

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and university youths to carry on their studies while training for military service.

The Library.

The task of finding reading matter for the soldiers and sailors has been undertaken by the American Library Association. This society has perfected an organization which virtually ensures a good book within the reach of every fighting man. "We will get for you any book in print if you will ask for it," is the challenge of the army library. The aims of the American Library Association are; first, that librarians and library facilities be available for soldiers and sailors wherever assembled; second, that the libraries be maintained in such a way that not only will reading matter be available for the large number of soldiers, but that every possible encouragement and stimulus shall be given to reading by the men in the service of the country.

A special library building is found near the centre of each cantonment. The library is in charge of trained librarians; and the building is open every day of the week from ten in the morning to nine in the evening. Books are kept on shelves which are free and easily accessible to all. They can be taken out by the borrower himself for seven days by the simple expedient of leaving a memorandum at the loan desk, a purely "honor system".

In addition to the central library, there are also branch libraries in the base hospital and in the Knights of Columbus and Y. M. C. A. buildings. Furthermore, there are in mess rooms and in the barracks deposit stations which contain from fifty to a hundred volumes.

The books that are most in demand are of fiction; but I have been informed that works on science, history, government, biography, travel, philosophy, and religion are also read in large numbers.

Recreative Athletics.

It is not an easy life that the soldiers live in a camp, for the army is run on Spartan lines. The discipline is strict. Soldiers must do what they are ordered, and when they are ordered. Excuses do not go. Their days are pretty fully occupied.

Camps are camps and soldiers are soldiers.

And yet and yet.

Soldiers have their fun: they have their hours of leisure. They are generally free from five-thirty in the evening till taps or "lights out". Moreover, the regular routine of military training is suspended on Wednesday and Saturday afternoons, and all day Sundays. This leaves the soldiers a considerable margin of leisure on their hands. The question then arises as to how the opportunities which the leisure brings may be improved. For one thing, men are encouraged to participate in some form of athletics during their leisure time. They play baseball, football, socer, and basket-ball. They also take part in field and track athletics.

Great stress is laid on boxing because of its close connection with bayonet fighting. "Boxing instructors have been appointed in nearly every large camp, and they have trained groups of men to assist them. In many camps from two hundred to four hundred of these assistant instructors have been developed and are giving lessons. Frequent contests are held; and to standardize the instruction and to give the men a better idea of the work, moving pictures have been made to demonstrate the fundamental principles of boxing and the elements of bayonet practice. Nearly every blow and position in boxing has its counterpart in bayoneting. Sometimes boxing lessons are given to a thousand men at one time by these moving pictures which are explained by a man on a high stand."

The athletic work in the camp is placed under directors who are regarded as important functionaries with military rank.

It is true that athletics are primarily intended to develop the fighting instinct and the technic of fighting. Nevertheless, they are not without recreational value: they divert the attention of training soldiers from the continuous round of military discipline to wholesome sports.

The Liberty Theatre.

An up-to-date theatre, called the Liberty Theatre, is provided by the government in each of the army camps. It has a local manager who is responsible for its use. Plays of the very best type by the professional theatrical companies are presented in this theatre. There is also a dramatic coach to search out and develop the dramatic talent from among the soldiers themselves. The "home talent"

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production invariably makes a hit with the soldier boys. A very very low admission fee is charged to defray running expenses.

Liberty Theatre, as one writer has aptly said, is the town hall of the cantonment: in it are given not only theatricals, but also lectures, moving picture shows, and important athletic exhibitions.

Singing.

"Democracy! Near at hand to you a throat is now inflating itself and joyfully singing." Thus wrote the true representative of American national spirit, Walt Whitman. And though the poet had in his mind a spiritual song, he might actually have been prophesying what is taking place every day in the American army cantonments.

The place of singing in the camp and field is as important as that of powder. The army which does not sing heartily, Americans are wont to say, does not fight heartily. Indeed, in the opinion of military experts, a singing army is the winning army. "It is just as essential that the soldiers should know how to sing," said United States Major-General Leonard Wood, 'as that they should carry rifles and know how to shoot them. It sounds odd to the ordinary person when you tell him every soldiers should be a singer, because the layman cannot reconcile singing with killing. But when you know these boys as I know them, you will realize how much it means to them to sing. There isn't anything in the world, even letters from home, that will raise a soldier's spirits like a good, catchy marching-tune."

As an aid to military efficiency, mass singing is most systematically practised and developed in the army and navy. Song-coaches are appointed from civilians, who are awarded the rank of commissioned officers. The soldiers and sailors have regular times for singing under these song-leaders. They sing from a small book, called *Songs of the Soldiers and Sailors* which is published by the government and sold to civilians for five annas and to men in uniform for ten pice.

The most popular camp song I heard among the soldier boys was the one entitled *Over There*. It is full of Yankee snap and go. These are the words:

Over there, over there.
Send the word, send the word over there
That the Yanks are coming,
The Yanks are coming.
The drums rum-tumming everywhere.
So prepare, say a prayer,
Send the word, send the word to beware.
We'll be over, we're coming over,
And we won't come back
Till it's over over there.

Co-operative Store.

The post exchange or soldier's co-operative store is one of the most important institutions within the camp. Here the soldiers can buy such articles of comfort luxury as are not "issued" by the government. Here he can purchase anything from tobacco, handkerchiefs, books and magazines to officers' boots and wedding rings.

There is in each cantonment one post exchange for every regiment. The goods are sold at cost price plus five per cent profit. By trading at their own exchange the soldiers benefit themselves. Here they can obtain goods cheaper than elsewhere and "any profits accumulating to the post exchanges are expended in a way decided upon by the votes of the men in the regiment." Usually the profits go to provide for athletic equipments, musical instruments for the band, better food for the mess, and sometimes for a tobacco fund for smokes in France where cigarettes cannot be had easily.

The Hostess House.

The Young Women's Christian Association has established a "hostess house" within the confines of each cantonment. The primary object of the hostess house is to furnish a place with pleasant surroundings where a soldier can meet his family and friends. As there are in a training camp anywhere from thirty to sixty thousand men, there is naturally a large influx of wives, mothers, and sweethearts. To those the hostess house furnishes a comfortable meeting place free from trouble and annoyance.

The building is usually as attractive inside as it is inviting out: it is furnished with all the latest appointments. The hostess house provides large rooms for visiting purposes, several bed-rooms for women visitors who have men very ill at the base hospital, an emergency hospital room, a mothers' room, and a children's nursery.

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Sometimes the members of the hostess house staff go to the railroad stations and meet the trains so that no in-coming inexperienced woman visitors are left to wander alone in that man-made world in search of her soldier. She is brought to the hostess house where she finds every assistance and protection that she may need.

It should be noted in passing that the moral conditions in and around the camps and training stations are exceptionally clean. The government has adopted a rigorous policy of absolute repression in the matter of drink and prostitution—the twin evils of camp life. "The Federal Government," declared President Wilson himself, "has pledged its word that as far as care and vigilance can accomplish the result, the men committed to its charge will be returned to the homes and communities that so generously gave them with no scars except those won in honorable conflict." And so successfully has the government kept its word that it has "actually reduced to small an amount vice and drunkenness in our army and navy, that it is a fair statement that civilian America will have to clarify its moral atmosphere if it is to take back its young men after the war to an equally wholesome environment."

But to return to the hostess house. It supports a cafeteria, where good meals can be had at reasonable prices. The women who run the cafeteria are aggressively cheerful. At the instant, there flashes before my mind a scene at one of these places. The hall was crowded, yet it was pleasant and comfortable. I could not quite see why, but there was an indefinable something about the place which was exquisitely wholesome and clean. The women attendants, who had the appearance of college students, (how shall I describe them) so lively and so happy. To see them makes one's heart glad. They had such charming ways. Somehow they make you feel that you are a guest and not a customer. They treat you like an old friend of the establishment. You go to the food counter, take what you like, pay your bill, and they smile at you genially. To be sure you have to wait on yourself; but what matter? You are in an American camp where all things are American.

On one occasion, I bought among other things at the cafeteria, a bowl of what I considered to be delicious soup. I took my luncheon tray to a round table and began to sip from the bowl. Good heavens! What was I eating? Soup? Hardly. It was hot, pungently hot; it nearly burned my throat. I decided that the luncheon was a dismal failure. Quite chagrined, I went back to the counter and asked for an explanation. Behold, it was not soup at all. I had picked up the wrong bowl. I had taken a new kind of French salad which looked very much like soup! With well-bred courtesy, they took back the dish and refunded my money. And how we laughed and laughed at the mistake! They are provokingly good-natured people, those wonderful women folks of the hostess house.

Social Vision.

From the social work at the army cantonments it is evident that America does not regard her troops to be soulless machines—mere "cannon fodder" as they are called in some of the European countries. The United States government has fully risen to its moral obligation: it is doing a work of vast magnitude to keep its fighting men in physical, mental, and moral trim. The government has mobilized every material, social, and spiritual resource behind its troops. Nothing is considered too good for these brave men. Indeed, to the American government, this social service is an opportunity, a privilege, and, increasingly, a special responsibility. "It is a movement for the improvement of the nation," writes one of the members of the Commission on Training Camp Activities; "and is utterly devoid of sentimentality. To make the men fit for fighting, and after, to bring them back from war as fine and as clean as they went, is just plain efficiency."

The noted English writer, Mr. John Galsworthy, said the other day that "the house of the Future is always dark." It is so, may be; but we know beyond a peradventure that the war has already coined for America many significant social ideas and ideals which have brought about in the American mind profound changes—changes which are bound to culminate in the re-making of the whole nation. With a new sense of values, American leaders of thought are demanding that the social program which has proved so beneficent

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to army cantonments should also be provided for civil communities; community stores, community theatres, community play, community singing and in short, community co-operation should be as much an integral part of civic as of army life. When this social vision is fully realized, then indeed this mighty Republic will have fulfilled its highest destiny in respect to human liberty and social justice.

Iowa City, U. S. A.

November 1, 1918.

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS AND INDIA

By the Hon. R. D. Denman.

In the working of institutions continuity of form does not necessarily imply continuity of spirit. From time to time, therefore, you have to consider whether a given institution which may have admirably performed some function in the past, is still capable of fulfilling that particular purpose. Such consideration is especially needed in the case of the House of Commons. A body so truly living, so intimately related to the life of the British people, is subjected to all the elusive and subtle processes of growth and change, and on examination you discover that without any deliberate design or conscious act of human will its qualities and outlook have suffered alterations that have come about almost unnoticed.

In suggesting that the House of Commons has ceased to be a body that can usefully supervise the government of India, I do not wish it to be inferred that it has undergone some recent deterioration. On the contrary, it has probably never been a more competent assembly than it is today. More than ever it is a truly representative body, composed of men of fully average intelligence, honesty, and public spirit, possessing collectively a wide experience of statecraft. Never has it enjoyed a more complete equipment for carrying into action the democratic plan of "government of the people, by the people, for the people." For this very reason, however, its skill in the art of government of one people by another has diminished. In these days a representative body is expected primarily to regard the welfare of those whom it represents. Its interests tend to become more specialised and its range of knowledge narrowed.

No one who looks back into the 19th century can be blind to this growing self-centredness of democratic institutions. Take the test of modern general elections. What are the topics that have dominated them and stirred the passions of electors? Everyone remembers the storms which raged round the reform of the House of Lords, Mr. Lloyd George's Budget, and the Insurance Act. Leading statesmen declared that they saw in such domestic matters as these evils which heralded "the end of all things." In such an atmosphere what candidate can preserve a due sense of proportion and give to Imperial or Foreign affairs their proper weight?

This last election, when the future of the world was at stake and when, if ever, our country ought to have cast its gaze beyond its own shores, provides a crowning example of its electoral domesticity. Its dominant issues, "expel all Germans," "make Germany pay our War Debt," were strictly insular. "Death to the Kaiser" represented an appeal to a world-wide emotion,—a longing that war-making shall be a universally recognised crime; but speaking generally that was as far as the electorate went in an enthusiasm for an ordered reign of international justice. At a moment when India presents one of the great problems of the world I doubt whether the very name of India was mentioned in a score of Members' election addresses.

This increased self-centredness of democracy is no mere accident. It follows inevitably from the current conception of the function of the State. The State is no longer a majestic organisation erected to repress injustice and to maintain order, security and liberty. It is rapidly becoming

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ing an intimate partner in the everyday affairs of a citizen's life. This tendency is bound to fix the attention of a Member more closely upon details of domestic legislation, and leaves him less leisure than his grandfather, or even his father, enjoyed for the examination of wider problems. His constituents compel him to study improvements in State services which concern their daily well-being and give him no encouragement to acquire knowledge of Asia.

Let us now consider the recent practice of the House in relation to India. We find that the Secretary of State made an annual statement to almost empty benches. That was about all that was heard of India unless something went wrong. Then, of course, questions were asked and sometimes debates ensued. Now surely no one can argue that a system of supervision amounting only to a criticism of past mistakes is a satisfactory form of control. A control which is always looking backwards, rather than keenly watching the present and preparing for the future, must tend to thwart and discourage. It certainly cannot stimulate qualities of imagination and enterprise in those reponsible to it.

The evil of the House of Commons supervision of India is not merely negative. It is not only that the House brings no store of understanding to current Indian affairs. There is a real danger of positively injurious action by the House in the event of a clash of economic interests between the two peoples.

Striking evidence of this peril appeared last year in the debates on the Indian Cotton Duties.

The growth of democracy affords no security here. Labour Parties in this connexion cannot be trusted any more than Capitalist Parties. Suppose labour were led to fear that a fiscal system desired by India threatened established trade in British goods. Can anybody feel confident that the House would then act as a fair and impartial judge of Indian interests ?

These considerations unite in pointing to one conclusion : the need for removing the control of India's domestic affairs from the House of Commons and for increasing her own authority to manage them. The Standing Committee proposed by the Secretary of State and the Viceroy does not really meet the case. We must reorganise on federal lines the whole political machinery of the Empire. Subjects of common interest,—defence, foreign policy and the like,—will become the province of a body representing not only the United Kingdom but also the Dominions and India. In internal affairs each unit must be self-determining. To get the best out of India she must be encouraged to play her full part in both aspects of this Imperial scheme. Since self-government is not the growth of a day, we cannot afford to delay in laying foundations. The sooner we promote in India, by wise measures of devolution, the habit of self-government, the sooner will she be able to add to the common fund of our Imperial life the abundant riches of her ancient and valued civilisation.

THE DUTIES OF MAN

THIS is the name of a volume of Essays by Joseph Mazzini (1805-72),* the great apostle of Nationalism. "The most timid and law-abiding citizen need not fear to turn over its pages,' says Mr. Jones who contributes the introduction, "though its author was once arrested by the Government in his youth." "...Despotic Governments dislike dreamers. Mazzini was arrested,... really, as the Governor of Genoa told his father, because he was a thoughtful young man of talent, fond of solitary walks by night. 'We don't like young people thinking without knowing the subject of their thoughts.'" Such was the condition of Italy when he lived. "...that Mazzini's name will live on among

* The Duties of Man and Essays: by Joseph Mazzini (Everyman's Library, J. M. Dent and Sons).

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those of Italy's greatest citizens and the world's best men seems now beyond dispute... But Mazzini's most precious bequest to the world was not a bundle of Essays, but a noble life." His real mistress was literature, and he would have served her with a fine devotion had not the more imperious call of Country claimed his loyalty. The idea of Italian unity is to be found also in the writings of Dante and Rienzi, but Mazzini differs from them in being political and not merely literary, and constructive and passionately religious. He regarded life as a mission, and duty its highest law. He had poor qualities for a conspirator, and was a failure in that role. "This 'pestiferous conspirator' displayed to the subjects of the Pope a spiritual grandeur the like of which had rarely, if ever, been seen in a Vicar of Christ through all the ages of Roman Christendom." A writer of elevated thought and glowing prose, an inspiring talker, he was an

'Established point of light whence rays
traversed the world.'

Carlyle, a friend of Mazzini, called him 'a man of genius and virtue, a man of sterling veracity, humanity and nobleness of mind, one of those rare men... who are worthy to be called martyr souls; he had the firm conviction that no nation deserved freedom or could long retain it which did not win it for itself. And with that conviction, he waged a life-long warfare not only on Austrian misrule, "but on Italian ignorance, dissension, and vice—the wretched brood of oppression. Servile habits and unworthy affections must go. The nation must purify herself in order to fulfil her mission. The sole path to victory was through sacrifice,—constancy in sacrifice." He died full of patriotic schemes and his days were full of toil for the salvation of his country. He wrote to a friend who was ill, it is absurd to be 'ill, while nations are struggling for liberty.'

"Open my heart, and you will see
Graved inside of it, 'Italy.' "

Let us now turn to the teachings of the man, who wrote mostly for the workingmen of his country. At the outset he speaks of two maladies which threatened to lead Italian progress astray. Machiavelism—'that political Jesuitism which they call diplomacy'—and Materialism. He therefore preferred to insist on the duties, and not on the rights of man.

"When I say that the knowledge of their rights is not enough to enable men to effect any appreciable or lasting improvement, I do not ask you to renounce these rights; I only say that they cannot exist except as a consequence of duties fulfilled, and that one must begin with the latter in order to arrive at the former. And when I say that by proposing *happiness, well-being*, or *material* interest as the aim of existence, we run the risk of producing egoists, I do not mean that you should never strive after these things. I say that material interests pursued alone and not as a means, but as an end, lead always to this most disastrous result.... Material improvement is essential, and we shall strive to win it for ourselves; but not because the one thing necessary for man is to be well-fed and housed, but rather because you cannot have a sense of your own dignity or any moral development while you are engaged, as at the present day, in a continuous duel with want .....you need, then, a change in your material conditions to develop morally.....you must strive, then for this change, and you will obtain it, but you must strive for it as a *means*, not as an *end*; strive for it from a sense of *duty*, not only as a *right*; strive for it in order to make yourselves *better*, not only to make yourselves *materially* happy.....To make yourselves better: this must be the aim of your life. .....Preach Duty to the men of the classes above you and fulfil, as far as possible, your own duties; preach virtue, sacrifice, love; and be yourselves virtuous and prompt to self-sacrifice and love."

This sense of Duty derives its sanction from God. Wheresoever the Spirit of God is, there is Liberty—liberty of choice between good and evil, which evokes in us the sense of duty?

"Without God, whence can we derive Duty? Without God, you will find that whatever system of civil government you choose to attach yourselves to, has no other basis than blind, brutal, tyrannic Force. There is no escape from this.....Either we ought to obey God, or to serve men—whether one or many, matters not. If there be not a Supreme Mind reigning over all human minds, who can save us from the tyranny of our fellowmen, whenever they find themselves stronger than we?.....Without God there is no other sovereign than Fact; Fact, before which the materialists even bow themselves....."

But who is to interpret the law of God?—the voice of the individual, or of the human race? On the one hand, 'the conscience of the individual speaks in accordance with his education, his tendencies, his habits, his passions.' On the other hand, in the history of Humanity we read the design of God. 'The law of God is one, as God is one; but we only discover it article by article, line by line, as the educative experience of preceding generations accumulates more and more and the association of races, peoples and individuals grows in extent and closeness.' At the same time we must remember that 'all great ideas which have helped the progress of Humanity began by being op-

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posed to the general beliefs of Humanity, and were preached by individuals whom Humanity derided, persecuted, and crucified.' We thus come to the conclusion that 'whenever the voice of your conscience corresponds with that general voice of Humanity, you are certain of the truth, certain of knowing one line of God's law.' God speaks in both the individual and the human race, and 'whenever they agree, whenever the cry of your conscience is ratified by the general conscience of humanity, there is God.'

But the economic question being at the root of all the misery of the working classes, 'to point out to them the duty of progress, to speak to them of intellectual and moral life, of political rights, of education, is in the actual state of society, sheer irony. They have neither the *time* nor the *means* for progress. The doctrine of everyone for himself and liberty for all is not, as is alleged, sufficient to create little by little an approximate equilibrium of ease and comfort among the classes that constitute society. It may lead to increase of productive activity and of capital, but not of universally diffused prosperity. 'The poverty of the working classes remains unchanged. Freedom of competition for those who possess nothing, for these who are unable to save anything from their daily wages, and therefore have nothing with which to start any commercial undertaking, is a lie, just as political freedom is a lie for those who from want of education, instruction, opportunities, and time cannot exercise its rights." Socialism would, according to Mazzini, be no remedy; 'Such an existence, if possible, would be a life of beavers, not of men.....Physical life might be satisfied by it, but moral and intellectual life would perish, and with it emulation, free choice of work, free association, stimulus to production, joys of property, and all incentives to progress." The remedy, according to Mazzini, lay in the union of capital and labour in the same hands in association of labour and division of the profits of labour, in peasant proprietorship and the like.

But Mazzini is never tired of reminding his audience that those who speak to them in the name of material happiness are sure to betray them.

"No! I tell you with profound conviction, that without God, without belief in a Law, without morality, without the power of self-sacrifice,.....you will never succeed.....The lot of a man is not altered by renovating and embellishing the house in which he lives; where only the body of a slave breathes, and not the soul of a man, all reforms are useless; the neat dwelling, luxuriously furnished, is a whited sepulchre, nothing else.....And I believe that man can not be made better, more worthy of love, more noble, more divine,—which is our aim and *end* upon earth—by heaping upon him physical enjoyments and by setting before him as the object of his life that irony which is called *happiness*.....I believe that man ought to be able to eat and live without having all the hours of his existence absorbed by material labour; that he ought to have time for developing his superior faculties. But I listen with terror to those voices which tell us: *Man's aim in life is self-preservation: enjoyment is his right*, because I know that such maxims can only create egoists and that they have been in France and elsewhere and threaten to be in Italy, the destruction of every noble idea of all martyr spirit, and every pledge of future greatness."

Mazzini boldly challenges those who call him a dreamer dwelling on abstract principles and neglecting facts. A revolution whether social, political or otherwise, —not necessarily violent—'includes a negation and an affirmation: the negation of an existing order of things, the affirmation of a new order to be substituted for it.' This means not only destructive criticism, but presenting before the masses a new aim. The generation which participates in the destruction of the old order of things 'is nearly always condemned to mark with its own dead the road of progress for its successor. Itself can never enjoy the result of its travail. Now what theory of material interests, what proof of individual rights, could argue a law of self-sacrifice, or martyrdom, if martyrdom be the goal that awaits us?.....Martyrdom is folly to a people that has no stimulus outside material interests.' Great things are never done except by the rejection of individualism and a constant sacrifice of self to the common progress. The true instrument of progress of the peoples is to be sought in the *moral* factor. We are therefore driven to the sphere of *principles*, which alone are constructive. We must revive belief in them; the logic of things demands it. The *spirit* alone gives importance to *forms*.

"Rise to the sphere of principles; guide the peoples, now wandering in darkness, to the law of Progress, to Humanity, to God; awake again the moral sense, the sentiment of Duty in men whom others would fain convert into calculating machines, show a great purpose to the young, as easily assailed to-day by discouragement and doubt; give to men by enthusiasm, and religion, and love, a new

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moral existence." "Men who.....mock at enthusiasm, deny the power of inspiration and self-sacrifice, call martyrdom quixotic, and try to regenerate the peoples by statistics." "But we subordinate the economic to the *moral* factor, because if withdrawn from its controlling influence, dissociated from principles, and abandoned to the theories of individualism [each for himself and the devil take the hindmost] which govern it to-day, it would result in brutish egoism.....Principles, which some would religate among abstractions, by their nature lie so near material interests, and what is called the *economic* factor, that they involve its practical triumph as an inevitable consequence. The sphere of principles includes and embraces them all."

To the religiously disposed man, whose theme is that the earth is clay, life is but of an hour, terrestrial existence is a period of trial, earth is a land of exile and so on—a theme with which we are only too familiar in India—and that we should therefore despise it and rise above it and turn to God, Mazzini's reply was equally emphatic :

"To the others who speak to you of *heaven*, separating it from *earth*, you will say that heaven and earth, like the way and the end of the way, are one thing only. Do not tell us that the earth is clay. The earth is God's ; God created it that we might climb by it to Him. The earth is not a sojourn of expiation and temptation ; it is the place appointed for our labour of self-improvement, and of development towards a higher state of existence. God created us not for contemplation, but for action..... The life of a soul is sacred in every one of its stages, in the earthly stage as well as in the others which are to follow ; so, then, every stage must be a preparation for the next, every temporary progress must help the continuous upward progress of the immortal life which God has kindled in each one of us, and in collective humanity which grows by the operation of each one of us..... 'Thy kingdom come on earth as it is in heaven.' Let these words.....be the utterance of your faith, your prayer, O my brothers. Repeat it, and act so that it may be fulfilled. Do not heed those who try to teach you passive resignation, indifference to earthly things, submission to every temporal power even when unjust, repeating to you without understanding it this other saying, 'Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things which are God's.' Nothing is Cæsar's except in so far as it is such in conformity with the divine law. Cæsar—that is, the temporal power, the civil government—is nothing but the mandatory, the executor, so far as its powers and the times allow, of God's design ; whenever it betrays its mandate it is, I will not say your *right*, but your *duty*, to change it."

Religious individualism, like its political counterpart, is only 'egotism draped in the mantle of philosophical formulas.'

"We may not lock ourselves up in barren and selfish prayer for our own souls, while the cry of the poor and the oppressed smites our ears, nor turn away our faces from our neighbour, and be content with our own spiritual progress, while all around us is falling to wreck ; while the country that God has given us is in danger of a dishonourable death..... "The earth is of God ; it cannot be accursed. Like the God from whom it springs, is one and eve lasting ; it cannot be broken up in fragments, divided into periods of a character radically opposed There is no antagonism between matter and spirit The earth is of God. It is a step upon the infi ascent that leads us to heaven : ours sojourn durin one of our existences, during which we are bound prepare ourselves for the next..... The earth is sphere where we have an appointed mission to p form, with instruments of labour furnished by and we are bound to regard it with love and verence, as the seat of our possible sanctification Life is a mission..... We are each and all of us bou to strive to incarnate in humanity that portion eternal truth which it is granted to us to percei to convert into an earthly reality so much of 'kingdom of heaven'—the divine conception perme ing life—as it is given to us to comprehend..... T moral code deduced from our dogma preaches the fore to man : Seek not to isolate yourselves : imp son not your soul in sterile contemplation, in solit prayer, in pride of individual purification, in prete ing to a grace which no faith not realised in wor can enable you to deserve. Be not deceived by t doctrine that salvation may be achieved in spite and in opposition to, the earth. You can only sa yourselves by saving others. God asks not, wh have you done for your soul ? but, what have y done for the brother souls I gave you ? Think these ; leave your own to God and His law. Labo unweariedly for others' good : such action is t holiest prayer. In God thought and action are on Seek to imitate him from afar."

In his great religious apology, the sum of all his teaching, entitled "From the Council to God", Mazzini elaborate his views on the Papacy and on religion He declared the Papacy to be moral extinct and regarded its alliance with th monarchy to be an impossible arrangeme and to both he said, 'descend into th tomb you have dug for yourselves.' Th Papacy worshipped force (authority 'which, from Prometheus to Galileo, ha ever sought to enchain the revealers an precursors of the future to the motionles rock of present fact.' The dignitaries o the Church are all practical materialists Mazzini did not ignore the great servic which the Papacy had rendered in th past, by civilising, humanising and demo cratising Europe, and he bowed in reverenc before the image of its great past, but fatal inertia had overtaken it, and mad it indifferent to the miseries of millions and so its mission was over. Religion are transitory, but religion is eternal. T hold, as the Papacy did, that the whol truth had been revealed to it is to restric within a narrow groove 'the limitles ascending spiral traced by the finger o God between the universe and the Ideal

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is destined slowly to attain.' 'Life is movement, aspiration, progress. You deny progress; shrink in terror from all aspiration; crucify humanity upon Calvary; reject every attempt to detach the idea from the symbol, and strive to petrify the living Word of God.'

"When a religion no longer either creates, determines or directs action; when it rouses no power of sacrifice; when it no longer harmonises and unites the different branches of human activity; when its vital conception ceases to inform new symbols, or new manifestations in art, science or civil life—that religion is expiring." "Motionless sphinxes in the vast desert, you inertly contemplate the shadow of the centuries as they pass. Faith is perishing among the peoples, because the dogma that inspired it no longer corresponds to the stage of education which they, in fulfilment of the providential plan, have reached."

The new faith no longer accepts a privileged interpreter, a sole immediate Revealer, between the people and God. Jesus, says Mazzini, we love as the best of our human brothers. The Catholic dogma *humanises* God; our dogma teaches the slow, progressive *divinisation* of man. The teachings of Jesus and the Apostles constantly insist upon our divorce from all terrestrial things, as a condition of moral improvement, of salvation. They preach the suicide of the man within us; the renunciation of every natural desire; abdication of every aim of social transformation; indifference to every earthly good; resigned acceptance of everything evil; unreasoning submission to the powers that be; exclusive importance given to the work of internal purification.

"Christian charity was rather a means of purifying one's own soul, than the sense of a common aim which it was God's will that man should realise here below. It did not over-pass the limits of benevolence, and led... to no attempt to destroy the causes of human hunger and misery... Love of country, and that love which embraces the generations of the future, and is devoted even unto sacrifice for their sake; that love which will not tolerate the brand of inequality or slavery on the brow of a brother man, was unknown to Christian morality. The true country, the real home of Christian free men and equals, was heaven; every man was bound to direct his course thither [civitas dæi]; and the greater his sufferings on earth, the stronger the hope he might entertain of his soul's future, and of celestial joy. The world was abandoned to Satan. Religion taught man to renounce it; religion, which was alike his isolation and his refuge, it imposed no mission of earnest and resolute struggle, and of slowly progressive but certain victory."

Christianity is, therefore the, religion of the individual man; "but remember that life is given to you in order that you may endeavour to improve the society in which we live, to purify and enlarge its faith, and to urge forward in the path of eternal truth the men who surround you, and who will bless your work." The Book of God is not closed; God is spirit, and there is continuous revelation of the spirit of God through humanity. Revelation, which is, as Lessing says, the education of the human race, descends continuously from God to man. Each religion is a fragment, enveloped in symbols, of the eternal truth. Having accomplished its mission, that religion disappears. "Columns of the temple which the generations are building to God, our religions succeed and are linked to one another, sacred and necessary each and all, but having each and all their determinate place and value, according to the portion of the temple they sustain." 'The world is athirst of God, of progress and of unity. You substitute for God an idol, an infallible Pope.' Therefore the Papacy will be swept away.

To fix your gaze always on the Past, and avert it from the Future, is puerile.

"Now, while we are aping our fathers, we forget that our fathers aped no one, and were great because of this. Their aspirations flowed from contemporary sources, from the needs of the masses, from the nature of their environment. And precisely because the instrument they employed was adapted to the purpose they had in view, they worked miracles. Why do we not act as they did? Why, while studying and respecting tradition, should we not move onward? We ought to worship the greatness of our fathers, and seek in their tombs a pledge of the future, not the future itself. The future is before us, and God, the father of all revelations and all ages, alone can point out the infinite way. Up, then! and let us be great in our turn... Our fathers repose tranquil and proud in their tombs. They sleep, like warriors after battle, wrapped in their flag. Fear not that you will grieve them... But let us advance in the name of God. We will return hereafter to lay at its foot, there where our fathers lie, some of the laurels that our own hands have won... The old Age can attain its actual fulfilment only in the baptism of the new."

'The end of politics is the application of the moral law to the civil constitution of a nation in its double activity, domestic and foreign.' Therefore it is necessary to have a right conception of our Duty, not only to God, but to the family, to the country, and to Humanity. Duty is the mother of self-sacrifice, the inspirer of great and noble things. The family is the cradle of humanity, the country of the heart, and the angel of the family is woman. 'In her there is treasure enough

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of consoling tenderness to allay every pain.

"Love and respect Woman. Do not seek only consolation in her, but strength, inspiration, a redoubling of your intellectual and moral faculties. Blot out of your mind any idea of superiority to her; you have none whatever. The prejudice of ages has created through unequal education and the perennial oppression of the laws that *apparent* intellectual inferiority which you use to-day as an argument for maintaining the oppression. But does not the history of all oppression teach you that those who oppress rely always for their justification upon a fact created by themselves? The feudal classes withheld education from you, sons of the people, almost up to our own day, and then from your want of education they drew, and still to-day draw, their arguments for excluding you from the sanctuary of the city, from the place where the laws are made, from the right to vote which initiates your social mission. The owners of the negroes in America declare the race radically inferior and incapable of education and yet persecute whoever seeks to educate it. For half a century the supporters of the reigning families have affirmed that we Italians are illfitted for liberty, and meanwhile by laws and by the brute force of mercenary armies they keep every way closed by which, if the disability did really exist, we might overcome it for ourselves—as if tyranny could ever be an education for liberty." "Today, half of the human family, the half from which we seek inspiration and consolation, the half to which is entrusted the first education of our children, is, by a singular contradiction, declared civilly, politically, and socially unequal, and is excluded from this unity... The emancipation of woman should be always coupled with the emancipation of the working man."

After the family, comes the country.

'A country is not a mere territory; the particular territory is only its foundation. The country is the idea which rises upon that foundation; it is the sentiment of love, the sense of fellowship which finds together all the sons of that territory.' 'A country is not an aggregation, it is an *association*. There is no true country without a uniform right. There is no true country where the uniformity of that right is violated by the existence of caste, privilege, and inequality—where the powers and faculties of a large number of individuals are suppressed or dormant... In such a state of things there can be no Nation, no people, but only a multitude, a fortuitous agglomeration of men whom circumstances have brought together and differerent circumstances will separate... Your Country should be your temple. God at the summit, a people of equals at the base.'

But before *associating* ourselves with the Nations which compose Humanity we must exist as a Nation.

"There can be no association except among equals ... you should have no joy or repose as long as a portion of the territory upon which your language is spoken is separated from the Nation [Italia Irredenta]." "Without country you have neither name, token, voice, nor rights, no admission as brothers into the fellowship of the peoples. You are the bastards of Humanity. Soldiers without a banner, Israelites among the nations, you will find neither faith nor protection; none will be sureties for you. Do not beguile yourselves with the hope of emancipation from unjust social conditions if you do not first conquer a country for yourselves; where there is no country there is no common agreement to which you can appeal; the egoism of self-interest rules alone, and he who has the upper hand keeps it; since there is no common safeguard for the interests of all. Do not be led away by the idea of improving your material conditions without first solving the national question. You cannot do it..... O my brothers, love your country. Our country is our home, the home which God has given us, placing therein a numerous family which we love and are loved by, and with which we have a more intimate and quicker communion of feeling and thought than with others; a family which by its concentration upon a given spot, and by the homogeneous nature of its elements, is destined for a special kind of activity. Our country is our field of labour... In labouring according to true principles for our country we are labouring for Humanity; our country is the fulcrum of the lever which we have to wield for the common good. If we give up this fulcrum we run the risk of becoming useless to our country and to Humanity."

The individual is too weak, and Humanity too vast. Hence, in order to enable us to multiply our forces and powers of action indefinitely, Humanity has been divided into distinct groups, and thus the seed of nationality has been planted. This is the nationalism of which Mazzini spoke and of which he is universally regarded as the apostle, and the idea underlying it has been well expressed in the following lines of the present poet-laureate's latest poem, 'England to India':

Truth is as Beauty unconfined:
Various as Nature is Man's Mind;
Each race and tribe is a flower
Set in God's garden with its dower
Of special instinct; and man's grace
Compact of all, must all embrace.
China and Ind, Hellas or France,
Each hath its own inheritance;
And each to Truth's rich market brings
Its bright divine imaginings,
In rival tribute to surprise
The world with native merchandise.

The following passage from Mazzini is almost prophetic, and rings the clarion call of justice and freedom and truth to the august delegates to the international Peace Conference now assembled in Paris.

"Governments have disfigured the design of God which you may see clearly marked out, as far at least, as regards Europe, by the courses of the great rivers, by the lines of the lofty mountains, and by other geographical conditions; they have disfigured it by conquest, by greed, by jealousy of the sovereignty of others; disfigured it so much that to-day there is perhaps no nation except England and France whose confines correspond to this design. But the divine design will infallibly be fulfilled. Natural divisions, the innate spontaneous tendencies of the peoples will replace the arbitrary divisions sanctioned by bad governments. The map of Europe will be re-made. The Countries of the Peoples

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rise, defined by the voice of the free, upon the ruins of the Countries of Kings and privileged classes. Between those countries there will be harmony and brotherhood. And then the work of Humanity for the general amelioration, for the discovery and application of the real law of life, carried on in association and distributed according to local capacities, will be accomplished by peaceful and progressive development...."

Written more than half a century ago, the truth of these observations is just being made apparent to the dawning vision of the great political thinkers of the day.

Those who teach morality, limiting its obligations to country, teach a more or less narrow egotism. Progress is the law of human nature, and Humanity alone, continuous through the generations and through the general intellect fed by the individual intellect of each of its members, can gradually unfold the divine idea and apply it. Generations have progressively improved, and will continue to improve, the conception formed by Humanity of God, His law, and our duties.

"It is of little avail that you worship the truth in your hearts; if error rules your brothers in some other corner of this earth, which is our common mother, and you do not desire, and endeavour as far as lies in your power, to overthrow it, you are false to your duty.... And wherever human nature grows better, wherever a new truth is won, wherever a step forward is taken on the path of education, of progress and of morality, it is a step, a gain, which will bear fruit sooner or later for the whole of Humanity." "The time has come to teach men that, as humanity is a single body, we are all of us, as members of that body, bound to work for its development, and to make its life most harmonious, active and strong.... We improve with the improvement of Humanity; nor without the improvement of the whole can you hope that your own moral and material conditions will improve..... your souls, with the exception of the very few men of exceptional power, cannot free themselves from the influence of the elements amid which they exist, just as the body, however robust its constitution, cannot escape from the effects of corrupt air around it. In whatever land you may be, wherever a man is fighting for right, for justice, for truth, there is your brother; wherever a man suffers through the oppression of error, of injustice, of tyranny, there is your brother..... Be apostles of this faith, apostles of the brotherhood of nations, and of the unity of the human race,—a principle admitted to-day in theory, but denied in practice."

Mazzini also speaks of certain fundamental rights, foremost of which is Liberty:

"Without *Liberty* morality does not exist, because if there is not freedom of choice between good and evil, between devotion to the common progress and the spirit of egoism, there is no responsibility. Without Liberty no true society exists, because between free men and slaves there can be no *association*, but only dominion of some over others. Liberty is sacred as the individual whose life it represents is sacred. Where there is not Liberty, life is reduced to a mere organic function. A man who allows his Liberty to be violated is false to his own nature and a rebel against the decrees of God." "Personal liberty; liberty of locomotion; liberty of religious belief; liberty of opinion on all subjects; liberty of expressing opinion through the press or by any other peaceful method; liberty of association so as to be able to cultivate your own minds by contact with the minds of others; liberty of trade in all the productions of your brains and hands; these are all things which no one may take from you..... God has given you thought; no one has the right to restrain it, which is the communion of your soul with the souls of your brothers, and the only way of progress which we have. The press must be absolutely free; the rights of the intellect are inviolable, and any preventive censorship is tyranny; society may only punish the offences of the pen, such as the inculcation of crime and openly immoral teaching, as it punishes other offences. Punishment decreed by a solemn public judgment is a consequence of human responsibility, while every intervention *beforehand* is a negation of liberty."

The right of education is another fundamental right.

"Without education you cannot choose rightly between good and evil; you cannot acquire a knowledge of your own rights; you cannot obtain that share in political life without which you will never succeed in emancipating yourselves; you cannot define your own life work to yourselves. Education is the bread of your souls. Without it your faculties lie numb and unfruitful....."

Therefore, 'ask, and exact, the establishment of a system of free national education, compulsory for all.'

The third important right is the right of association. If Progress be the law of life, association is the guarantee of progress.

'The wider, the more intimate and comprehensive your association with your brothers, the further will you advance on the path of individual progress.' "Inertia and content with the condition of things already existing and sanctioned by the common consent of mankind are habits of mind too natural in men to allow a single individual to shake and overcome them. But the association of a minority which grows every day can do it. Association is the method of the future. Without it the State would remain stationary, enchained to the degree of civilisation already reached."

Association must be peaceful. Its purpose must be to persuade, not to compel. It must also be public. 'Outside these limits, liberty of Association among citizens is as sacred and inviolable as Progress, to which it gives life.'

But "sweet are indifference and oblivion to the man who sits in the sanctuary of his family, surrounded by smiling faces, while the wintry blast blows without;

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and the snowflakes, swift and fine, beat against the panes of a double window."

"Do you hope to drag these favourites of fortune from their apathy by simply preaching of your rights? You must preach to them a new philosophy of life, hold up before them a new conception of the ideal—the ideal of duty. To do that you must have Faith." ".....it will translate into art the religious and social philosophy; it will surround with its own beautiful light *woman* who though a fallen angel is ever nearer to heaven than we..... It will sing the joys of martyrdom, the immortality of the vanquished, the tears that expiate, the sufferings that purify, the memories and the hopes, the tradition of one world interwoven in the cradle of another. It will murmur words of holy consolation to those children of sorrow born before their time, those fated and puissant souls who.....have no confidants on earth..... And it will teach the young the greatness of self-sacrifice, the virtue of constancy and silence, how to be alone and yet despair not, how to endure without a cry and an existence of torments half-understood, unknown, long years of delusions and bitterness and wounds, all without a complaint; it will teach a belief in future things, an hourly travail its promote it, without a hope in this life of seeing to victory."

Again and again in reading the noble call of duty, preached so eloquently by a mind permeated with the sense of the divine and devoted to the realisation of the divine idea on earth which it never ceased to regard as a preparation for heaven, have we been reminded of the opening lines of the Isopanishad:

ईशा वास्यमिदं सर्व्वं यत् किञ्चित् जगत्यां जगत्।
तेन त्यक्तेन भुञ्जीथा, मा गृधः, कस्य स्विद् धनम्॥
कुर्व्वन्नेवेह कर्म्माणि जिजीविषेच्छतं समाः।
एवं त्वयि, नान्यथेतोऽस्ति, न कर्म्म लिप्यते नरे॥

V.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

INDIAN NATIONALISM—*Its Principles and Personalities: by B. C. Pal. S. R. Murthy & Co,, Triplicane, Madras. Price—Rs. 2.*

This slender volume of 238 pages consists of ten character sketches. The subjects, with the exception of Mr. Tilak and Sister Nivedita, are all Bengalis, and all of them are leaders of the Nationalist movement: hence the title of the book. The get-up and binding are excellent, the letter-press neat and bold, but printing mistakes abound, especially in the earlier chapters. So much for the outside of the work.

The author, Mr. Bipinchandra Pal, is the best exponent of the philosophy of Nationalism on this side of India. By his intellectual equipment, well-digested erudition, political training, and his natural abilities as thinker and writer, he is well qualified to discourse on the subject of his choice. And the book is replete with pregnant observations, showing deep insight and a profound grasp of the political, philosophical and cultural aspects of Indian Nationalism—all presented in language which has a distinct literary flavour and is as far removed from the style of the hustings as it could well be. Many of the studies are obviously scrappy—that of Aravinda Ghose, 'in endowment, education and character perhaps superior' to all the other Nationalists though the youngest in age (p. 155), is disappointingly meagre—and this is admitted in the Foreword. Some characters have been evidently introduced with a view to make them serve as pegs to hang the author's own sermons on. Nevertheless, these sermons, or expositions of particular phases of Indian cultural life (*e. g.*, the doctrine of the Guru in Hinduism, the ideal of leadership in India, the rationalistic movement in Bengal, the nature-religion of Sister Nivedita, the Vaishnavism of the Saint Bijoykrishna Goswami, etc.) are profoundly suggestive, and will give the book a permanent value among that growing body of literature which seeks to interpret the soul of India to the rest of the world.

The book is one to be read from cover to cover and we shall not mar its interest by trying to summarise its contents, much as we should have liked to do so. We cannot, however, refrain from saying that to the greatest of his characters, Sir Rabindranath Tagore, who leads off the volume, Mr. Pal seems to us to be rather unjust. It is not exactly a case of damning with faint praise, for Mr. Pal has paid his homage unreservedly to the greatest living genius in the Indian world of letters, but sometimes it has seemed to us that the praise-offerings which he has bestowed with his right hand he has sought to take away with his left. One instance must suffice, for we do not like to enter into a controversy which would almost surely be disapproved by Rabindranath himself. According to Mr. Pal, Rabindranath has led the revolt against the intellectual and moral bondage of European civilisation 'with greater courage and effect than anyone else' (p. 29). And yet, under the guise of a new abstract Cosmopolitanism or Universalism, he is said to have drifted into the safe role of a social and religious reformer, which in part at least has contributed to his European success (pp. 24-5). If any proof were needed that this is a most cruel and unjust aspersion, it lies in Rabindranath's American lectures on Nationalism. A bolder attack on some of the ideals of modern European civilisation, right in the midst of the most advanced representatives of that civilisation, has never before or since been delivered by any man who has a reputation to lose either in the East or the West.

Mr. Pal's exposition of Indian Nationalism shows that this business of social reform is thoroughly distasteful to the conservative instincts of the

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tionalist, though he admits that "No revival can really revive the past just as it was in the past. It has to adjust the past to the living conditions of the present. A successful revival must, therefore, offer a new view-point and a new synthesis. It is in such a synthesis that the Hindu revival in India of the last quarter of a century has had its main strength. And it must be admitted that the underlying thought of this Revival has more or less openly and consciously taken note of the protest of reason raised by the Brahmo Samaj and other religious reform movements of our day. Neo-Hinduism, as it is called, is not really the Hinduism of our fathers ; it is a new phase, a new development, a new interpretation, and a new adjustment of the old and traditional ideals, in the light of present needs and conditions." (pp. 199-200).

Elsewhere he says that the object of the Hindu Revivalists is "to revive the mediæval faiths and ideas and perpetuate the current sccial institutions of the land. Theirs was, thus, in some sense a work of resistance, so far as modern thoughts and ideals are concerned" (p. 212). "The present Nationalist movement in India is very largely indebted to this Reaction or Revival for a good deal both of its inner strength and its outer influence" (p. 201). The connection between Reaction and Nationalism being thus established, it is no wonder that social reform should be looked upon with disfavour by a section of the Nationalists.

Mr. Pal admits that 'one ugly feature of nationalism' is a 'persistent and almost constitutional antipathy against the foreigner' (p. 196). If that be so, it seems that there is considerable justification for the preaching of Cosmopolitanism, specially as in other countries such antipathy is confined to the physical man, and does not extend, as to our infinite loss it does in India, to whatever the nations regarded as hostile have to give us materially, morally and intellectually. Heine thus contrasts (1833 A. D.) French and German patriotism : "The patriotism of the French consists in this : the heart warms ; through this warmth it expands ; it enlarges so as to encompass, with its all-embracing love, not only the nearest and dearest, but all France, all civilisation. The patriotism of the Germans, on the contrary, consists in narrowing and contracting the heart, just as leather contracts in the cold ; in hating foreigners, in ceasing to be European and cosmopolitan, and in adopting a narrow-minded and exclusive Germanism." And Heine proceeds to speak of "the grandest and holiest idea ever brought forth in Germany, the idea of humanitarianism ; the idea of the universal brotherhood of mankind—an idea to which our great minds, Lessing, Herder, Schiller, Goethe, Jean Paul, and all people of culture in Germany, have ever paid homage." The Nationalist patriot seeks to remove the evils and weaknesses of his own nation 'from within, by working up the latent goodness and strength ; and is in the meantime lovingly tolerant of them' (p. 203). To what length this toleration is carried by some of our nationalists in the Mofussil, every one having experience of Mofussil conditions knows to his cost. Rabindranath's poems and essays are a living witness to the fact that he realises, as few else have done, the latent goodness and strength of Hinduism, but he has the courage, which many have not, to speak out against the soul-killing customs of Hindu society and the 'inertia of the spiritually dead' pandits (p. 228). To proceed as far as Hindu public opinion allows, as is done by one of Mr. Pal's heroes (p. 204), is really no virtue, for public opinion is made up of the opinions of individual members of the public, and unless some of them have the courage to advance beyond the line prescribed by public opinion, it leaves us just where we are and there is no progress. To recognise the frailties of society and yet shrink from ruthlessly rooting them up for fear of wounding the organism itself (p. 201) and to allow reason to be controlled by patriotism (p. 202) is, according to Mr. Pal, the true position of the philosophical nationalist. The nationalism of the masses simply consists in their natural conservatism (p. 195). So between popular nationalism on the one hand with its blind and unreasoning conservatism and philosophical nationalism on the other with its sentimental tolerance of the evils of society, the cause of social reform seems to be in a bad way indeed, and it is up to Sir Rabindranath, as, 'unquestionably the greatest living man of letters in Bengal' (p. 1) to wield his mighty pen in this uphill and unpopular struggle on the side of truth and justice and progress. Mr. Pal, a Vaishnav, calls Rabindranath's Cosmopolitanism emotional, and says that because it was not addressed to the intellect it fell absolutely flat on his own people (p. 30). But Mr. Pal's typical nationalist, as we have seen, allows his reason to be controlled by the patriotic sentiment, which evidently Sir Rabindranath does not, for he has a finer and nobler idea of patriotism, and it is this which makes him say (*Modern Review*, September, 1918): 'If I did not [love my country], it would have been quite easy for me to become popular with my countrymen.'

"Almost every nationalist," says Mr. Pal (p. 204), has "given up many of the obsolete institutions and usages of his country and caste." Vivekananda, we know, was one such, and Mr. Pal himself is another. Vivekananda, vehemently denounced our social abuses, and Mr. Pal's advanced social life, and broad outlook, place him outside the narrow grooves of orthodox Hinduism. And yet he, in common with Vivekananda has gone out of his way to have a fling at social reformers. It is difficult to understand why this is done by persons who have themselves seceded from orthodoxy, unless we make the rather uncharitable supposition that they want to gain a favourable hearing for themselves by posing as orthodox. Rabindranath has never done so, and has praised and blamed orthodox institutions according to their deserts without assuming the role either of a reformer or of a staunch Hindu, though his eloquent and sympathetic defence of Hindu social ideas and ideals confers on him, to say the least, an equal title with Vivekananda and others to pose as a true representative of Hinduism.

In Mr. Pal's opinion, the concrete-universalism of Vaishnavism is an advance on the abstract-universalism of the Vedanta which is the highest theological ideal of the Brahmo Samaj (pp. 214-15). But the following expositions of Vaishnavism will show how much of his own twentieth century enlightened humanitarian mind Mr. Pal reads into his philosophy of Vaishnavism which is here indistinguishable from the most up-to-date programme of Western socio-political advancement : "To the devout Vaishnav, every man is a manifestation of Narayana. And Narayana being endowed with a divine sensorium participates, in some sense, in the enjoyment and sufferings of each individual human being. This suffering is not original but vicarious ; but none the less it is a fact of divine experience. Collectively, also, the privations and sufferings of the race are equally part of divine experience. In this deeper sense, the services of man—every man—attempt to remove his ignorance, to

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relieve his sufferings, and set him upon the truest and highest basis of his life—all these elements are in the worship of God. Whatever contributes to human misery, whatever retards the developments of humanity, whatever obstructs the advance of man into his proper and conscious life in God, is therefore an outrage against God himself. Narayana is perpetually seeking to reveal and realise Himself in and through the life of each individual man and woman, and through the life of humanity. The bondage of man is in one sense the bondage of Narayana Himself. Poverty, ignorance, social repression, political servitude, are therefore as much a violation of the Dharma or the Divine Law as anger and lust and other mortal sins" (pp. 224-25).

On the whole, the book under review is one of that rare order to which one turns again and again for helpful suggestion and inspiration.

Q.

HINDU ACHIEVEMENTS IN EXACT SCIENCE.—*By Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar of the National Council of Education, Bengal. 12 mo. 82 pages. Cloth price $1.00, Longmans Green & Co.*

This is a handy little volume from the facile pen of Prof. Sarkar who has been lately sending us intersting reports on foreign lands. In the Preface he tells us that "it has been sought to present a comprehensive, though very brief account of the entire scientific work of ancient and mediæval India in the perspective of development in other lands." He reminds us that "its worth should, however, be estimated in the light of the parallel developments among their contemporaries, the Greeks, the Chinese, the Græco-Romans, the Saracens, and the mediæval Europeans."

The work is therefore very ambitious, and requires an amount of labour which, to us, would appear stupendous, a fair amount of knowledge not only of each branch of science but also of its historical development from the ancient times almost down to the present, not only in India, but also in other lands and a broad philosophical insight rarely met with among specialists. Nor can the work be intended for every reader. For he must possess a similar amount of knowledge in order to appreciate the perspective view presented to him. The task is not lightened even when the author tells us that "the main object of this little book is to furnish some of the chronological links and logical affinities between the scientific investigations of the Hindus and those of the Greeks, Chinese, and Saracens." Nor when we are told that "all the achivements of the Hindus in any branch of science" have not been "treated in an exhaustive manner." For we actually find the author dipping into eighteen topics including mathematics and astronomy, chemistry and kinetics, human anatomy and physiology, natural history and the applied branches of chemistry, medicine and surgery. A bibliography of 79 volumes appended to the book shows that the author has deligently searched for his materials, through the references in the body of the book are scanty. Considering its small size we must say that his attempt has been successful. He has brought out some of the salient facts of Hindu knowledge extending over two thousand years, from the 8th century B.C. to the 12th century A. D. At places these appear in the form of a mere catalogue, though at others connecting links have been supplied by him. He has handled them with a directness which many students of science would envy. There is nothing vague, no pai[illegible] any where. The reader is reminded of the stat[illegible] knowledge possessed by other contemporary nati[illegible] and led to consider what the Hindus did. The sty[illegible] of the author is eminently suitable for the work, a[illegible] the get-up excellent.

It is not possible for a reviewer to check t[illegible] accuracy of every statement made in the book or [illegible] trace it to its original source. There may be diffe[illegible] ence of opinion as to the relative value of the fa[illegible] enumerated in this history of science, and also [illegible] accuracies due to the sources from which the auth[illegible] has collected his data. But a compiler can hard[illegible] be held responsible for the opinion of his authoriti[illegible] It is gratifying to note the self-restraint exercised [illegible] him, avoiding on one hand undue glorification [illegible] his ancestors, and depreciation of the worth of th[illegible] discoveries on the other, because other nations co[illegible] make similar ones. There was a real need of a ha[illegible] volume like this for a rapid, albeit an imperfect [illegible] disconnected, survey of Hindu achievements [illegible] positive science.

A perusal of the book forcibly reminds us of t[illegible] need for exploring untrodden fields, scrutinisi[illegible] known ones and accumulating data for the purpo[illegible] of a fuller history. Who ever thought that a r[illegible] harvest in the shape of commentaries awaited t[illegible] patient scholarship of a Dr. Seal, or that our ment[illegible] store of ancient history could be appreciably incre[illegible] ed by a single labourer? The work has to be don[illegible] by competent Hindus, who are better fitted by th[illegible] invironment and inherited culture than a foreign[illegible] to judge and interpret properly the significance of [illegible] term, perhaps a stray illustration, or even a meta[illegible] phor. Many of the Hindu writers who have attemp[illegible] ed to tell us the work of their ancestors fall, curiou[illegible] enough, under two opposite groups: one blindl[illegible] following the impatient and often amateur[illegible] criticism of Western scholars and belittling the wor[illegible] by their canon, and the other as blindly showi[illegible] racial bias in the opposite direction and extolli[illegible] every idea which can be deciphered in a Sansk[illegible] verse. It is difficult to say who are less fitted [illegible] the task. The worst sinners are undoubtedly tho[illegible] who cannot say that they do not know, do n[illegible] understand, but boldly put their own interpretati[illegible] on *sutras*, phrases and words and there find reaso[illegible] for condemning the Hindus. Objective science wi[illegible] out a synthetic philosophy as the basis is apt to b[illegible] conceited and dogmatic. It is easy to cite instan[illegible] of wrong judgment based on a fictitious interpret[illegible] tion. Thus writers on Hindu Chemistry wh[illegible] naming the five classes of stuffs which form mater[illegible] bodies have a line to say that the Hindus regard[illegible] the earth and water as *chemical elements*! Yet [illegible] is now well-known that at least some of the meta[illegible] such as iron, tin, lead, copper, silver, and gold we[illegible] in use among the Aryans of the Vedic literature a[illegible] that by the 5th century A.D. the Hindus recognised a[illegible] least three dozens of stones suitable for ornament[illegible] And, is it after all so very difficult for one ignoran[illegible] of modern chemistry to separate at least some o[illegible] the ingredients out of different samples of the earth[illegible] crust? It is equally wrong to translate the thre[illegible] *dhatus* of the human system assumed in the Hindu[illegible] practice of medicine by the words, air, bile, a[illegible] phlegm. Probably the origin of the triad of life [illegible] to be found in the three *gunas* of the Sankhya philo[illegible] sophy, which the Purans allegorized as Brahma[illegible] Vishnu, and Siva. The surprise is that the gra[illegible] conception of the trinity has so often been ridiculed[illegible] Prof. Sarkar has not mentioned the so-called

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"elements" recognised by the Hindus, but is not happy when he writes that "both in the East and the West chemistry was at first alchemy." This statement regarding the East has yet to be proved. Besides, the author has apparently doubts about this. For he writes immediately after that chemistry was "principally a handmaid to the science or art of medicine." Similarly we cannot commend the author's comparison of the Hindu *dhatu* with Greek humours when he writes that "the physiology [?] of humour, whatever its worth, is older in India than in Greece." The fact is, the Hindu *dhatu* has to be understood apart from the four Greek humours. Besides, even if the *vata* of the Hindus be translated as "air," can it be called a humour?

A glaring instance of wrong judgment based on insufficient evidence is afforded by the oft-repeated assertion that the Hindus were indebted to the Greeks for their knowledge of astronomy. Prof. Sarkar is perfectly right when he says that "it is difficult to see precisely what the Hindus borrowed, 'since in no case do the numerical data and results in the system of the two peoples exactly correspond'." He has, however, unconsciously fallen into the trap laid by superficial writers and reiterated Varaha's "candid acknowledgment of the fact that this science is 'well established among the barbarian Yavanas.'" But the fact is that Varaha did not refer to the science of astronomy; he referred to astrology as practised by fortune-tellers, the *daivagnas*. Every one knows that the Hindus, astrologically-minded, borrowed a heap of rubbish not only from the early Greeks, but also from the Saracens at a later date. Superstitions of one race mingle rapidly with those of another when there is intercourse between the two.

But we have no time to go into details, or to quarrel over the capacities of the Hindus to build up a civilisation peculiarly their own. It is admitted on all hands that they possessed an unrivalled power of analysis which some critics would have us to believe developed only in metaphysical subtlety. These apparently forget that this subtlety is as much a work of intellect as positive science. It is, however, time to repeat that the Hindus were more *practical* than many imagine. They did not regard all kinds of knowledge as of equal worth; at any rate the present cant of knowledge for its own sake was unknown; for could it ever be an end in itself? A due recognition of this fact is necessary in every history of the ancient Hindus, be it a history of their chemico-physical sciences or of their society and politics. Practical necessity compelled them to discover ways and means of living, and living well, the seed of future science, just as men were compelled to be hunters, though hunting is at present a pastime. This explains why the Hindus did not care to catalogue the stars or the plants and animals of forests, or even to enunciate geometrical theorems for which they had no use. They did not despise this knowledge or even the diversion of research, but, as practical men, did not hesitate to ask at the same time *Cui bono*. Prof. Sarkar, like most historians, appears to have missed the fundamental key to the Hindu mind and is probably ashamed to admit that the Hindus did not value knowledge because it is knowledge. For he tells us that the sole object of the Hindu specialists was "the discovery of the positive truths of the universe or the laws of nature, according to the lights of those days." We agree so far as the statement goes, but demur if it refers to what they designated *apara vidya*, inferior knowledge, as distinguished from *para vidya*, superior knowledge. It does not, however, follow that arts and manufactures did not flourish, that the people preferred a voluntary poverty, or that they were all ascetics. On the contrary, as the author says, "India was the greatest industrial power of antiquity." The difference lies solely in the point of view. India adored the ascetic-king Janaka, and, as far as history goes, never like the French revolutionaries guillotined a Lavoisier, or declared that the nation had no need of chemists. Prof. Sarkar need not have been apologetic and written that "from the standpoint of modern science a great part of all that is described here is too elementary to have more than an anthropological [?] interest. For, consider for a moment the fact that the present have inherited what has been left by the past, and therefore appear richer by contrast. Intelligence has not increased since the present have appeared and it is certain that the present would have been insignificant and dark, had not the past slowly and patiently accumulated the hard won secrets of nature and oppened the way for light. We therefore salute the past with reverence be they of the East or of the West, and thank Prof. Sarkar for a presentation of the same.

SCIENTIFIC EDUCATION AND INDIA'S NEGLECT OF SCIENCE. *By F. D. Murad, B. A., M. Sc, Professor of Physics, M. A. O. College, Aligarh. Demy 8vo. 100 pages. 1917.*

It is an address delivered by the author in 1917 before the scientific society of the Aligarh college. In the Foreword, he tells us "that he feels that the subject is in several places far from being well-digested or systematised and that the sequence of facts is not everywhere strictly logical." This is painfully the impression when one tries to follow the author in his address which is rendered obscure by profuse quotations. He would have been well advised, had he not yielded to "the Resolution of the Society and the persistent demands of its indefatigable honorary secretary for the publication of this book" in the present shape. The author informs us that "this book was originally written for the young" but "ventures to hope that as it stands now it will afford to older persons, who will accept its limitations, interesting information concerning the scientific regeneration of India and the place of science in a complete scheme of education." We expected to be benefited by his suggestions but have been sadly disappointed. "Scientific regeneration" like "scientific education" sounds mysterious and cannot be understood without the help of a complete scheme. The opinions of scientists and non-scientists quoted on the value of science have therefore an academical interest. The bibliography appended will be useful to our college students.

WATER IN THE ECONOMY OF NATURE. *By the same author 1915. 23 pages.*

It is said to be "a popular exposition of the part played by water in the economy of nature." But it is doubtful whether the experimental details regarding the composition, maximum density, etc., of water can be followed by "laymen in science."

J. C. RAY.

DICTIONARY OF CHEMICAL REACTIONS, *with an appendix, containing an alphabetic list of minerals and ores with their composition and formulae. Compiled by Govind Sadashiv Apte, M. A., B. Sc., Professor of Chemistry, Victoria College, Gwalior. Pp. 2+vi+5+222. 1915, Price Re. 1-8.*

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This is a collection of chemical equations and is intended for students going up for B. A. and B. Sc. examinations. The endeavour of the author is good and it certainly would have supplied a "long felt need of students" but it is so full of mistakes. Already the errata give 135 corrections, but yet there are many more mistakes. Thus, beginning with the slip on page 1, there are 2 mistakes both in the 6th line (eq*u*ations, numbers); page 2 (line 5, bottom) mon*o*; page 5 (line 5, top) cin*n*amic; page 67 (line 8, bottom) *ph*osphoreted; page 199 (line 18, top) Atacam*i*te... $4 H_2 O$; page 200 (line 9, top) gla*n*ce; page 207 (line 5 and 6, top) Harmoto*m*e. Hausman*n*ite; page 208 (line 15 and 19, top) Kieselgu*h*r, K*r*olite; page 222 (line 6, top) Brittan*n*ia, etc.

On page 200, bauxite is said to be found in France and even in Iceland, but no mention is made that it is found in India (Jubbulpore). Tannin (page 199) when boiled with water is said to produce pyrogallic acid, but strictly speaking only gallic acid can be converted into pyrogallic acid by heating with water *under pressure*. On page 17, it is mentioned that almond oil when acted by chlorine and hydriodic acid give respectively benzoyl chloride and toluene. The formula given is that of *artificial* oil (essence) of *bitter* almonds and not of almond oil.

I would request the author to issue a new edition of the book and make it as free from typographical mistakes as possible so that it may be really useful to students. Every alternate page may also be kept blank so that notes and additions may be made by the student.

MODERN CHEMISTRY AND CHEMICAL INDUSTRY OF STARCH AND CELLULOSE, *(with reference to India) : by Tarini Charan Chaudhuri, M. A., Professor of Chemistry, Krisnath College, Berhampore (Bengal). Publishers, Butterworth & Co. (India) Ltd., Calcutta. Cloth bound. pp. viii+156, and a map of India, 1918. Price Rs. 3-12.*

In the preface the author writes : "While engaged in the study of starch and cellulose, the writer felt the necessity for a handy compendium on the subject containing up-to-date information in all its bearings. ..... monographs based on original sources have a speciality of their own. With this end in view, it has been attempted, in the present volume, to give a brief survey of the chemistry and the various chemical industries that have direct and indirect bearing on starch and cellulose, specially in the light of recent researches—theoritical and technological." In practice, the author has dealt, in the small compass of 150 pages (printed in big pica types), with nearly every branch of organo-chemical technology. Thus, among others, the following subjects have been noticed : synthesis of Formaldehyde and sugar, plant physiology, cheifly theories on the mechanism in plant synthesis ; industrial education and industrial problem of India ; condensed milk ; manufacture of alcohol (and remotely) of artificial perfumes and scents ; natural rubber and chemistry of synthetic rubber ; manufacture of gas mantles, paper, artificial silk, collodion and gun cotton ; fermentation and disttilation products of wood, etc. The result is that the main subjects have not received proper attention, the industries having "direct or indirect bearing on starch and cellulose" occupying most space. The author, apparently, tried to give a general outline of chemical industries to the lay reader, but in that respect it is quite unintelligible to them, being full of technicalities. From the point of view of advanced students it must be said that he can scarcely learn anything that is not already known to him. It would have been well, in my opinion, if the author had written a true "monograph" on starch and cellulose which the author has acknowledged would have a "special" value of its own."

Lastly, we must congratulate the author (and publishers) for the beautiful get-up of the book. Indeed at first sight one would suppose that the book was done up in England.

P. C. CHATTOPADHYAY,

LITTLE BOY'S OWN BOOK, *by* B. *Animananda. Can be had of Boys Own Home, 47-A Durga Charan Mitra's Street, Calcutta. Price 8 as.*

This little book is a continuation of the series known as Boy's Own Primers. In those primers the author has tried to train the ears and vocal organs of the child and to accustom him to speak English. But in this book, while continuing the habit of conversation, the object of the author is to enable the child to express his thought in English writing. From this stage the boys will begin to read and write English.

The author is a great believer in teaching the Indian boys the English language by the direct method. English is compulsory throughout in the secondary schools of India. But the Indian boys require an unusually long period to write and speak the language with readiness and intelligence.

The old method of teaching a living language like English as a dead language, compelling the boys to cram grammatical rules and vocabularies of words by book, and to undergo translation exercises from the very beginning, is mainly responsible for this unsatisfactory result.

However, it is hopeful to observe that increasing attention has been paid during the last few years to the teaching of the beginners of English. The direct method for the beginners has been introduced in many institutions. We are glad to see that an Indian teacher like Swami Animananda has published the result of actual experience gained by following the method in his class room.

Some teachers insist that better result can be got by the old method in a shorter time. But Swami Animananda says with great confidence "This is not a fact. My own experience in teaching compels me to give the palm to the direct method. Try it and you will see its potency also."

The special features of this book are as follows :—

(1) The author does not teach words separately but as parts of a sentence.

(2) He does not dictate the meanings of words or sentences in the vernacular.

(3) With the help of this book teachers will do well in teaching grammar inductively by means of sentences given in it. Teachers are instructed to put the children on the way of discovering grammatical rules from the construction of sentences.

This book is specially suited to Indian children. The author's observation of the psychology of Indian boys is noticeable in his framing the lessons. He does not aim at teaching idiomatic English but tries to teach correct English.

The book contains a few pages of notes and hints for teachers full of suggestions.

KALIMOHON GHOSE.

SPEECHES AND WRITINGS OF SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN, *Pp. 542, price Rs. 3.*

The enterprising publishing firm of Messrs. G. A. Nateson & Co., of Madras, have done a great service

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to the people of India by bringing out in a handy form a collection of speeches and writings of one who though not an Indian himself has been all through his life a true friend of India. In the course of his Presidential address to the Fifth Indian National Congress, held in Bombay, in 1889, Sir William Wedderburn said: "I have passed a quarter of a century among you, and during that period of time have not known what it was to suffer an unkindness from a native of India. During that period I have been in the service of the people of India, and have eaten their salt. And I hope to devote to their service which still remains to me of active life"; and Sir William, as promised by him, continued to render that service to India and her people even in his retirement in England. That the utterances of such a true friend of India, written or spoken, ought to be studied with appreciation and gratitude by us all, needs no emphasis.

"A FRIEND OF INDIA"—SELECTIONS FROM THE SPEECHES AND WRITINGS OF B. G. HORNIMAN, WITH FOREWORDS *by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Mr. Syed Hossain, pp. 269. Price Rs. 2. Published by Messrs. Lakhmidas Rowjee Tairsee and R. Venkat Ram, 70, Apollo Street, Bombay.*

Mr. Benjamin Guy Horniman, Editor of the *Bombay Chronicle*, is heart and soul in sympathy with our countrymen in their aspirations as true citizens of India, and a perusal of this book will give a fair idea of what he has so far been doing towords securing this end.

SPEECHES OF BAL GANGADHAR TILAK, *with a foreword by the Hon. Ganesh Srikrishna Khaparde, Member, Imperial Council, Pp. 284, Price Re. 1-4-0.*

Messrs. R. Thirumalai & Co., of 114 Coral Merchant Street, Madras, have, indeed, rendered a great service to the public by publishing these speeches, which embrace a period of from 1889-1919 of Lokamanya Tilak.

SPEECHES AND WRITINGS OF M. K. GANDHI, *with an Introduction by Mr. C. F. Andrews, and a Biographical Sketch by Mr. H. S. L. Polak, Pp. 416, priced at Rs. 3.*

We owe this splendidly-bound book containing several portraits to the enterprising firm of Publishers, Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co. of Madras. Mr. Gandhi is truly a patriotic son of India and his speeches and writings as well as his actions are worthy of the serious study and attention of our people.

SPEECHES AND WRITINGS OF PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA, *pp. 534, Price Rs. 3-0-0, published by Messrs. G. A. Nateson & Co., Madras.*

This, indeed, is a splendid book containing as it does the utterances of one of our most prominent men, who, though it may be said, still young in years, is old in experience and wisdom and whose services to the country are acknowledged by all, friends and opponents alike.

SIR S. P. SINHA—*A Sketch of his life and career.*
SIR J. C. BOSE—*A Sketch of his Life and career.*
DR. P. C. ROY—*A Sketch of his Life and career.*

Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras, have added to their Biographies of Eminent Indian Series three above new sketches: Sir S. P. Sinha, the first Indian Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, has just become the first Indian Member of the British Ministry, having been selected for the office of the Under-Secretary of State for India and is now known as Baron Sinha of Raipur. The discoveries of Sir J. C. Bose and Dr. (now Sir) P. C. Ray's Researches in Hindu Chemistry have won for them great distinction as Scientists in India. These sketches recording the achievements of the three eminent Bengalees, or for the matter of that three prominent living Indians of to-day will be read with interest and we wish to see them in the hands of every young man. Each sketch has a fine frontis-piece and is priced at four annas.

THE PARROT'S TRAINING. *By Rabindranath Tagore (Translated by the author from the original Bengali). With Eight Drawings by Abanindranath Tagore and a Cover Design by Nanda Lal Bose, Calcutta and Simla. Thacker Spink & Co. Price Rs. 2.*

This apologue by Sir Rabindranath Tagore originally appeared in its English version in the *Modern Review*. It is a masterpiece of pitying and shrewd satire. The cover design by Nanda Lal Bose is striking, with its portraiture of the king and his courtiers and officers as blockheads with solemn faces who looked very important. The eight drawings of Abanindranath Tagore are delightful and full of meaning. Among the persons portrayed, only the Fault-finder looks like an ordinary human being, as he alone has natural intelligence and a mind unwarped by mechanical or bureaucratic theories of education. The scribe who writes text-books has been rightly drawn as resembling a mechanical contrivance, because in Bengal text-books are required to conform to the rules and standards and opinions of the Text-book Committee in style, substance, number of pages, price, &c. The raja looks like an automaton. The frontispiece represents the parrot as dead, pierced through with a fountain pen! The only fault we have to find with the book is that it has been dedicated to Prof. Patrick Geddes; for it should have been dedicated to the Bureaucracy composed of "the Raja's Nephews!"

GITANJALI AND FRUIT GATHERING. *By Rabindranath Tagore. With illustrations by Nanda Lal Bose, Surendranath Kar, Abanindranath Tagore, and Nobendranath Tagore. The Macmillan Company, New York. Price Two Dollars and Fifty cents.*

The two works of Sir Rabindranath Tagore which have appeared in this illustrated volume, do not require any new commendation. We have therefore to say a few words only as regards the get-up and the pictures. The paper and printing are good, and the binding in cloth very tasteful. There are eight illustrations in colour and twenty-three in black and white. While all the illustrations have been neatly reproduced, those in black and white appear to us better done than those in colour. Many of the pictures appear to be very appropriate and full of meaning. Being a layman, the writer of this notice has not been able to discover the connection of some of the pictures with the text they illustrate; but for this he does not blame the artists.

In this connection, one observation may perhaps be excused. In the old Indian water colours one usually finds bright and pleasant colours. On the other hand, water colours of the new Indian school, are sometimes characterised by a certain grayishness. Is it because

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in the former days life in India was full of colour and variety and interest, but at present it is rather colourless, dull and monotonous ?

STORIES FROM TAGORE. *The Macmillan Company. New York. Price one dollar and fifty cents.*

This collection of the short stories of Sir Rabindranath Tagore is meant for school use. All the ten stories are sure to prove interesting to school boys and girls, while their appeal to older readers is also undoubted. Two of the longest stories in the book are reproduced in English for the first time. Appended to each story is a list of words to be studied, chosen from the story in order to bring to notice different types of English words. There are a few pages of notes at the end of the volume. In them we have noticed a few misprints. "Dada" has been explained as "The usual Bengal word for 'Brother.' It ought to be "The usual Bengali word for "Elder brother." "San Valjean" ought to be "Jean Valjean." "Banl" ought to be "Baul." The printing is very clear, making it a pleasure to read this book.

The English of the translation is very good. We are glad to learn that it is proposed to publish together in a single volume the original Bengali stories whose English translations are given in this Reader.

C.

ENGLISH-HINDI.

THE STUDENT'S PRACTICAL DICTIONARY, *containing English Words with English and Hindi Meanings in Devanagri character. Ram Narain Lal, Publisher and Bookseller, Allahabad. 1056+30 pp. Rs. 2-8 as.*

That this book has reached the *Seventh Edition* is a sufficient proof of its usefulness and its appreciation by the reading public. In the first place, the words have been defined in English so as to give a full, clear and correct idea of the sense which a word has crystallised round it; secondly, an idiomatic translation into Hindi of the English definition has been given. In an appendix words and phrases of foreign languages often used in English have been explained both in English and Hindi. This handy volume, we think, will be of great help to Anglo-Hindi students both indigenous and foreign.

C. B.

HINDI.

PRACHINA-LIPI-MALA. (THE PALÆOGRAPHY OF INDIA), *by Rai Bahadur Pandit Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha, Curator, Rajputana Museum, Ajmere and published by the author. Cloth bound quarto pp. 10+195 and 84 lithograph plates. Price Rs. 25, or £ 2.*

Pandit Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha is well-known for his services to the cause of the Hindi language and literature. The credit of producing the first book in the Hindi language and for the matter of that in any language on the subject of ancient Indian scripts rightly belongs to him. The book entitled *Prachina-lipi-mala* was issued as far back as 1894 and was very much appreciated at the time by all scholars, Indian and European, interested in the study of Indian epigraphy. The first edition was about one-third the size of the book now before us and was also moderately priced (Rs. 3 per copy). The unsatisfactory nature of the lithographic plates, however, which accompanied that edition induced the celebrated German scholar Dr. G. Buhler to publish in 1896 a new book entitled "Indische Palæographie" consisting of 96 pages of letterpress (German) and 9 plates of alphabetical characters and numerals and tables of explanatory transliteration of them in the *Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Antertumskunde* or *Encyclopædia of Indo-Aryan Research.* For scientific purposes this volume of Prof. Buhler was far superior to the Hindi book of Pandit Ojha; but as the latter was intended for the use of Indian students to whom the German book was not accessible, the first edition was soon exhausted. In 1904, the late Dr. J. F. Fleet published an English translation of the *Indische Palæography* in an appendix to Vol. XXXIII of the Indian Antiquary; but the plates which accompained the German Edition were not reproduced. The necessity of a fresh publication has been most keenly felt for some time past owing to the many discoveries in the field of Indian Epigraphy since the publication of Prof. Buhler's book and the fact that even the plates tables which were published with the original German edition have been out of print for many years. Recently the study of epigraphy has received considerable encouragement in this country and thanks to the wisdom of the authorities, archæology has found a place in the curriculum of our advanced universities. Pandit Ojha has thus chosen a very opportune moment for bringing out a second edition of his book and we wish the enterprise a success.

Unlike so many voluminous publications in the vernaculars of these days the present book is not a *translation* but an original compilation and is written throughout in chaste Hindi suited to the requirements of the subject. It is divided into two parts: (1) the descriptive and (2) the illustrative. The descriptive portion consists of twenty-four Chapters, including those on (i) the antiquity of the art of writing in ancient India, (ii) the origin of the Brahmi alphabet, (iii) the history of the decipherment of ancient characters and the chapter on writing materials; the other chapters explain the plates which constitute the illustrative portion of the book. The letterpress also includes an appendix on the epochs of the various eras used in this country. Although one may not agree with the learned author in all his conclusions, the attempt to bring together the opinions of various scholars scattered in publications of the various countries which possess institutions for the study of Indian antiquities is commendable; and it is expected that the present volume will open the door of antiquarian studies to those of our countrymen who have hitherto been prevented from taking an intelligent interest in the ancient history of the country owing to their ignorance of the language or languages in which these researches are generally carried on and recorded.

Finality can hardly be claimed by any scholar in such studies where important discoveries are still being made; and those engaged in the study of Indian inscriptions will naturally be disappointed if they expect to find an up-to-date discussion on the subject dealt with in the present volume, which is primarily intended "for the beginner." But the chapter on the origin of the Brahmi alphabet deserves to be carefully studied by all, inasmuch as the author has differed from the opinion of the most renowned European scholars and considers that the Brahmi script is of home origin. In this conclusion he has not been swayed by mere sentiment as sometimes happens unfortunately, in discussions of the kind—a weakness for which European and Indian scholars are equally

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blameable. One may be permited, however, to state that the explanation which the learned pandit has offered on page 27 for the reversed order of the letters on the Iran coins is far from convincing.

But the same amount of originality is not noticeable in the other parts of the book and the sections dealing with the writing materials and the Indian eras ought to have been brought up to date. The author still persists in the now discarded theory with regard to the date of the Buddha's Nirvana which was held by Mr. V. Smith to have occured in 487-86 B. C. It may be mentioned in this connexion that this very scholar has now accepted the traditional date 543 B. C. for the Buddha's Nirvana, while commenting in the last issue of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland on the edition of the Hathigumpha inscription by Messrs. K. P. Jayaswal and R. D. Banerji in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society for 1917 where this date has been conclusively proved to be correct.

But when one comes to the plates which form the illustrative portion of the volume one meets with an unexpected disappointment. In preparing this large number of lithographic plates in which characters have been copied from a very large number of records on stone, copperplates, etc., the learned compiler seems to have forgotten that no amount of draftsman's skill can produce a facsimile which may claim to be of use for scientific purposes. Nothing but mechanical reproduction can satisfy the needs of an enquirer and a student so far as the shape and form of the ancient characters are concerned; and it is to be regretted that the example of Dr. Buhler has been ignored by the author of the Hindi volume. A good deal of time, energy and money must have been spent by the compiler in producing the 84 plates; but it is seriously doubted if the advantage which the buyer of the volume would derive will be proportionate to the price he has to pay, as these plates seem to be largely responsible for the eight-fold increase in the price of the present edition although the author himself admits (p. 2 English preface) that the bulk has been increased only three times what it was in the first edition.

The compiler knew that some of the Indian Universities have included palæography as an optional subject for the M.A. degree (p. 2 of English preface) and that in the absense of any better publication on the subject the students going up for that examination have to rely upon this book and consequently the majority of these will have to buy Pandit Ojha's volume.

In the circumstances, the comparative poverty of the student class in India should have been borne in mind in fixing the price. As a matter of fact it has not been so done. This is regrettable; for it does not help to make the literature accessible to the average student, a circumstance which Pandit Ojha has himself deplored (vide p. 1) when speaking of the publications in other languages and which induced him to produce this book.

H. P.

STREE CHORITRA SANGATHAN, *by S. Daya Chandra Gayaliya, P. A. & Published by the Rajputana Hindi Sahitya-Sabha, Jhalarapatan. Price As. 8.*

This is a Hindi translation of a book in Bengali. It deals with the several stages of a woman's life and contains instructions suitable for culture in those stages. The get-up of the book is excellent.

VIMALA, *by Pandit Gobinlal Chaturvaidi of Qayamganj Price as. 12.*

This is a Hindi translation of a Bengoli book. The plot is not very elaborate. The book will certainly repay perusal. It ought to have good circulation.

PATRANJALI, *by Pandit Katyayanisatta Trivedi & Published by the Ganga Pustakamala Office, Lucknow. Price as- 8.*

This again is a translation of a well known Bengali book. Several imaginary letters from a husband to his wife are contained in it, as also answers thereto. The book will certainly be instructive. The get-up is nice and the book deserves encouragement.

M. S.

MARATHI.

SUDHARANA WA PRAGATI—*translation of Crozier's "Civilisation and Progress" by Mr. Daji Nagesh Apte, B.A., LL B., Baroda. Publisher—Mr. V. A. Thakkar, Baroda. Pages 388. Price Rs. 3.*

The philosophy of human progress is a fascinating though laborious study and at a time like the present, when old-world notions about culture, society and reform, &c., are being thrown into a vast cauldron for being melted and re-shaped into God alone knows what, nothing can be more opportune than a presentment to Marathi readers of a readable philosophy of human progress. Buckle's History of Civilisation found years ago a place on the shelf of Marathi books. Guizot has not yet found a translator, Crozier also would have remained unknown to Marathi readers had it not been for the generosity of H. H. Maharaja Gaikwar. The original work is no doubt rich in thought and clear in expression and with the broad and open mind of the author and an unbiassed and unequivocal judgment forms throughout an interesting reading. But even a cursory glance at its pages leaves one with an impression that the writer has not fully recognised the significance of the cleavage between the two halves (Eastern and Western) of the Human race. He has ignored this difference and treated of the subject as a whole from the Western point of view. Mr. Apte, if he were not bound by restrictions laid upon him, would probably have seen the futility of conclusions drawn from such haphazard inquiry. It is no good saying, as Mr. Apte has done, in a light-hearted manner, that the Indian mind has been averse to material progress as if material progress was the only criterion with which to measure the civilisation of every nation. Nor can such a statement be altogether true. For India has achieved in the past even material progress and evolved social, political, and industrial institutions which stand as objects of admiration even to this day. The fact is that no general conclusions can be drawn with regard to Indian culture and progress from the data supplied by Western Society. India forms a separate entity and requires an earnest and close investigations from scholars. With this reservation Crozier's book is really valuable.

It must be said to the credit of Mr. Apte that as a translator he has done the work very satisfactorily. Mr. Apte has been to Crozier not only a translator of his work, but an intelligent interpreter of his thoughts. Assuming the role of an interpreter he had naturally many gaps to fill up, many amplifications to make so as to suit Indian requirements. But in fairness to the original author he should have marked

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his addenda with asterisks or some other suitable devices, which unfortunately he has not done and this gives occasion sometimes to the bewilderment of readers as to which portion of the book is the original author's and which belongs to his commentator.

This Marathi book forms the 15th volume of the 'Shri Sayaji Sahitya Mala" inaugurated by the magnificent allotment of two lakhs of rupees made by H. H. the Maharaja Gaikwar for the enrichment and development of Marathi and Gujrati literatures.

DEEGHANIKAYA, BHAG PAHILA—*translated by Prof. C. V. Rajwade, M.A., B.Sc., Professor of Pali in the Baroda College. Publisher—Mr. A. B. Clarke, Commissioner of Education, Baroda State. Pages 266. Price Re. 1-8.*

It is a pity that the Buddhist period of Indian history should still be enshrouded in mystery and no attempt should be made by educated people to bring to the notice of the reading public the rich treasures of religious and philosophic thought which were the characteristics of that glorious epoch. Bengali writers are decidedly ahead of Marathi writers in this respect. One reason probably is that Pali has only been recently introduced in the Bombay University as a second language; and it is no doubt a strange coincidence that a proposal to drop the subject from the University course is mooted just at a time when the first fruits of the devoted labours of a few Pali scholars turned out by the University are beginning to make their appearance.

Deeghanikaya is an important section of Suttapitaka, which together with Vinaya Pitaka and Abhidhammapitaka, forms the Three-fold Casket of Buddhist lore. The work under review is only one-third of the original Pali book, and being in the form of dialogues is an interesting reading for those who have an inclination for religious reading. To an earnest student of Pali books, the Marathi translation will be a real boon, as the translator has spared no pains to facilitate his studies by means of elaborate foot-notes and references. But such earnest students can be counted on one's fingers. Here a question may be asked whether it would be more desirable to interest the general reader in the knowledge of Buddhism by producing such works as would give him a general idea of the religion and philosophy of Gotama in a compact form, rather than spend large sums of money over the production of volumes like the one under notice. I think the experiment is worth trying and offer the suggestion for the consideration of the Baroda Publication Committee.

The book is the 3rd contribution in the 'Shri Sayaji Sahitya Mala' and deserves a high rank among Marathi books on religions of the East.

V. G. APTE.

KAVYA-KANTAR (काव्य कान्तार), *a poem, the first part; and some other poems by Mr. Balwant Ganesh Khaparde. Pages 117. Price annas 8. Printed and published at Chitrashala Press, Poona City.*

The poems of Balwant Ganesh Khaparde are of a high order, and full of promise. They furnish us with a good and vigorous specimen of new Marathi Poetry. The publication now before us contains the first half of his longer poem entitled Kavya-Kantar or the Garden of Poetry, and seven other smaller poems. He has written several other smaller poems on different themes. They are not however included in this first publication.

The spirit of the poems is purely Indian. It is expressed in vigorous and fresh forms.

His longer poem takes as its theme—that visit and wandering of the poet himself in the "Gardens and Groves of Poetry" where he is taken to see the Goddess Saraswati, after all sorts of preliminary experiences, to be inspired as a great poet. The poet who writes this poem after a visit, so to say, to Kavya-Kantar puts before us his best composition as a poet. Unless we read the latter half of his long poem we cannot pass our final judgment. As it is the style of his writing is at once sweet, charming and clear. Some of his descriptions are captivating. A few of the similes are original and delicate. The descriptions and similes at the end of the third Canto when the poet loses his consciousness, and those at the beginning of the fourth when he regains it are wonderful and show how the poet is deep in his study of emotions and in his observations.

S. V. PUNTAMBEKAR, B.A. (OXON), BAR-AT-LAW.

GUJARATI.

SPEECHES AND WRITINGS OF DIVAN BAHADUR AMBALAL SAKARLAL DESAI, M.A., LL.B., *Collected and published by Vaikunthlal Shripatrai Thakore B.A., with an Introduction by Prof. Balwantrai K. Thakore, B.A., Printed at the Karnatak Press, Bombay. Cloth bound, Pp. 72; 277; 164. Price 2-8-0. (1918).*

The late Divan Bahadur was one of a batch of the first graduates of Gujarati, and was known as the Prince of its graduates. He was also known as a practical economist, a sound lawyer, a high class educationist, and above all, a possessor of robust and healthy character. The introduction of Prof. Thakore is mainly taken up with the elucidation of these points, and stocked as it is, with incidents and stories, derived firsthand, does full justice to the hero of the story. The speeches and writings which follow, both English and Gujarati, by their fearless tone, logic and argument, straight talk and sturdy independence give a vivid picture of Ambalal bhai as he was in flesh and blood. There was great need to preserve in book form the public utterances of one who was a valuable asset of our province, and Mr. Thakore deserves our thanks for having done so.

SWADESH GITAVALI, *by Keshav H. Shah, printed at the Dharma-Vijaya Printing Press, Ahmedabad, Cloth bound, Pp. 89. Price As. 12. (1918).*

This little book contains songs and poems, as its name implies, of a patriotic nature. It is an embodiment of the spirit of our times, and the songs are set to that tune. So far they would attract attention.

YUVAK RATNA, *by the late Ambalal Motibhai Patel, B.A., published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature and printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound, pp. 438. Price Rs. 1-2-0. (1918).*

Mr. Ambalal Patel, who died young, had interested himself in education and social service. While doing so, he found time to translate certain English writings bearing on self-sacrifice, morality and other

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kindred subjects, and this posthumous work embodies them.

(1) MIRAN BAI, *by Bhanusukhram Nirgunaram Mehta, B.A., printed at the Sayaji Vijaya Press, Baroda, Cloth bound. Pp. 102. Price Re. 0-11-0. (1918).*

(2) MANUSHYA VIDYANAN TATTVO (मनुष्य-विद्यानां तत्त्वो) *by Madhukumar Shivprasad Desai, M.A., S.T.C.D., printed at the Arya Sudharak Press, Baroda. Cloth bound. Pp. 185. Price Re. 1-0-0. (1918).*

(3) BALODYAN PADDHATI NUN GRIHA SHIKSHANA (बालोद्यान पद्धति नुं गृहशिक्षण) *by Bharatram Bhanusukhram Mehta. Printed at the Same Press. Cloth bound. Pp. 116. Price As. 14. (1918).*

(4) PALESTINE KI SANSKRITI (पेलेस्टीन नी संस्कृति) *by Surendranath Rangnath Gharekhan, B.A., Printed at the Same Press. Cloth bound. Pp. 117. Price Re. 0-12-0. (1918).*

These four books form part of and are further additions to the Shri Sayaji Sahitya Mala; some of the books going to make up this series, we noticed a short time ago, and the present additions do not incline us to change the views we expressed then. For instance, we fail to understand the utility or need of a History of Palestine in Gujarati. The translation, for it is nothing else, of MacAlister's History of Civilization in Palestine, must have been projected at the time, when Palestine had not been so much on peoples' lips as at present, on account of the Indian troops having distinguished themselves in that Theatre of War, so that even on that ground the selection cannot be justified. The third book is a translation of Froebel's Kindergarten Teaching At Home, and one wonders what practical experience the young translator has of this system of teaching. He has, all the same, essayed to adapt the work to Indian homes. Marret's Anthropology has been translated by the third gentleman, who has tried to elucidate his subject by a glossary at the end explaining difficult and scientific words. Miran Bai's life is a compilation; it cannot be said that either in research or telling, it surpasses anything that has been published before it; however, amongst the four books which we have received this time, we would surely give it the palm for interest and attraction.

K. M. J.

CORRESPONDENCE

Inter-caste Marriage Among Hindus.

To

The Editor of *The Modern Review.*

Sir,—With reference to your note on the Inter-caste Marriage Bill in the current number of *The Modern Review*, may I be permitted to elucidate a point or two arising out of it?

Anuloma (in the order of the classes) marriages are sanctioned in Manu (ch. 3, 13) and *Pratiloma* marriages in ch. 10, though they were looked upon with some disfavour. A host of well-known *Varnasankar* castes are however attributed by Manu to such marriages, the Chandala, begotten on a Brahmin female by a Sudra male coming in for special reprobation (ch. 10, 12). But the Chandalas, who now pass by the name of Namasudras, are a recognised caste in Hindu society, and form an important section of the Hindu population, particularly of East Bengal. If the issues of *Pratiloma* marriage in its most pronounced form are thus already a part of Hindu society, why, in the name of reason and commonsense, should the parties to such marriages, if contracted at the present day, be compelled to declare themselves non-Hindus, as under the existing law they must?

Jimutvahana's *Dayabhaga*, which regulates the Hindu law of inheritance in Bengal, says (ch. I, 2) that *Anuloma* marriages are allowed, and Vijnaneswar's *Mitakshara*, an eleventh century compilation, which governs the rest of India even goes the length of saying (ch. I, sec. VIII, 2) that 'under the sanction of the law (Jajnavalkya, I, 57) instances do occur of such marriages' (Colebrooke's translation). [Balam Bhatta, one of the best known commentators of the *Mitakshara*, and a contemporary of Colebrooke, in commenting on I, XI, 2, says: 'even a Sudra woman may be the wife of a Dwija, and the issue will be legitimate.'] It will thus appear that such marriages were prevalent even in Vijnaneswar's time,—a fact which has been noticed by Justice Sir Pratul Chandra Chatterjea in *Haria v. Kauhaya* (Punjab Records, Vol. 43, p. 326) where he held that a marriage between a Rajput and a Kshattriyani is valid. Intermarriage between Vaidyas and Kayasthas in East Bengal districts has been held to be valid according to local custom by the Judges of the Calcutta High Court in *Ramlal Sukul v. Chandra Kanta Sen* (Calcutta Weekly Notes, vol. 7, p. 619) and many interesting instances of the practice have been recorded in the judgment of Babu Girindra Mohan Chakraburty, Subordinate Judge, published in the same issue.

Jimutavahan's date is variously placed between the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries of the Christian era (vide the History of Smriti in Bengal and Mithila, J.A.S.B., vol. XI, p. 321). There is an interesting passage in the *Dayabhaga* which gives us an idea of the depraved code of morals prevalent in his time, which we are now asked to conform to. In Ch. IX, cl. 9, he says: 'Though such a marriage be in the direct order of the classes, Manu and Vishnu have strongly censured the union of a man of a regenerate tribe with

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a Sudra woman' (1) (Colebrooke's translation). But in clause 11, adultery with such a woman has been held to be comparatively venial. The exact words are: 'Hence these evils do not ensue on the procreation of offspring upon a Sudra woman, not married to the Brahman himself' (2) (Colebrooke's translation).

It is only the commentator Raghunandana of Nadia (sixteenth century) who, on the strength of a text in the *Brihannaradiya Purana* (XXII, 12-16) which is a minor Purana of doubtful authority, prohibits intermarriage in the Kali Age. But the same text of the *Brihannaradiya* also prohibits, among other things, sea-voyage and 'दीर्घकालं ब्रह्मचर्यं' which may mean 'practising sexual continence for a long time' or 'study of the Vedas for a long time'. We very much doubt if all who protest against Mr. Patel's Bill would also be prepared to subscribe to these two injunctions of the *Brihannaradiya Purana*, and we are not sure that some of them have not violated the prohibition against sea-voyage themselves.

And, after all, when we think of it, what a blind, unreasoning torpor must have come over Hindu society when it cannot go back even in imagination than the time of Raghunandan barely 400 years when Bengal was under the worst days of Mahom rule, and the Prophet of Nadia arose and revolutionised society by obliterating distinction caste in the order of Vaishnavas created by him. only do we find Yavana Haridas accepted into fold, but in the *Chaitanyacharitamrita*, (Antyalila, 16) we read of Kalidas, a devout Vaishnava beloved of the Master, who considered him honoured by taking the dust of the feet all Vaishnavas irrespective of caste, and even of low-caste man as Jharu Bhuimali, a Vaishnava great piety. To treat Raghunandan as a fixed the social firmament, when radical changes were on in society all around him, shows what a dry set in Hindu society, and that free thought, which so characteristic of the times of Chaitanya, has gether vanished from Bengal and a slavish adher to customs, deadening the intellect and constitu sure proof of national decay, has taken its place. when graduates of the University and lawyers profession have joined the unholy combination of R and Maharajas, who need not be expected to k any better, in denouncing Mr. Patel's Bill who say that priestly domination does not still flouris our midst like the green bay tree, and that, to q the words of Sir Rabindranath (*Nationalism*, p. 1 we do not hope 'to build a political miracle of free on the quicksand of social slavery'.

Yours &c.

X.

Dayabhaga, Prasanna Kumar Tagore's Edition, 1863.

(1) 'आनुलोम्येऽपि द्विजानेः शूद्रायां बहुदोषमाहतुर्मनुविष्णू'।

(2) अतः स्वयमनूढायां शूद्रायामपत्यजनने नैते दोषाः किन्तु स्वप्रदोषः प्रायश्चित्तञ्चाल्पम्.....'

A LETTER FROM KAUTILYA TO INDIAN POLITICIANS

Dear friends,

I pray you to spare a little time to read this letter from one who has served your country in the past. I have seen many such political crises as we have to-day in our country, and it is just possible that my advice may prove useful to you. It is, of course, for you to accept or to reject it; you are the sole judges of the affairs of India to-day and you are the Kautilyas of your own time. I cannot, therefore, presume to ask you to accept my opinion without consideration.

The proper constitution for India would be not what you, revered sirs, both "Moderates" and "Extremists," apply for or demand. You should, in a Congress assembled, petition His Majesty King George V. to be allowed to elect him as King George Çhudāmani I. of India and to declare your country a limited monarchy. If His Majesty deign to grant your prayer, you may crown him with your sacred texts, which allow the election of a foreigner, crown him with Vedic texts and put to him the coronation oath of the Aitareya Brahmana, which is quoted below :—

यां च रात्रीमजायेहं यां च प्रेतास्मि तदुभयमन्तरेण पुण्यं मे लोकं सुकृतमायुः प्रजां हासीया यदि ते द्रुह्येयमिति।

"Between the night I am born and the night I die, whatever good I might have done, my heaven, my life and my progeny may I be deprived of, if I oppress you."

Aitareya Brāhmana, VIII, 4. 1. 13.

As His Majesty is a constitutional monarch who has never oppressed his subjects, he has already been all along reigning in accordance with the spirit of this oath.

You should never pray to be under the

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gana or *samgha* or, what you call to-day, Parliament, of any people. Rule of one people by another is far worse than one man's rule. In my humble opinion, you should, revered sirs, prefer the autocracy of Chudāmani George I. to *samgha* government dictated by the workmen of the west, who are destined now to rule all European countries. By praying for permission to adopt the constitution which I suggest, you would ensure your liberty and the safety of the *vamsa* of Chudāmani George I. You determine for yourself this form of Rājya and you will become once more as strong as the India under my master Chandragupta. I may add that I have consulted my master, the greatest of sovereigns who liberated India in the past, here in *swarga*, and he quite agrees in my opinion and submits it jointly with me to you with affection and blessings.

KAUTILYA.

Punascha :

Do not forget to help that nation of heroic love of liberty, the Irish, like whom no other nation has struggled in my recollection to instal *Sri* (Goddess of Liberty) in their country ;—help them by passing resolutions all over your country in favour of the Imperial British Government granting the Irish the full right to manage their own affairs.

K.

"NATIONAL EDUCATION"

By LALA LAJPAT RAI.

I.

THE Indian papers to hand report that our publicists are engaged in a discussion of the question of "National education" for India. The movement is led by some of the sincerest and most devoted leaders of the nationalist movement for Home Rule for India, and appears to be spreading. From the stray papers that I have received, I have not been able to find out the exact position of those who are reported to have struck a note of mild dissent, more by way of criticism than of opposition, but they give some idea of the position of those who are supporting it. Mrs. Besant has kindly mentioned my name as one of those who pioneered the movement in the Punjab, in the eighties of the last century.

It is quite true that I am one of those persons who raised the cry of "national education" in North India, so far back as 1883 A. D., and have since then used it rather effectively for enlisting sympathy and collecting funds for the various institutions that were from time to time started to impart education on "national" lines. It is also obvious that the nationalism that we preached in those days was rather narrow and sectarian. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was the first among the Indian leaders of thought in North India, who set afloat the idea of denominational education. The Christian institutions had led the way before him. The Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh was a symbol of the new Muslim Nationalism which (Sir) Syed Ahmad Khan founded, educational in function, but political in scope and effect.

The Arya Samaj, representing the new nationalism of the Hindus, followed suit and the Dayananda Anglo-Vedic College, at Lahore, was the fruit of its efforts. Then came the movement of the Central Hindu College at Benares, upon which has now been erected the superstructure of the Hindu University. The Mohammedan College at Aligarh, the Arya College at Lahore, the Hindu College at Benares, all embodied the "National" ideals of their founders, limited and sectarian as they were, at the time. Each professed to provide its own kind of national education. The educational facilities provided by these institutions were open to persons of all creeds, denominations and religions, but the nationalism aimed at was undisguisedly denominational. Each institution created an atmosphere of its own—national to a

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certain extent, so far as the general cult of love of mother-country was concerned but otherwise openly sectarian.

The education imparted in these institutions, as distinguished from the ordinary State-owned schools and colleges, was "national" only in so far as it helped the creation of the denominational atmosphere aimed at by its promulgators. The Muslim College and the Hindu Colleges all professed to enforce and encourage the study of the vernaculars and their sacred languages, but the emphasis all the time was on the University course and the University examinations. The scheme of studies promulgated by the official Universities was accepted unreservedly, except in the additions that were made to the courses in Hindi and Urdu, Sanskrit and Arabic. The principal business of the staffs engaged was to prepare students for University examinations. The results achieved in these examinations were the measure of their success and popularity. In the two Colleges in the United Provinces, the leading positions on the staff were reserved for Europeans. Special efforts were no doubt made in each institution to inoculate the students with the serum of that narrow nationalism which had inspired its founders. Subscriptions were raised and endowments made for the dissemination of religion, for the encouragement of the study of Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian. Some attempts were also made to encourage original research in the literatures and records that existed in these languages, with a view to prop up the several interpretations that the founders and the managers put upon their respective religions and their histories; but the success achived in this line was, in each case, dubious and almost imperceptible.

I can speak more definitely of the Dayananda Anglo-Vedic College, at Lahore, with the managemsnt of which I was intimately associated for about a quarter of a century. For over nine years I was the general secretary of the governing body, and for several years its Vice-President. I hope I shall not be charged wity vanity if I say that for twenty-five years I gave the best in me to the institution—grudged neither time nor money, nor energy in doing all that I could to ensure its success and progress. My duties were by no means confined to field and office-work (running the office, addressing public meetings, collecting funds, raising subscriptions, doing publicity work, conducting and writing for periodicals, etc.), but included close association with the staff and the students and the supervision of the different departments, particularly the boarding houses.

It is with immense pleasure and pride that I look back upon that period of my life. It was a rare privilege to associate and co-operate with men of the character and calibre of Hansraj, Lalchand, Dwarka Dass, Ishwar Dass, and others, too numerous to be mentioned here. The spirit was denominational and sectarian no doubt, but there was hardly anything of meanness or pettiness, or jealousy in it. Even their sectarianism was of an exalted kind, the Country—the Motherland—had always the uppermost place in their affections. They were all inspired by a spirit of genuine and disinterested patriotism and altruism. Their methods were clean and above board. It was a joy to work with them.

Of all the schemes of national education promulgated till then, theirs was probably the first which took cognizance of the economic problem. They were probably the first to include in their educational programme the idea of "Swadeshi". The original prospectus of the Dayananda Anglo-Vedic College was remarkable for these things: (a) the emphasis it laid on bridging the gulf between the educated classes and the uneducated masses; (b) in emphasizing the necessity of technical education in arts and industries, which would make the future leaders of the country, independent of State service; and (c) in insisting that their scheme of national education should be absolutely independent of Government patronage and Government help.

Looking back on the record of the institution for the last thirty-two years of its life, giving all possible credit to the founders and the managers and the leaders thereof, for the best of intentions, the best of efforts and the best of every thing, I regret to say that failure in their principal aims, written and unwritten, is writ large on it. Let me guard against misunderstanding. There is no man in India for whom I have greater respect than Hansraj, the Founder-president of the

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Arya College, nor another body of men in the whole country towards whom I entertain feelings of greater respect, regard, and reverence than the past and present managers of the Dayananda College. The spirit of self-sacrifice and national service, shown by Hansraj and his pupils, is almost unique, and worthy of the highest praise. The work done by them deserves all credit. The tiny bark of high-education in the Punjab was rescued by this college at the time of its greatest danger. The spirit of public service in the land of the five rivers owes an immeasurable debt to the little band of workers who brought the college into existence and have run it since. Considering the positions and the rescources of the men who conceived the idea and worked hard to make it a success, considering the general air of all-round suspicion and distrust in which they lived and worked, the story of the financial and educational success of the Dayananda Anglo-Vedic College, Lahore, is nothing short of a romance.

The Muslim College at Aligarh, and the Hindu College at Benares, were both started under better auspices, blessed with the smiles of the leading aristocracy of their respective communities, and with the good-will of the ruling authorities. The Arya College had none of these advantages. It was founded, managed, and run for a long time in defiance of both. Every brick of this institution has a story of its own, which, perhaps, will never see the light of day. These stories have already been forgotten and the few that are current will be burned with the bodies of those who composed them, not in words, but in deeds. Yes, all this is true; it is a pleasure and a privilege to be able to say this. Yet it must be owned that in solving the problems of national education, the Arya College at Lahore has been as conspicuous a failure as the other institutions started with similar objects in other parts of the country. Prior to the foundation of the National College, in Bengal, the Dayananda Anglo-Vedic College, at Lahore, was the only institution in the country which could even by a stretch of imagination and language, lay any claim to being called "national" in the sense in which the word was understood then. The Fergusson College is named after a foreigner, and with the exception of the spirit of self-sacrifice of its founder, directors, and teachers, had no other claim to be distinguished from the ordinary State Colleges. The Aligarh College and the Benares College both have had all the time, foreigners on their staffs, and have, besides, in conjunction with the Fergusson College at Poona, been almost regularly in receipt of State aid, thus subjecting practically the whole of their policy to Government control. Not that that fact necessarily makes them denationalised, but that it reduces their claim to any great distinction from the ordinary State-managed institutions.

Besides the institutions mentioned above, there are some others also which claim to impart National education and which have been founded for that purpose. One of them is the Gurukula Academy at Hardwar, founded by L. Munshi Rama and his party. The Gurukula, too, is a sectarian institution. Otherwise it certainly has a greater claim to being "national" than any of the others mentioned previously. It is an institution founded, managed, staffed, and financed by Indians only. In its curriculum it gives the first place to Indian languages. It is more in conformity with the spirit of Hinduism than the College at Lahore, or the Central Hindu College at Benares. It takes no notice of the official University courses or the University examinations. It enforces a discipline which is more truly national than anything done in the other institutions.

All that has been said about the spirit of self-sacrifice of those who founded the Dayananda Anglo-Vedic College is applicable to it in its entirety. Yet I am afraid it is no more national than any of the others.

Another institution of almost the same kind is the Tagore School at Bolpur. It does not profess to impart high education, and is a one-man institution. There may be some other institutions which claim to provide national education, with whose origin and history I am not acquainted. If so, I beg to be pardoned for not noticing them. It is not my purpose to give a complete list of "national" schools and colleges. The object is to notice some typical efforts and make a retrospective review.

The only effort of this kind which was,

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in my judgment, truly national, was that made by the National Council of Education in Bengal, under the impetus of the Swadeshi and the Boycott movements. The scheme of the National Council was free from the sectarian tinge of the Upper India movements; it took no notice of denominational nationalism; it took ample cognizance of the economic needs of the country as a whole, and it frankly recognized the necessity of ignoring the official University curriculum, on the one hand, and of State aid on the other. It aimed at National consolidation and national independence. It was a direct challenge to the Government and the Government accepted it whole-heartedly. What came of it is known to everybody and need not be stated here. It failed, as it was bound to do, because it came into conflict with the State,—not, of course, of its own seeking.

The National Council of Education still exists, but only in name. Its condition is moribund. The leaders and officers themselves have strangulated it. Taraknath Palit and Rash Behari Ghosh, two of its greatest pillars, gave it a death-blow when they handed over their magnificent endowments to the Calcutta University, instead of to the National Council of Education, founded and led by them. The few scholars who, with characteristic self-sacrifice, gave up careers to give instruction to the students of the National College, are almost all dispersed. They are seeking appointments in Government and aided institutions. The Nationalist schools, started by the Council, have (most of them) been disintegrated by the force of circumstances, and at the present moment the movement is nothing but a dilapidated and discarded landmark in the educational progress of the country.

The only institutions that are still in existence and prospering are the denominational ones. The D. A. V. College at Lahore and the M. A. O. College at Aligarh, are thriving and a source of joy to their founders. They follow the policy of least, or no resistance. The D. A. V. College, which was under suspicion ever since its birth, has more or less gained the confidence of the rulers by a radical change in its policy, and the reins of the Mohammedan College at Aligarh are held tightly by the Government. The Benares College is an independent University which enjoys both the confidence and the control of the Government. The Gurukula at Kangri, is virtually the only institution that is really independent of Government control. It was under a cloud for a long time, until Sir James Meston and Lord Hardinge put upon it the seal of their approbation. I think the same might be said of Tagore's school at Bolpur.

Now I do not mean to insinuate even by implication that these institutions have not been educationally useful to the nation, or that their managers or leaders were not actuated by the best of motives. The remarks that I have made above about the Arya Samaj institutions apply with equal force, to almost all these institutions. They are, without exception, monuments of the *patriotism* and public spirit of their founders and managers, and far be it from me to make any reflection on them.

Yet I cannot help repeating once more that they have not, except by their failure, made any substantial contribution towards the solution of the problem of "national education. I want the lerders of the new movement to realize that fully, and to keep it in mind in formulating their new scheme. I, for one, do not believe in living in a fool's paradise. The first thing is to clear our minds of cant, and have a clear conception of what we mean by national education.

WOUNDED PLANTS*

By Sir J. C. Bose.

It is a little over four years now that the Embodiment of World Tragedy stalked over Western Europe. The fair field of France and her bright sky were under a pall of battle-smoke. Our sight could not pierce through the dense gloom, and the mortal cry of the wounded and dying, drowned by hoarse roar of a thousand cannon, did not reach our ears. But from the time the Sikh and the

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Pathan, the Gurkha and the Bengali, the Mahratta and the Rajput flung themselves at the battle-front, from that day our perception has become intensified. The distant cry of those whose life-blood has crimsoned the white fields of snow, has found reverberating echo in our heart. What is that subtle bond by which all distances are bridged over, and by which an individual life becomes merged in larger life? Sympathy is that bond by which we come to realise the unity of all life.

And before us are spread multitudinous plants, silent and seemingly impassive. They too, like us, are actors in the cosmic drama of life, like us the plaything of destiny. In their checkered life, light and darkness, warmth and cold, drought and rain, gentle breeze and hurricanes, life and death alternate. Various shocks impinge on them, but no cry is raised in answer. I shall nevertheless try to decipher some chapters of their life-history.

When a man receives a blow or shock of any kind, his answering cry makes us realise that he is hurt; but a mute makes no outcry. How do we realise his suffering? We know it by his agonised look and the convulsive movement of his limbs; and through fellow-feeling realise his pain. When a frog is struck it does not cry, but its limbs show convulsive movements. The shock of stimulus thus evokes movement in response.

Measure of Vitality.

Responsive movement being a test of life, we shall try to construct a scale with which the height of livingness may be gauged. What is the difference between the living and the dead? The living answers to a shock from outside; the most lively gives the most energetic, the torpid or dying the feeblest, and the dead no answer at all. Thus life may be tested by shocks from without, the size of the answer being a gauge of vitality. The answer of the strong will be violent and almost explosive in its intensity, while the weakling will barely protest. The responsive movements may be recorded by a suitable apparatus. The successive answers to similar shocks will remain uniform if the responding tissue remained always the same. But the living organism is always in a state of change; for environment is always building us anew, and we are changing every day of our life. We are thus subject to change; some day we are in a state of high exuberance, and at other times in a state of lowest depression; and we pass through numerous phases between the two extremes. Not merely does the present modify, but there is also the subtle impress of memory of the past. The sum total of all these, characterises one individual from another. How is the hidden to be made manifest? To test the genuineness of a coin, we strike it and the sound-response betrays the true from the false. The genuine rings true and the other gives a false note. In this way perhaps the inner history of different lives may be revealed, by shocks and the resulting response.

Turning from human subjects we will now inquire as to how the hidden history of the life of plants is to be recovered. For this it will be necessary to excite the plant by a shock, and make the plant itself record its answering signal; and the character of the recorded script will enable us to decipher its history.

Sign of Excitation in the Plant.

There are certain plants like *Mimosa pudica*, which answer to a shock by movement. At the lower side of the leaf-joint there is relatively large mass of tissue. As our muscle contracts under a shock, so does the lower cushion of tissue in *Mimosa* contract under excitation, and the leaf undergoes a fall. After this sudden fall due to excitation, it gradually recovers and regains its nomal horizontal position. Just as a man answers to a shock by a movement of his arm, so *Mimosa* answers by movement of its leaf. The plant may be excited by the same irritation that excites us:—by a blow, by a pinch, by a burn, or by acrid acids. But under such torments the plant is likely to die. For long continued experiment it is necessary to have some feeble form of stimulation, which can be measured and repeated. This is supplied by shocks given by an electric coil. The apparatus for record is my Resonant Recorder, which is extremely sensitive, and measures time as short as a thousandth part of a second. (Fig. 1).

In investigation on the effect of wound, we take the record of response of the plant in a normal condition; we next take the record after wounding it. The difference in the reply reveals the effect of injury.

But before entering into this question an interesting problem arises: the plant,

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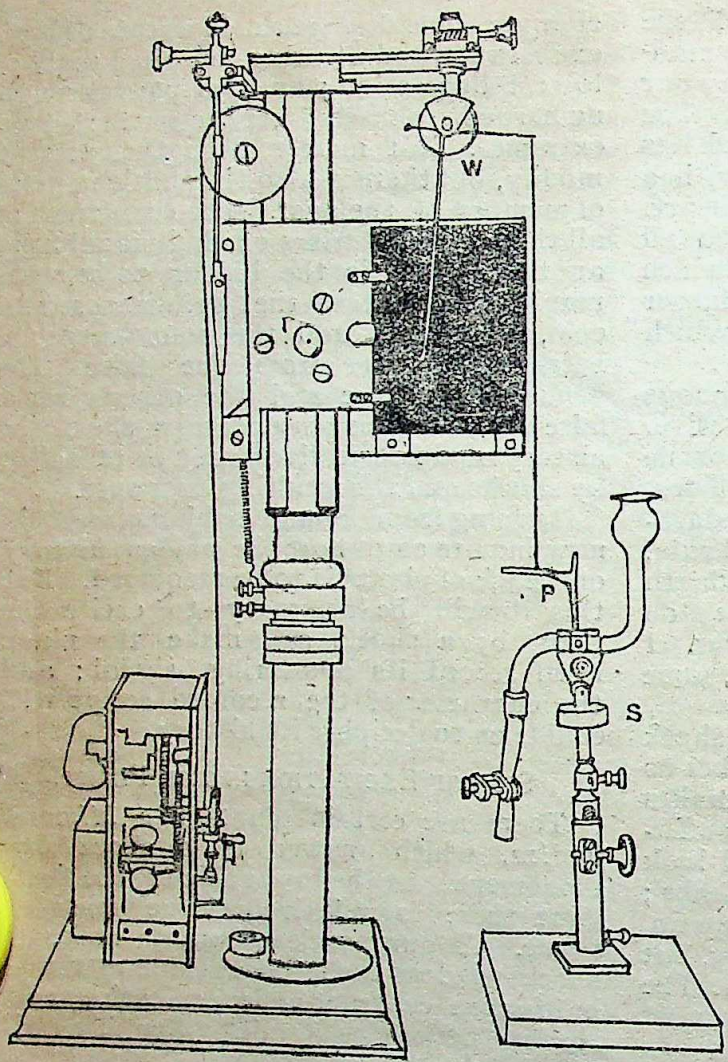

Fig. 1.—The cut leaf attached to the Resonant Recorder.

ordinarily speaking, moves its leaf under excitation. But does the dog wag its tail, or does the tail wag the dog? So it may be asked whether the tree wags the leaf, or the leaf wags the tree? I have been able to carry out certain experiments which will be of interest to metaphysicians.

When the *Mimosa* is rooted to the ground, the plant cannot be displaced, and the leaf alone shows movement. But if the roots be carefully freed from the ground and the plant be held by the leaf, it will be found that it is now the tree that wags in response. (Fig. 2). The effect of a shock does not remain confined at any one part of the plant, but is conducted to every other part and perceived by the tree as a whole. Every leaf, every twig and every branch is thus in intimate connection with the rest. The tree is thus not a congeries of unrelated parts, but an organised unity; its different members are thus intimately bound to each other.

Effect of Wound.

I undertook three separate investigations on the effect of wound on plants. The first is the effect of injury on growth; the second is the change manifested in the pulse-beat of rhythmic tissues in plants. The third investigation had for its object, the study of the paralysing effect of wound.

In the first of these, the normal rate of growth and change of that rate by injury were found from automatic records given by the Crescograph. When the growing plant was pricked with a pin, the normal rate was at once depressed to a fourth, and it took about two hours for the plant to recover from the effect of pin-prick. A slash made with a knife was found to arrest the growth, the inhibition persisting for a very long period. Severe shock caused by wound thus retards the growth in normal healthy specimens.

The reactions in exceptional cases are highly interesting. Certain plants, for reasons at present obscure, remain stunted in growth, the branches and leaves presenting an unhealthy look. Lopping off the

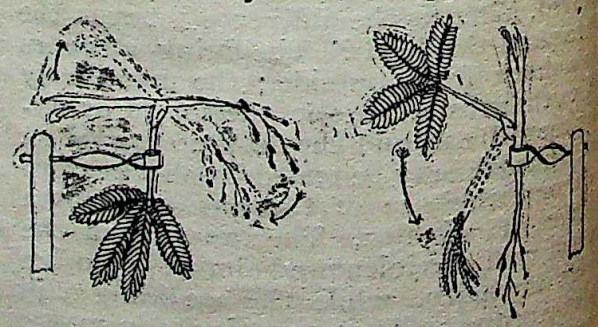

Fig. 2.—'Wagging' response of the plant. Plant held (1) by leaf and (2) by stem.

offending limb, curiously enough, is found good for the plant. The stimulus of severe shock renews the growth that had remained arrested.

March of Death.

Another series of investigation was car-

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ried out with the leaflet of the Telegraph plant which pulsates up and down, like the movement of a semaphore. When the leaflet is cut from the parent-plant, and the cut end placed in a nourishing solution, the pulsation is found arrested by the shock of operation. After a time, the pulse-throb is slowly renewed and maintained for nearly 24 hours. But death has found an unguarded spot at the wound and its march though slow, is sure. The death-change thus reaches the throbbing tissue which becomes permanently stilled with the cessation of life. Experiments are in progress to retard and arrest this death-march. The problem is intimately connected with the proper understanding of conditions which lie behind life and the other conditions under which the molecular cog-wheels become arrested in the rigor of death. The experiments already carried out, appear promising; the throbbing life of the cut-leaf has then been prolonged under proper treatment, from one to seven days.

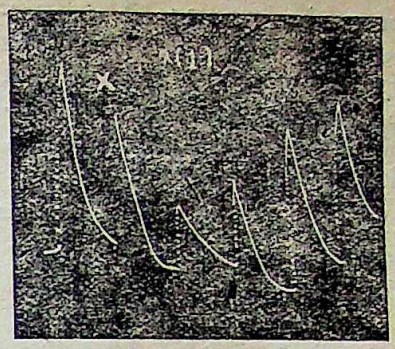

Fig. 3.—Slow recovery of the plant from the effect of wound.

curious change crept in; the vigour of its responses began rapidly to decline. The leaf, hitherto erect, fell over; death had at last asserted its mastery. (Fig. 4).

The wounded plant is thus able to survive the disaster, while the detached and free leaf, nurtured even in luxury falls a prey to death. Why should there be this difference? The reason is that the tree is rooted safely in its own soil. It is the place of birth that provides its proper nourishment, and endows it with strength in its struggle of life. Many waves of change and disaster have passed over it. The shocks from outside have never been able to overpower it; these have only called forth its nascent powers. It had met external change, by counterchange. The decaying and the effete had been cast off like worn leaves; and changing times had called forth its powers of readjustment.

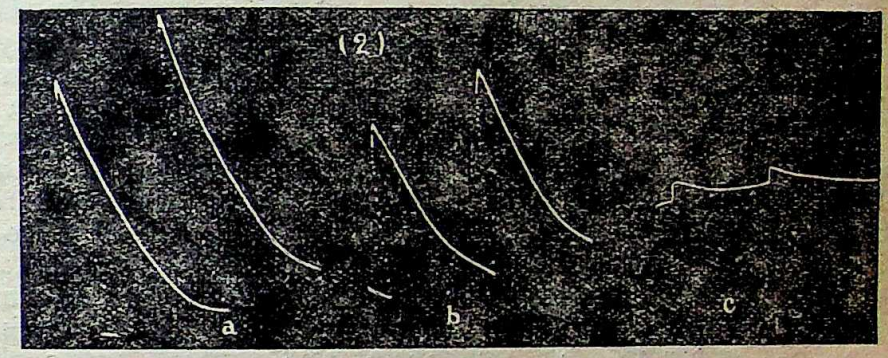

Fig. 4.—Effect of wound on detached leaf: (*a*) Response four hours after section; (*b*) Response after 24 hours; (*c*) After 49 hours.

Paralysis of Sensibility.

For studying the paralysing effect of wound, I took for my experiment, the sensitive plant, *Mimosa pudica*. On cutting off one of the leaves, the shock-effect was transmitted to every part of the plant, and all the leaves fell down and remained depressed for a considerable time. The detached leaf with its cut end placed in a nourishing solution, was also depressed. The subsequent histories of the parent plant and the detached leaf were, however, curiously different.

The paralysing effect of the wound was determined by means of testing shocks, the response being at the same time traced by the automatic recorder. The parent plant gradually recovered, and showed signs of returning sensitiveness. (Fig. 3).

The detached leaf, fed with the nourishing solution, soon held itself up with an attitude rather of defiance. In its newly found freedom from the entanglement of its former associates, it was unusually energetic in its responses. This vehemence lasted for a whole day, after which a

The tree also derived an additional strength from its racial memory. Every particle of the inconspicuous seed may thus bear the deep impress of the mighty banian tree; and so the sprouting seedling forces its roots into the yielding earth to anchor more safely; the stems rise high against the sky in search of light, and the branches with their canopy of leaves spread out in all directions.

What is the strength that has con-

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ferred on the tree the power of endurance and enabled it to emerge victorious from the struggle of life ? It is the strength derived from the place of its birth, its perception and quick readjustment to change, and its inherited memory of the past.

The efflorescence of life is the supre gift of place and its associations. Isola from these, what fate awaits the po wretch, nurtured in alien ways? Dea dogs its footseps and annihilation is its evitable end.

NEED OF HINDU INTER-CASTE MARRIAGE

THE internal condition of Hindu society shows the urgent need of some sort of sanctioned intermarriage among its constituents, if it is really to prosper. Serious students of Sociology must have observed that Hindu society is not only horizontally stratified, but vertically divided. It is a well-known fact that Hindu marriage is subject to many restrictions. There are seven types of castes, viz., tribal, functional, sectarian castes, castes formed by crossing, castes of national type, castes formed by migration and castes formed by change of occupation.

Many of these types are endogamous and several are known to be exceedingly small ; and even the larger ones, when distributed over a large area of country, may be so scantily represented in a given locality that the number of possible marriages open to their members must be inconveniently restricted.

"The disintegrating influence of the constant creation of separate connubial groups has not escaped the notice of Indian Social Reformers. In an able paper on the fusion of sub-castes in India Lala Baijnath Lal, Judge of the Court of Small Causes in Agra, has pointed out the harm which they do 'physically by narrowing the circle of selection in marriage, intellectually by cramping the energies, and morally by destroying mutual self-confidence and habits of co-operation.'"

About the Kanaujia Brahmans Lala Baijnath remarks that "the smallness of their various clans causes the greatest difficulty in obtaining husbands for girls except on payment of extortionate sums of money" [India Census Report, 1901, p. 423]. As Endogamy restricts intermarriage in one direction by creating a number of artificially small groups within which people must marry, Exogamy, on the other hand, has brought about the same result by artificially expanding the circle within which they must n marry. The third restriction is know as Hypergamy or "marrying up", whi forbids a woman of particular group marry a man of a group lower than h in social standing, and compels her marry a man in a group equal or superi to herself in rank. I would like to re the readers to the India Census Repo 1901, p. 426, in which Late Sir H. Risley very ably and graphically sums the evil effects of hypergamy in societ which leaves, though theoretically, a lar female population of a certain high st caste without their respective brid grooms and brides. This led to many e practices. To avoid the difficulty which th marriage of a daughter involved, the mo horrible of crimes, female infanticide, w resorted to. [Indian Census Repo 1911, pp. 215-218 ; also John Wilson History of the Suppression of Infantic in Western India—Bombay, 1855].

The exigencies of space will not allo me to enter into any detailed analysis various endogamous, exogamous a hypergamous forms of marriages. It is notorious fact that castes and sub-cast are all watertight compartments and th whole of Hindu community is divided in those groups. But now these rules a breaking up in certain quarters and Mr Gait in the Bengal Census Report for 190 gave numerous instances showing how that Province the barriers dividing su castes were growing much weaker th those which separate castes. The same the case in some sections of educated I dians outside Bengal. But reaction working hand in hand and wherever inch is conquered a foot is given elsewhe

Let us take the example of Bengal a

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examine the working of the social stratification in detail. Bengalees have no social connection with any indigenous community outside Bengal. So Bengal is an unit in itself, which must be self-contained if it wants to be socially pure, as they would say. The Hindu Society of Bengal, according to orthodox views, is divided into seven grades: I. Brahmanas stand pre-eminently superior to all others; II. Other castes ranking above the clean Sudras; III. Clean Sudras; IV. Clean castes with degraded Brahmans; V. Castes lower than the above whose water is not usually taken; VI. Low castes who abstain from beef, pork and fowls; VII. Lastly come the unclean castes.

But each of these castes is not a homogeneous whole in which all the members can act freely and choose their wives from amongst the community. In Bengal there are as many as 450 groups of castes and in Bihar and Orissa as many as 205 separate castes and tribes were enumerated in 1911. In Bombay the main castes and tribes, which in most instances include numerous endogamous subdivisions, number over 500; but of these only a small number have more than 100,000 members. The *Ethnographic Appendices*, published as supplement to the Indian Census Report of 1901, will furnish the readers with a very detailed description of the castes and sub-castes of Bombay and Rajputana in a tabulated form. The 1901 Census Report of Madras distinguished 450 communities of all degrees of civilization and enlightenment, from the Brahmins down to the Khonds of the Agency Tracts. It would be a tedious task to go from province to province and enumerate the number of castes; no attempt can be made here to analyse and explain the distribution of 2,400 castes and tribes which has been enumerated in the Census of 1901.

In a population of 300 millions, 2,400 castes might not appear to be a large number. But let us cast a glance at the details of these castes. Each caste is divided into numerous sub-castes which are strictly endogamous and no sort of commensality is allowed amongst the members. The social stratification of Bengal has already been referred to where the apparently seven strata are divided into many castes and each caste again into several sub-castes; thus a variety of shades and restrictions, the parallel of which is nowhere to be found, has evolved within our society.

It is a well-known fact that there is a general deficiency of females amongst all the Bengali Hindu castes, except a few lower classes. A few other castes or tribes of Mongoloid origin, who live on the borders of Bengal, also show a slight excess of females. In Bihar and Orissa at the same time, nearly every caste has a preponderance of females, the exceptions being the three higher castes, the Rajputs and Baniyas. It might be asked that this paucity of males in the different castes of B-Orissa, is due to the exodus of their males; but it is noticeable that there is no striking deficiency among the Animist Santals and Oraons, who are the pioneer races furnishing a large proportion of emigrants. Mr. O' Malley points out two noticeable features in these statistics. First, there is a smaller number of women among the Brahmans and Kayasthas in both the provinces, a feature which is not noticed in other castes that have representatives both in Bengal and B-Orissa. Secondly females are in excess amongst the Munda and Dravadian tribes (*Bengal Census Report, 1911, pp. 298-9*).

Let us take, for example, some of the unclean castes of Bengal who are neither served by Brahmins nor by Dhoba (washerman) nor by Napit (barbers). Those who have any knowledge of the social life of these depressed classes of Bengal will at once recognise in their life the rule of division deep-rooted in imitation of the higher castes. The Bauris of Bengal, who seem to be one caste to the non-informed, are really divided into as many as eleven sub-castes. The sub-castes are all equal in rank, and local superiority generally depends on numerical strength. Their social customs differ in various districts. In Burdwan, Hooghly and Birbhum inter-marriage among them is forbidden on pain of social excommunication. In Faridpur and Nadia the same rule is in vogue, but paying a penalty he can expiate his sin. In Bankura inter-marriage among different sub-castes of Bauris is freely allowed.

The Chamars, who seem to be a homogeneous caste, are divided into as many as 25 sub-castes; inter-marriage between them is strictly forbidden on pain of being out-casted, and members of different sub-castes will not eat, drink or smoke together; no member can gain admission

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into any other sub-caste except in a few cases. I have already refered to the great sex disparity amongst the lower castes of Bengal and B-Orissa; and amongst these Chamars it is distinctly marked. The strength of Bengal Chamars is 137 thousands and that of B-Orissa is 1174 thousands. But the vital question,—I mean the disparity in the numerical strength of the sexes—should always be before our mind's eye when we want to solve some social question. The number of females amongst the Bengal Chamars is 544 and that among the B-Orissa Chamars is 1153 per thousand males. Of course we must remember the great number of male Chamars who annually migrate to Bengal. But in spite of this such disparity is abnormal and hence ruinous to the society.

Let us next take the case of *Doms*; they are divided into 28 sub-castes amongst whom inter-marriage is generally forbidden on pain of being outcasted; but in certain districts there are a few exceptions. Commensality is not allowed. Each sub-caste has a separate Panchayat and members cannot gain admission into any other.

Our popular belief about the *Haris* is that they are one homogeneous people and not divided like ourselves. But there, too, we find the same pitiable law of division repeated with no less vigour. The *Haris* of Bihar are divided into four and those of Bengal into five sub-castes. In the district of Birbhum there are four sub-castes of this caste amongst whom inter-marriage and commensality are strictly forbidden. The proportion of females amongst the Bengal *Haris* is 982 to 1000 males and in Bihar it is 1032 to 1000 males; so there is an excess of female in one and deficiency in another; and this disparity could have been made up and a healthy generation might have been raised from inter-marriage among the sub-castes.

The *Barhis* of Bihar and the *Sutars* of Bengal are the hereditary carpenters; and though their function is the same, they will never intermarry. Even the Barhis, who are divided into nine sub-castes, allow no inter-marriage amongst themselves. The Bengal carpenters have a low proportion of females (944) and the Bihar Barhis (1084) an excess of 84 females per thousand males.

The same is the case with the *Dhobas* of Bengal (932 females per thousand males) and Bihar (1063 females per thousand males), who are divided into more than 3 sub-castes, and do not allow intermarriage and common eating and drinking are generally forbidden, for the weapon of ex-communication is not unknown to them. The great sex disparity in Bengal as well as in Bihar might be made up if they were allowed to intermarry and the sub-castes were fused into one.

The *Goalas* of Bengal were once a very healthy and prosperous caste. These sturdy people had a fair increase of population in 1881-1891, when it was 7.14 p.c. since then they have shown no sign of growing numerically,—in 1891-1901 showing an actual decrease of ·16 p. c. and only in 1901-1911 they showed an increase of 1·8 p.c., which is absolutely below the normal. The Goalas of these two provinces are divided into 40 sub-castes, who are absolutely separated from each other by caste rules. Inter-marriage and commensality are forbidden, except in a few cases. But the notorious fact among the Bengal Goalas is well-known to all and the rich dowry, which is expected of the bride-grooms, is sufficient to damp the heart of many of them. The proportion of females is only 819 in Bengal, whereas the proportion of females amongst the Bihari Goalas is 1003 per thousand males. These people must be saved from degeneration and corruption and we must not restrict the marriage area and thereby create problems whose invisible under current is a sufficient set-back to many of our great endeavours to elevate the people.

The sub-castes of Brahmins, with their numerous ramifications, are too well known to the educated public to require any elucidation. The Brahmin of India is not a homogeneous caste; a Mahratta Brahmin will not enter into any social connection with the Maithili, Bengali, Kanujia or Madrasi Brahmin. The Brahmins of Bengal, like those of other provinces, are a separate class, who have nothing to do in common with any of them. There are in Bengal three main classes of pure Brahmans. Rarhi, Barendra, and Vaidik, but there are others also including the Kanujia and Maithili Brahmins, who are chiefly immigrants from Bihar and upcountry, the Utkal who are come from Orissa, the Madhya Sreni who are found in Midnapore, and the Kamrupi Brahmans of North Bengal, who serve as priests to the Rajbansis. Brahmans who

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minister to the Kayasthas and ths castes of the Nabasakha Group, suffer somewhat in public estimation, especially the latter, and so do those who act as cooks, bakers, confectioners, hired worshippers of family idols and the like, but they do not lose caste.

The *Barna Brahmans*, whose only fault is that they serve castes ranking below the Nabasakhas, are looked down upon by the so-called higher castes, and their rank has been placed below the Chasi-Kaibartas and Goalas. 'The *Agradani*, who officiates at funeral ceremonies, the *Acharya*, who casts horoscopes, and the *Bhat* or family bard, whose claim to be considered a Brahmin is disputed, also occupy a degraded position but not so low as the Barna Brahmans." There is another section called the *Pirali*, to which the Tagores of Calcutta belong, who are popularly classed among degraded Brahmans.

The rule hypergamy, to which I have already referred above, works very hard among the higher castes of India, and especially among the Brahmans. This example of hypergamous marriage amongst the Brahmans in Bengal has been followed not only by other high castes, such as the Kayasthas, but also by some lower ranks such as the Sadgops, Pods, and Chasa Dhobas.

These are the general results of the stratification of castes ; but this is not all. There are infinite ramifications of *Kulinism* and *Moulikism*, and such other things, which have been well described by the late Lalmohan Vidyanidhi in his *Sambandha-Nirnaya* and by Babu Nagendranath Basu in his *Banger Jatiya Itihash*.

It is useless to cite more examples, and the perusal of the last and preceding Census Report of Bengal and India and that of the Punjab prepared by Ibbetson (which has been subsequently published in book-form) in 1881, will be amply rewarded ; and the reader is sure to be convinced that such a state of things cannot last long.

The almost universal form of marriage at the present time is marriage by purchase, i.e., either the bride or the bridegroom is paid for. Generally, the higher castes pay for the bridegroom, while the lower castes pay for the bride. But this seems anomalous, as the higher castes having an excess of males pay for bridegroom and the lower castes with an excess of females pay for the brides. This discrepancy is due to the thousand and one restrictions put before each caste, which could have exerted much better influence and establish an equilibrium in this social tension. Out of 51 castes enumerated in the Bengal Census Report 9 castes—and they all belong to higher stratum—only pay for the bridegroom, while the rest pay for the bride. The Goalas, Sadgops, Kaibartas and a few other castes have to pay comparatively a very high dowry, for which their purse is least fitted. And they have to wait till youth is passed in hoarding money. Their hands and feet along with their minds are chained to a few lifeless forms, from which they cannot free themselves and choose brides from outside their sub-caste—not to speak of castes.

There is a general consensus of opinion that the prices to be paid for both brides and bridegrooms have risen of late years, with the general rise of prices of other market-commodities. Apart from mercenary conditions, a high price argues a high position. A further cause of the enhancements of prices seems to be that in this, as in other respects, the low imitate the higher castes, and there is a general levelling up.

Amongst the higher castes, the expenditure necessary to secure a suitable bridegroom from amongst the corresponding sections or sub-sections, is becoming so heavy, that many fathers are ruined to meet these expenses or have to wait reluctantly till they have saved enough to meet them without ruining themselves. It is a well-known fact that Kulinism is partly responsible for the extension of the age limit. Cases are common of Kulin girls being married at an advanced age, and some are condemned to a life of celibacy owing to the impossibility of getting a bridegroom from a family of equal or higher status. But in Orissa the case is different ; while in Bengal the bridegroom is rare among the Brahmans, there is no difficulty in securing a husband in Orissa. The bride's price is so large that many Brahmans have to remain unmarried till they are advanced in years. (*Bengal Census Report, 1911, p. 319*).

The unwise restrictions placed before man has led to many social vices, amongst which the condition of the Sagardipeshas of Orissa may be mentioned. They are the

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descendants of Kayastha emigrants from Bengal and women of Chasa and Bhandari classes and are entered into the Reports and known in the society as illegitimate children.

Hindu society was a living organism; there were intermarriages among its constituents and new castes or Varna Sankaras rose out of them and they had a social position. Even in the days of *Manu* and *Vrihat Dharmapuran* there were as many as 39 Varna Sankara castes. But now there are ten times as many and Hindu Society has not yet collapsed.

Before the question of individual liberty, the question of sex disparity, the question of division among the castes, are considered in details, we cannot pass judgment against intermarriage.

It is a well-known fact that throughout Bengal the Mohammedan population is on the increase, contrasted with a steady deterioration in the case of the Hindus; and the reasons are not far to seek. They are the thousand and one restrictions placed against the growth of the Hindu population. The sturdy lower castes have imitate the higher castes and have taken to all the evils that are destroying the vitality of the higher ones. In a certain community there is a great want of girls, and in another an excess of girls and want of males; in another group there are many marriageable widows; and these things have naturally given rise to many sex problems, which have been continuously attempted to be white-washed instead of being boldly faced.

We have made no provision for the people, who cannot get a bride within their caste, to marry outside and live decently and purely. Are we not aware of the wretched conditions of certain castes who have been a problem to the whole society? Is not this undue restriction on marriage partially responsible for the conversion of a large number of lower class people to Christianity and in earlier days to Mohammedanism? Is not this restriction partially responsible for the large displacement of the Hindu population by Mohammedans?

One serious defect that I have come across in handling the Tables of the census Reports is the want of figures for the male and female populations of the sub-castes of some of the important castes. Had these figures been given, the disparity of sex population among the sub-caste could have been proved to demonstration.

PROBHAT K. MUKHERJI.

Santiniketan,
20-1-1919.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Woman in Social Co-operation.

In the course of an article on the above subject in the January number of *Everyman's Review*, Mr. P. R. Krishnaswami, M.A., writes:

It is attempted to show here that woman has a social duty as well as a domestic one to perform. The principle of freedom of social meeting between the two sexes is an incomparably trivial matter when compared to the admission of women into the British Parliament. Yet it is an essential step for the furtherance of all serious matters of social reform. It is foolish to overlook this. It can even be argued that the failure of social reform in many matters of importance in the past in this country is due to the want of recognition of the principle of free social meeting between the two sexes as necessary to sound social organisation. We fret at early marriages and want post-puberty celebrations. But how can a grown up girl or boy be reasonably drawn into marriage without being permitted by social etiquette to have previously met and known and chosen her or his future partner? Again we talk of extending the period of a girl's education to greater length than at present. How is this possible if social feeling does not previously throw away the barrier of seclusion now effectively weighing on our womanhood, or, how can widow-marriage again take place unless it has been humanly led up to by mutual meeting? A Surgeon-General tells us one day that women-doctors and women-nurses are a crying need in Indian hospitals. The idea catches us immensely and we echo it. But how is it possible unless our social feeling has properly recognised that woman's life is not necessarily confined to the home but should extend to the social sphere? Women-nurses—what angels on earth they are to the sick! And yet according to the popular feeling of

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the Hindus, a Hindu woman offering her services as a public nurse in a hospital should at the present time submit to being regarded in the same light as a public prostitute! Nor can we expect to recruit women-teachers on any satisfactory understanding in this country at present. As long as we fail to recognise that woman has a social duty to fulfil, besides bearing her domestic burden, we shall never succeed in achieving any kind of desirable social reform.

To insist on the social obligation for woman is not exactly to plead for woman's equality with man. The confining of the woman within the home is a prohibition not against woman only but one equally against man. If the present barrier to social meeting between the two sexes is to disappear it will imply an enfranchisement of man even more than woman.

An Aryan View of Economics.

Mr. Lakshmishankar N. Bhatt, B.A. concludes an article under the above heading in the December number of *The Hindustan Review* with the following significant words :—

The whole Western civilization is advancing on the principle of creating new and ever increasing wants. The economists say that it is a way to civilisation. But it seems that the so-called modern civilization cares more for the outward polish than for the inner worth. The Europeans began to create wants, and to satisfy them they wanted power. In order to gain power in addition to their own, they sought help from nature. The cult of mechanism was the result. The cult of mechanism is the common origin of modern Industrialism and Militarism. Industrialism has led to this war, and Militarism has precipitated it. "Huge armaments were piled up on both the sides and by the tyranny of things Europe has rattled into barbarism." The so-called civilised body of Europe has suddenly and prodigiously increased being supplemented by artificial and mechanical organs. But the development of the soul is neglected in bodily development. In short, civilization according to the Western idea consists in reducing mind and soul to intellect and in inflating the body into a larger mechanical and aritificial bladder. In conclusion, to prevent any misconception I must say that the ideal on which I have harped so frequently is difficult to be realized. It is very rarely that we come across a man who has his desires replaced by a true and everlasting joy. But the same has to be said of the theories of economics. They too, are not always realized in practice. Then why should we not place a finer and more spiritual ideal before the people than a gross and material one? Indeed this spiritual principle has a very disastrous effect if wrongly applied. People understand by absence of desires that they are to remain idle and inactive even in their every-day work. And in this way the spiritual ideal though the best one ever revealed to man, has proved the bane of Indian life. The masses in India after that era of spiritual enlightenment had passed away, began to imagine that spirituality consists in idleness, with the result that they would have even relapsed into original barbarism, had it not been for the sudden and most opportune appearance of the English upon the scene. The Western thoughts which the English brought in their train have now shaken off the idleness. Can we not then so cured of our disease, go back once more to our original ideals, and keep our mind and soul in perfect peace while yet actively at work? The psychical processes which can harmonize these two 'fell opposed opposites' cannot be brought home to a man by any amount of logic. But the obdurate fact is there, and cannot be gainsaid by any serious thinker who cares for the well-being of society. Be sincere about the problem, and the solution will be revealed to you.

Indian Women.

In the January number of *East & West* Mrs. Annie Besant writes a short but well-reasoned article on "The Recovery of Indian Women" which runs :—

In discussing the question of the position of Indian women, it is sometimes, indeed generally, forgotten that their exclusion from the life of the Nation as such, and their confinement to home interests, are of very modern growth in India. We need not go back to the far off days of Savitri, in order to prove that a girl might wander about outside her home, and might fall in love before her parents had chosen her future husband. Nor to the time of Damayanti to show that a maiden might select her own husband, and as wife might be consulted by her husband's ministers, when the king himself had forgotten his duty. Nor need we refer to Gandhari, as evidence, that a woman might enter a Council of Kings and warriors to rebuke a violent son. Nor to Gargi, who faced and questioned Yajnavalkya in a circle of Pandits. We have heard of these so often that they scarcely now make any impression on our minds. When we read that of old two paths were open to the woman as to the man, the path of Brahmacharya and the knowledge of Brahman, and the path of the householder, of the wife and mother, it affects us not—it was so long ago.

But there is no break in the glorious history of Indian womanhood down to the time when English education made a new culture for the man in which the woman did not share, carrying him away from her into a new world of interests from which she was shut out. Indian history is studded with the names of Indian women who were warriors, queens, rulers, patriots, scholars. The names of Padmavati of Chitor, the gallant wife of Bhimsi, of Mirabai, the poetess of Marwar and Mewar, of Tarabai of Thoda, the skilled warrior, of Chand Bibi, the defender of Ahmednagar, of Ahalya Bai, the peasant-born, the great ruler of Indore, who died only in 1805—do not these shine out as stars in India's sky? They lived and died for the Motherland, and saw naught unwomanly in any service which she needed and which they could render.

Gradually the woman was pushed out of her place in India's life save as mother, as wife, as head of her household. Within the house none has disputed her sovereignty, but she ceased to be the counsellor of her husband in his public life and national interests; thus has the whole country been the loser, for woman's viewpoint is not identical with that of the man, but differs as the two eyes differ, and the Nation with one eye blinded cannot see nor judge aright. Man and woman are not identical, but the one is the complement of the other as the two eyes of the human being, the two wings of

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the bird. National life is impoverished, is crippled, deprived of its feminine element.

But of late there has been an awakening of women, touched by the wide sweep of National consciousness, and feeling their modern exclusion from all humanity outside the home. The wrongs wrought in South Africa on Indians brought the Indian women there to face, as of old, the dangers which were faced by their men. Women went to gaol as men went, aye and died from the hardships suffered. Then women in the Motherland arose, stung into action by the sufferings of the exiles, and women's meetings called for justice, so that men and women together marched in one army against wrong and—won. The degradation, foul and monstrous, inflicted on Indian women in Fiji as indentured labourers, called in their sisters in the Motherland for help; again they moved, sent a deputation to the Viceroy, and succeeded in gaining a promise that indentured slavery should cease. A third great victory was won in the internment struggle, 9 women's meetings and women's processions played a remarkable part in the agitation.

Meanwhile efforts to win higher education were steadily carried on, and progress was made. Qualified women teachers, women doctors, began to appear. Handicapped by the evil custom of child marriage and child motherhood, women yet strove for education, and Mr. Karve's bold stand for widow education, widow marriage, finally for a Woman's University, played a fine part in the struggle. Girl undergraduates and graduates attended Government Universities and distinguished themselves in the examinations. A woman poet, Sarojini Devi, showed an easy mastery of English melody that no masculine Indian has rivalled. Toru Dutt might have held her own had not death cut short her promise. Shrimati Sarojini's rare eloquence alike in English and in Urdu is making her a power in the political field of India.

Everywhere, as we look around us, we see the glorious arising of Indian Womanhood, the promise of a near and sure victory for Liberty. For Woman is the Shakti, the Divine Power, and without her Man cannot reach the fullness of Life. Partner, not subject; comrade, not rival; complement, not antagonist; helper not burden—such is Woman to Man. With her Freedom, India shall become free. The subjection of the Motherland and of the Mother must end together. For Man and Woman are the halves of a Perfect Whole and by their united strength shall India enter into her Kingdom.

We say Amen!

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Indian Constitutional Reform.

In the January number of *The Asiatic Review*, of London, Sir F. S. P. Lely, C.S.I., K.C.I.E., a retired member of the Indian Civil Service, contributes an article on "The Report in Indian Constitutional Reform," in the course of which he says :—

I desire to express my deep sympathy with the educated men of India who wish to take a larger share in the government of their country. Also I may be allowed to offer my tribute of admiration for the statesmanlike spirit which pervades the Report; though on some points it seems open to criticism.

The authors do not take enough account of the inhuman institution of caste, which is still by far the strongest and most tenacious social force in the country, though it may have been concealed from view by phrases borrowed from England. It is not true that the training of the people to political activity is all that is needed to produce a fairly balanced system. A difficulty in the way of an Indian democracy which radically differentiates it from that of the Colonies is that the equality of all men before the law is not grasped even by the best, and will certainly not be learned in five or ten years more. The belief is still deep-rooted—a survival of the not far-distant days when the Brahmin was exempt alike from penalties and taxation—that a man's rights vary with his caste, and that the lowest have no civic rights at all. They are regarded by the higher castes as simply of no account, as on the level of animals—in parts influenced by Jainism, as below animals. I could give innumerable instances from real life, but they would seem incredible, or else raked up to make out a case.

Towards the end of last century, being Collector of Surat, an advanced district of Bombay, I found on inquiry that the depressed classes—*i. e.*, the outcastes, certain low castes, and the aborigines (called locally "the black people")—were outside the village school, even when they formed twenty per cent. or more of the population. Occasionally by force, but generally by social pressure, the higher castes made them feel that the school was not for them. I used my influence, as Chairman of the Local Board, to get a notice served on the worst villages that unless within a certain time a certain proportion of the inferior classes were receiving education, the Board School would be closed as not fulfilling its purpose. Rather than deprive their own children of it, the caste people gave way, and numbers of the outsiders were let in. *Now under any possible franchise these castes people will form the bulk of the electorate.* If, as is assumed, they are truly represented, they will add an element to the country's government, not perhaps, in these days, of active tyranny, but of passive resistance to the upward progress of the labourers and especially of the "unclean." They will stand behind the Brahmins, who will occupy the places of

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power, and in whom caste supremacy is bred in the bone. Indeed, it is predicted with some likelihood that when the novelty is over, things will settle down under the domination, not of awakened political sense as anticipated in the Report, but of the force of caste. Caste will be the Eastern caucus without any counteracting opponent.

Continuing the writer observes :

I am disappointed to find the labouring people so lightly treated in the Report. The authors in their review of the various classes "begin with the ryot" (para. 146)—*i. e.*, the cultivator—half-way up the scale. To the people underneath, numbering very many millions, they devote a passing line or two (para. 155), promising to make "the best arrangement they can" for them, but I am not able to find anything more explicit. Among the subjects suggested for the periodic Commissions to explore (paras. 261 and 262) no mention is made of them either as to their education, their admission into the subordinate public service, their personal status, or otherwise. Most men who know the conditions would have placed them in the front line. I venture to say that their undoubted, though still only partial, advancement in personal independence and physical comfort through the continuous backing of the British Government has been one of our most marked achievements. Having been raised, many of them, half-way from the bottom of the pit, they would suffer more than any other by the withdrawal of our influence. If Parliament hands them over without safeguards, it may be called in present-day phraseology the Emancipation of India, but under the searchlight of history it is more likely to go down as a great betrayal.

This general view is in no way altered by declarations of policy taken from English books and papers, or by the occasional opening of a school for low castes by exceptional people, or by the promotion of Mr. Gokhale's Bill for "mass education," which would have left things much as they are in this respect, or by the exercise of personal power by one or two advanced princes to bring the low castes into the educational net. Even the lapse of years without any overt display of the feeling would not be enough to prove that it is not still alive. The aspirations in para. 151 that "enlightened leaders" will explain the unwisdom of caste, or will be listened to if they do, are, if I may be allowed to say it, visionary.

It would not be possible to make special electorates of these people for two reasons in addition to the general objections mentioned in the Report. One is that they could not be easily segregated by definite lines like the Muhamadans, for they would include many others besides nominal pariahs. In some parts, though still degraded, they form the cultivating section, while in others they have raised themselves by Government aid to a level with their betters. The other reason is that, as a whole, they are not able to use a vote intelligently if they had one. In some provinces there would be none of their own men qualified to champion them, and they would be pawns in the hands of clever lawyers who would use them as a mere ladder into Council.

To entrust their interests to Brahmins would be a caricature of popular government. A genuine attempt to give them a status would be to set apart an effective number of seats in the Council to which the Governor should nominate representatives if possible from among themselves, specially charged with upholding their interests. The number should be proportioned to the estimated number of the class in the population.

Parliament is also bound in honour to keep an eye on European settlers, Indian Christians, and Anglo-Indians. They have been not unreasonably alarmed at recent expressions of hostility by extremist orators....

After criticising the scheme in its various aspects the writer concludes thus :—

If Parliament accepts the Report it will be taking a courageous step, but it will be imposing a still graver responsibility on its successor; because the subjects of which Transfer will afterwards be demanded increase in importance the nearer they approach the top. It is recognized, I believe, that every Government should be slow to pledge to any action those who are to follow them, and though in this matter some vision of the future is of the essence of the proposal, the basis of it and the limitations of it should be most clearly demarked. This is due to the other men. The problem of ten or twenty years hence is theirs, not ours. We know how advocates have pushed their claims by reading into past promises more than they were meant to convey, and founding on them charges of breach of faith. A notable instance is the somewhat vague words of the Queen's Proclamation, which for many years have been made a text for impugning British good faith. We shall never know how far these continuous assertions have sunk into the popular mind and weakened trust in the King's word. If a future Parliament should loosen its hold on law and order in India because it is expected to do irrespective of conditions, it will be an act of colossal levity. The ground should be left quite clear for the unhampered exercise of judgment as to the time and measure of successive advances, upon the facts of the time and the reports of the periodic Commissions. There can be no doubt of this being the present intention, but there are anticipatory phrases up and down the Report which, if adopted into the authoritative pronouncement, should be carefully guarded against any sort of misunderstanding.

India in France.

Under this caption there appears another article in the same number of *The Asiatic Review* above the signature of Mr. J. D. Anderson which cannot fail to be of interest to the Indian reader at the present moment, Mr. Anderson writes :

Some day, I hope, some competent person will tell us of the whole share that India has had in the world war. We know, of course, what gallant deeds Indian regiments have done in France and in the East. We know, too, that sundry young educated Indians have fought in the air and on shore with our own men. There are, again, the numerous lascars, Guzerati and Bengali, who are serving so courageously, in perils oft, and signing on again in many cases after being two or three times plunged into icy seas by the sinking of their ships in mid-ocean. It is a stirring and romantic tale, obscured for the moment by the gravity of the common peril and the magnitude of the common task. Many

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of our political superstitions of peace time persist in this hour of peril and anxiety and distract us, not only from the momentous contest raging almost within hearing of the busy activities of London, but from the work quietly performed by men of many races and tongues, in many different fields of unostentatious activity. There have even been Indians from Pondicherry and Chandernagore who have had the high privilege of fighting in the French Army as gallant and valued soldiers of the French Republic. When the German militarists let loose the unspeakable calamity of war in the hope of an easy, profitable, and rapid victory over unprepared and peaceful communities, they little knew that they were, in effect, bringing to a rapid head many incubating tendencies in East and West which were the very antipodes of their own social and political ideals and aims.

In concluding Mr. Anderson observes :

What the ultimate result will be, who shall say ? As I write, there are problems in Ireland, in Russia, even in India itself, which may well dismay the most optimistic, and puzzle the most keen-sighted. Yet, at all, our so-called "democratic" principle, and the for which we are fighting, are essentially optimistic. refuse to despair of human nature ; we refuse to be that the only way out is a sullen and despa acquiescence in and submission to, military engineered and supported by a marvellous abu scientific organization. Once that issue is fought we shall have other puzzles and problems. But we face them in another than the Prussian spirit. can cultivate a sense of humour and kindliness, w as I have hastily and inadequately striven to show not wanting even in the minds of animistic Ti Burman savage races. We have learned, as re before, to work in hearty friendship with men of re nations, tongues and beliefs, in a sturdy confidence the optimistic love of liberty, which we inherit, and share with many other peoples, is the most infal guide that stumbling humanity can employ.

DEMOCRACY VERSUS BUREAUCRACY

Of the varied aspects of the human society of to-day, one is the awakening in the masses all the world over of the consciousness of their political existence. The sentiment of national pride is keener and more widely diffused nowadays than it was in former times. The questions which directly affect the sons of soil and toil are those most calculated to enlist their sympathy, and the governing classes conscious of this fact have begun to modify their tactics accordingly. The masses have realised the condition of poverty, ignorance and misery in which a large part of them spend most part of their lives—a condition brought into existence by a certain number of economical forces, themselves the result of great progress in material sciences during the past one and a half centuries. This consciousness has led to what is known as the co-operative movement and the formation of trade-unions all over Europe and Europeanised world. The latter have come to the conclusion that the amelioration of the condition of the vast masses of the labourers is impossible unless they have a hand in politics and send their representatives to their respective legislative assemblies. They advocate the doctrines of socialism. The middle classes see and realise that their interests clash and are in conflict with those of the wealthy classes and the feeling is based upon a bitter experience in the past that as long as the government remains in the hands of the latter, their interests would be crushed. This has raised the problem whether the government is to be carried on in the name of a people merely, by a privileged class for its own benefit, a government irresponsible to the people at large or it is to be carried on by the people for the good of the nation as a whole and responsible to the nation as a whole. In other words, whether there is to be a democracy or a bureaucracy. Before I describe the forces that are gravitating towards the success of democracy over all other forms of goverment to the utter mortification of the bureaucrat, I may let you know what I understand by the two terms.

Bureaucracy may be defined as a system of government centralised in a graded series of officials responsible only to their chiefs and controlling every detail of public life as it was till lately in Germany. On the other hand a democracy may be defined as a form of government in which the supreme power is vested

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in the people collectively and is administered by them or by officers appointed by them, *e. g.*, in France.

Before I examine these two definitions, I shall make clear certain terms which I shall use, by giving their explanations.

Reduced to its fundamental principles the problem of government is how to protect members of a State against outside attacks and internal dissensions and how to promote their general welfare. Thus external and internal protection and the promotion of the general welfare comprise all the responsibilities of a government. If it avoids any of these two or adopts a course which is prejudicial to any of these two, it does what it ought not to do and in doing so it violates the rights of the members of the State, who naturally resent it and come in conflict with the government. In order to carry out its proper work, the government has to frame laws and make the machinery to carry them out, *i. e.*, it has got power to legislate and to execute the legislation. Thus the task of the government is divided between the legislative and the executive. Now I proceed to examine the definitions which I gave of bureaucracy and democracy.

The former definition may be analysed into three clauses :—

(*a*) Centralisation of authority in graded series of officials,

(*b*) their responsibility to the head of government alone,

and (*c*) control of every detail of public life.

Taken as a whole the three elements in a bureaucracy exhibit its great power of organisation which is essential to success in all departments and enjoin strict discipline and obedience on its members.

But the power being vested in a graded series of officers—the lower officer is responsible to his immediate superior officer and the latter to his immediate superior officer—each officer from the lowest to the highest forms but a link in the chain, the last remaining unlinked which represents the absolute authority of the highest officer who is the head of the government. Now the highest authority might be vested in a single individual or a few members of them who are absolute, *i. e.*, are not responsible to the people whom they govern.

The danger of such a system li in the fact that it may deviate and such systems have deviated from the right path, *i. e.*, they have avoided what they ought to have done and done what they ought not to have done. They have actually put restrictions upon anybody and everybody's right to move about from one place to another or from one country to another. They have stinted and stifled a nation's education, repressed the freedom of its press, disarmed its citizens, if citizens they might be called who have no rights of citizenship, and neglected and crushed its industries. They have embittered the public life of the governed and have even in some cases interfered with the sacrosanctity of their private life. The wretchedness and the miseries of the people have only increased in cases where the personnel of the bureaucracy happens to be of foreign extraction, *i. e.*, where this form of government is superimposed upon a people by individuals of an alien race. But my quarrel is not with the personnel but with the system itself.

Now have you ever tried to understand the psychology of the bureaucrat? It is this. The bureaucratic form of government is good for a country, I would not call nation, in the period of its lactation. Its work is educational. It moulds the different tribes into a national unit. Beyond that it has no justification to continue to exist. It has to give over charge to democracy. But the difficulty lies in the fact that instead of quietly and peacefully transferring its authority to its successor it tries to continue by unlawful means its unlawful lease of life and in consequence it has to be dethroned. The bureaucrat is a parasite. He enjoys freedom by withholding the same from its legitimate proprietors, *i. e.*, the people at large. He has resorted unscrupulously to the tyrant's most terrible instrument of refusing the right of open trial and committing innocent individuals to jail on the pretext of public safety. Even the devil has his good side, it is said, and in the same manner even the bureaucracy can justify its unlawful actions by the appointment of what are called "commissions." Further to stregthen its position it sets up a strong militarism at the cost of the people ready to be used even against the very people themselves if they even try to open their muzzled mouths and utter the word 'liberty.' The evils

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of such a system have been amply demonstrated in the case of the German East African Colonies where the people used to live daily under a sundry sort of such other tortures. This leads to movements at first secret and then open like those of the Communists. It is the result of this syetem that Bolshevism is at present rampant in Eastern and Central Europe.

So much for Bureaucracy. Now I must examine the definition of Democracy. It may be analysed into two clauses—

(*a*) The supreme power is vested in the people collectively,

and (*b*) administration is carried on either directly by themselves or by the officers appointed by them.

Now there are two things introduced here. First the power is transferred from an individual or a few individuals or even from a privileged class to the people themselves. They are the sovereign. Some might call it a paradox, but like all other paradoxes it has to be understood in order to grasp the deeper significance which underlies it. It does not mean that any individual can exercise the sovereign authority. That would be anarchy against which we are fighting. But the people as a whole possess that sovereign power which is denied to the individual. Moreover the people collectively relegate their authority for immediate purposes of legislation and its execution to a number of themselves while retaining to themselves the ultimate authority. They can criticise the actions of the body to whom authority has been relegated and can even dismiss it if they like. Usually the people choose their legislature which appoints the executive which is responsible to the legislature and through it to the people at large. This briefly put is the principle of democracy.

Now according to the different answers to the question, who shall control the government, the different forms of government, *e. g.*, monarchy, aristocracy, plutocracy, theocracy, democracy and in fact many other cracies depend. Therefore it would not be amiss to find out with whom the ultimate sovereign authority rests from which the government derives its sanction.

Plato in his "Republic" gives expression to the ideals of democracy which differs much from its modern form. He and his great disciple Aristotle did not abstract man from the society, the latter went the length even of opening his Ethics offering the economic structure of soci Their ideal was to establish a la measure of justice between man and m and in their systems there seems to be place for any form of government but which the rights and privileges of t various members of the State are equal,

Now passing on to the modern times find in the seventeenth century Thom Hobbes rejecting Aristotle's notion sociality as an essentially human char teristic and maintaining what is called t "Natural State of man". To come out this chaos he invented the doctrine *Social Contract* by which the wh community surrender their right of indi dual sovereignty into the hands of c man who thenceforth becomes the absol ruler of the State and whose authority body can deny in future. "But the lo of Hobbes' absolutism," says Mr. Ben "shrivelled up under the Sun of Engli liberty."

Although after Hobbes, Locke a Rousseau maintained his views as to t origin of the political society which false as is shown by recent writers wh hold that in the primitive stages of huma development, governments like language are not made but evolve, yet they hold contradistinction to Hobbes' view th the will of the people should be the la According to Locke, the chief and ma end for which men unite into commo wealths is the mutual preservation of th lives, liberties and estates (Treatise Government) and if a government neglec to secure this end, or invades the rights its subjects may be lawfully set as whenever an opportunity occurs. He the people themselves are to be regard as the sovereign authority.

It was according to this great dem cratic principle that the members of th French National Assembly formulated th rights of man and since then this princip has been adopted in all the States Europe, Turkey excepted. As to Russ nothing can be said at present when it being ruined by an internecine war a Bolshevik Terrorism prevails everywhe in the country.

Not only this, the democratic princip has created a tendency to extend th franchise to all adult males so that th may be able to force the government to d

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according to their own wishes. In England, even women have been enfranchised and authorised to sit in the House of Commons. Moreover, the Bombay Legislative Council has also now passed the bill giving right to women to be elected as members of Bombay Municipal Corporation.

Besides this, written constitutions exist in all European countries, except England and Turkey, the one requiring none, so strong being the traditions of constitutional government, in the other, the despotic government granting none, to prevent kings or president or government officials to excercise despotic powers.

The upshot of this whole is that it is now acknowledged that it is the people at large in whom the sovereign power resides and who are the ultimate arbiters of their fate. Now we find that bureaucracy derives its authority from above, democracy from below, *i. e.*, the people themselves. Even in religion where authority might be supposed to come from the above, the Reformation has denounced it and we find among the Protestants as far as my knowledge goes, that the authority resides in the congregation and not in the clergy. In the latter it is only a delegated authority. If it be so, if man can look well after his soul, can he not look after his poor body? I think the bureaucratic principle here falls to the ground.

Now as to the second point—whether the government is to be carried on by the people directly or through their representatives. This is the basis of the distinction between what is called Absolute or Direct Democracy and Representative or Indirect Democracy. This is the distinction between the ancient Greek City States, for example, and the modern democracies. Nevertheless, it is often advanced as an objection against modern democracy itself.

I say they confound the two ideas. To have a correct understanding of absolute democracy, we must think of a small community, living within the four walls of a single town enjoying independent sovereignty as Athens was in the fifth century B. C. Or as the modern original Swiss Cantons are where all public business is discussed in a full assembly of the people. It was possible in ancient *City States*, and it is possible now in Switzerland because of the difficulty of communication between one part of the country and another and owing to the fact that geographical conditions isolated the cantons which have remained independent.

Nowadays our idea of State has expanded from a City State to a big country under one government. Moreover, the modern conditions do not permit of such City States. Therefore, the only form of democracy that is possible nowadays is what is called Representative Government.

Some sapient bureaucrats think that this is to give up the whole position. I say, not in the least. Whatever be the constitution, the representative body is responsible to the sovereign body whose creature it is. Whatever powers the latter may delegate to the former as long as the former is responsible to the latter, the principle of democracy still holds good. It is no secret nowadays that the control of the purse implies the control of policy and the lower or the representative chamber alone grants or withholds supply. The saying 'No taxation without representation' is familiar to all of us. Thus the principle of democracy is not violated.

Moreover, some pious bureaucrats raise the objection that in representative government the will of the people is liable to be thwarted by their very agents. May it not be replied that it is rather an advantage that the first impulse of the public will, sometimes passionate and short-sighted, should be tempered and enlightened by passing through a series of media on its way to action and the hold which the constituencies have upon their elections and in other ways is a sufficient guard against any defeat of a steady, earnest and public conviction.

Again it is objected that in a Representative Government majority is to decide and majority may often be in the wrong. Had not Socrates to drink the bitter cup of poison in accordance with the sentence of the majority? Yes, it was so with Socrates, and one must open and read Plato's dialogue with Crito to know that Socrates himself clung to the Athenian constitution and preferred dying in Athens rather than seeking the protection of some other government. Moreover is it not sufficient to point out that large minorities by opposition and criticism can get the point cleared and thus hold in check the extremists on the other side? Moreover, if, as it is said, good government is no

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substitute for self-government be true, it implies the right to go wrong.

Even John Stewart Mill, who considers Representative Government to be the ideally perfect form of government and whose extension he thinks is inevitable, doubts the sufficient mental qualities of the governing class under the system as compared with the aristocracy who have made it their business of life. But sufficient mentality can be secured by attaching the conditions of some educational qualifications in the persons appointed to public offices. Moreover, under a Representative Government there would be fair competition and only the best intellects would be able to come to the fore. Does anybody doubt the sagacity of the present British Cabinet because it is largely drawn from the people and not the aristocracy ?

Another author who is now the democrat of democrats wrote more than a dozen years ago when she had not entered the arena of politics that democracy runs counter to all the compelling laws of nature, for said she, men are not born equal but very unequal and never can a stable society be built if we start by disregarding nature and treat all as having rights to equal power, the ignorant and the wise, the intellectual and the stupid, the criminal and the saintly. I admit that men are not born equal but very unequal and *it is for this reason* that the wise, the intellectual and the saintly will play the prominent part, by having the government of the people entrusted to them. Birth does not give man his rights. That is an exploded theory now. Whatever they are, they are made by the society and thus they can have no right as against society or its members. What are required are not equal rights for all, but equal chances and opportunities of developing and perfecting their personalities for all.

The bureaucrat might say that though a democracy is good during peace time, a centralised government is the only government for war purposes. To some extent this is true. But can democratic governments not rise to the occasion and succeed in gaining a unity and secrecy of purpose for outwitting the enemy without impairing their essential nature ? It is democracy that has been the saviour of the world.

Perhaps, a bureaucrat might open his mouth and venture to enquire of me, what would be the result if the principles of Democracy are carried to the extreme and even if the doctrines of the Communists be ever carried into law under the auspices of Democracy, the society would come to a standstill. Gentlemen, it is not so. Certainly we do not know what other forms of government are in store for us besides those with which we are acquainted. But a glance at the past, and a historical review disclose the fact that Democracy is not of spontaneous generation. There is a certain order. First comes Autocracy to be followed by its mate bureaucracy which in its return gives place to Democracy. Thus democracy has been evolved out of the primitive form of government where might was right, there can at all be any government in such a form of society. Some one might say that it may be a return to Autocracy. But they ignore the very facts of nature. The plan of nature is evolution. If autocracy transplants Democracy everywhere the long and laborious process by which nature has worked would be reversed and there would be again a return to what is called a state of nature. The *laudator temporis acti* may believe that the Golden Age has passed away and for ever, but we of this generation believe that the Golden Age is to come. Nations may rise and fall, there may be revolutions of civilisations—but all such revolutions minister to the progress of the civilisation itself, though not of any one particular type of civilisation. Even the present war whose happening we all so deeply deplore has brought the world but a step forward. The long Czarism of Russia and brutal despotism of Turkey which no political force could uproot for above 1000 years have been sapped and undermined by the present war. Would you like to have such Autocracies again and would nature allow it ? Indeed, we do not know what form of Government would succeed Democracy, but this much we know that there is to be no retrograde return to either Bureaucracy or to Autocracy after the most giagantic war has been fought for Democracy. But if human foresight and reason are anything, if the experience which history gives teaches us something, I may venture to say on my account that individuality as well as society would be directly developed

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and brought to perfection by Democracy. If it be so, what then ? The two extremes of human existence have been moulded and perfected. But this is a mere *spercus*. It is a problem not for me but for time itself to untie.

Now it may be asked what is the lesson which History gives us in this direction. When we turn to the history of the classical nations, we discover legislative attemps that Saviour of modernity. Even in the fifth and sixth centuries B. C., the Athenians established a form of government which aimed to give an equal voice to all freemen in determining the laws that were to control them. Nothing could be more provocative for the modern legislator than to read of the legislative experiments of Lycurgus at Sparta and of Solon and his successors at Athens. If we pass on to latter part of ancient history and consider the attempts at federal government that found expression in the Æchean and the Ætolean leagues, we shall have been presented a prototype of nearly every legislative experiment of more recent times.

In our own times, France after a century of bloodshed and stuggle commencing with the French Revolution attained the ideal of liberty which England and America already possessed only to plunge again into the present world war to preserve the democracy.

As to England, John conceded the beginnings of English liberty in the Magna Carta, Charles I and James II questioned that liberty and history records the answer that England gave them. With the coming of the Hanovarians, Cabinet system came into existence and after many cataclysms liberty emerged full-grown.

Italy inspired by Mazzini with the ideals of liberty found its saviour in Victor Emmanuel of Sardinia and in 1818 was conferred upon her a constitution by which the King governed through a ministry responsible to a Chamber of Deputies elected by the people.

Spain and Portugal have their respective Cortes and even the Russia of the Czar had its Duma.

America, we all know, revolted at the gross injustice of the Mother country, England. It formed a Constitution and gradually the different States entered into the Union. Even in the East, China is an experimental republic. Japan instituted a Diet of two Chambers by the Constitution of 1889 and Persia expelled the despotic Shah and established a Majlis or Parliament in 1909.

Even the rulers of India have pronounced Self-government in reasonable time for her to be the goal of their policy, but when that time will come nobody knows. Gentlemen, the greatest of the wars fought for the principle of liberty and justice has come to a long sought victorious end for the Allies. If it be true that the present war is a war of ideals, may we not hope that with the victory of the Allies Democracy will be enthroned all over the world ? Indeed, the strongest argument in favour of democracy is to be had from the colossal failure of the most efficient and the most powerful Bureaucracy in the world, I mean the Prussian Bureaucracy and the Russian Autocracy. Bolshevism must teach too severe a lesson to the Bureaucrat and the Autocrat. They must know that the *Panacea* for all such evils is the Divine Democracy. Moreover, it has been recognised all over the world, in press and on platform that some sort of league of nations should be established in future. Is not Democracy the most akin form of government in national politics to a league of nations in International Politics ?

Gentlemen, such are the forces, not under the control of any one body or even one nation that are gravitating with accelerated speed towards the enshrining of Democracy in the governmental temples of every country in the world.

What is the conclusion them ? Bureaucracy has beeome an anachronism in the twentieth century has been well remarked by Dr. White. It would hardly survive this century. If the laws of mechanics always hold good, and if I may be permitted to draw an illustration from that source, I may say that the top-heavy rod of the bureaucratic government cannot long stand erect and must fall down even when the mildest breeze blows. Democracy has been declared the goal of all government even by the most rigid bureaucrats. Bureaucracy had to play its part in the evolution of the human society and it has done its task. Perpetual it cannot be. On the other hand, the forces of Democracy are so tremendous and overwhelming that one cannot but go in that direction. Democracy as described by Abraham Lincoln is a government of the people, by the people, for the people. The

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future progress of civilisation lies in the universal triumph of this principle. For when it is fully established all the world over, the long sought for millennium would arrive and the ideals would be materialised.

Bareilly College. SHYAM BEHARI LAL

CORPORATE LIFE IN ANCIENT INDIA*

THIS is a thesis which has earned for Professor Majumdar the Doctor's degree of the Calcutta University this year. The scope of the work has been clearly indicated by the author in the Introduction: "The spirit of Co-operation was a marked feature in almost all fields of activity in ancient India and was manifest in social and religious as well as in political and economic life. The well-known Jati (caste) and the Samgha (the community of the Buddhist monks) are the most notable products of this spirit in the first two spheres of life. The same spirit, however, played an equally important part in the remaining ones, and its effect may be seen typified in Gana (political corporation) and Sreni (guild)." Dr. Majumdar has reviewed the Economical, Political, Religious and Social life of Ancient India from the standpoint of *corporate activity* which supplies the unifying principle through the four isolated monographs embodying the thesis.

The work points to a field of Indian research where we find up to this time very few workers of the first rank. Analysis of the concrete archaeological data (*e.g.*, of the domain of Architecture and Sculpture. Epigraphy and Numismatics) has no doubt advanced to a certain extent; but the synthetic presentation of any aspect of Ancient Indian life has met with few attempts and fewer successes. We have no doubt the privilege of recounting the works of two hoary veterans—we mean Sir R.G. Bhandarkar's monograph on Indian cults and Dr. Brojendranath Seal's treatise on the Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus—but these master craftsmen have not as yet given us a single disciple who could apply their technique in the same field. So we leave these Bhismas of Indology in their inaccessible Himalyan heights! Of the next generation Mr. K. P. Jayaswal is the most brillant worker. By his penetrating historical vision he has not only thrown a flood of light on the political and socio-economic life of Ancient India but roused a genuine enthusiasm in the study of her institutional history. But this is a line of inquiry which is as fruitful for a genuine scholar as it is futile for unripe or over-ripe enthusiasts who are every day being lured into the discovery of false fundamentals and flimsy foundations of Indian life. Hence while in department of objective study we get really valuable monographs like Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar's "Foreign Elements in Indian Population" and Mr. R. D. Banerjee's "Scythian Period of Indian History" the votaries in the temple of Indian *culture history* are, with the single exception of Mr. Jayaswal, as a whole marked by a spirit of precarious self-assertion that is anything but scholarly. Hence we have to watch painfully the materials for a short page puffed up into a ponderous volume and cheap patriotism and premature generalisations parading under the cover of Indian culture-history. Thus their Indian Politics is partisan, their Indian Economies etherial and their Indian Art polemical and problematic. Not that we do not believe in the reconstruction of Indian culture history but that we demand severe canons of criticism and profounder vision of synthesis. Before the establishment of the *norms* of Indian life and the *valuation* of those norms in the light of comparative culture history of Humanity we absolutely require the scientific *descriptive* survey and sound well-grounded *interpretation* of the facts thus collected and co-ordinated. Unfortunately with characteristic oriental transcendentalism we are attempting to take our stand on normation and valuation of Indian life, neglecting the indispensable preliminaries of description and interpretation. Thus our descriptions are hasty and haphazard, our interpretations precarious, our norms arbitrary and our valuations parochial and false.

It is in such a crisis of our study of culture history that we welcome the dessertation of Dr. Majumdar. Since the publication of Jayaswal's brilliant "Introduction to Hindu Polity" in the pages of this Review six years ago (1913) we have had not the pleasure of presenting before the students of Indian culture history such a sober well-balanced and stimulating treatise. With the characteristic candour and humility of an earnest student of the objective school Dr. Majumdar says: "I have avoided, on principle, all philosophical disquisitions throughout this work. It has been my aim rather *to simply present the facts* in a connected manner with a view to illustrate, as far as possible the gradual development of the various institutions." Thus he disarms all criticism from the more ambitious school while he presents us with a really first class *descriptive* work on our Indian culture history: An acute student of epigraphy and numismatics as he is, Dr. Majumdar has collected the data of our corporate life with a thoroughness and marshalled them with a critical acumen that would do credit to any scholar. Indeed in almost every page we feel the impress of the personality of a dispassionate historian who examines an economic organisation (e. g. the *Sreni*) a political institution (e.g. the *Samiti*) or a social phenomenon (e.g. the Jati) in the same spirit of detachment and objectivity of judgment as is manifest when he deciphers a mutilated inscription or analyses a rare numismatic evidence. Herein lies his strength as well as limitation as a historian of culture. We miss the subtle bio-psychological interactions that are at the genesis and progression of every phenomenon of culture history.

* *Corporate Life in Ancient India:* By Ramesh Chandra Mazumdar, M.A., Ph D., Lecturer on Ancient Indian History, Calcutta University. Pp. viii—176. Price Rupees Four only (including postage).

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we also miss the magic transfiguration of concrete facts by the synthetic genius of a social philosopher but we gain a full and accurate description of our cultural structures and a thoroughly reliable reading of the fluctuations in their functioning—achievements which by themselves entitle him to the dignity of a Doctorate.

Apart from its scholarly worth the thesis chances to appear in a very opportune moment when we are struggling with reactionaries in *politics* and *society*. By a curious coincidence it is a crushing answer to those who are at present struggling to establish against history that Self-government is the chartered monopoly of the Western nations or that ethnic purity the monopoly of the Brahmanic hierarchy. Without the least tinge of polimical acrimony Dr. Majumdar completely demolishes the pretensions of both the schools of obscurantists by positive presentation of the wonderful picture of the self-governing life of the Ancient Indians while with the relentlessness of a true historian he exposes the intricate history of the growth of Brahmanic pretensions and the fiction of their immaculate heredity. He proves beyond all doubt that *race mixture* was as much a fact of our social life as *self-government* that of our political history.

There is only one criticism which, we fear, would be found unanimously, by every reader of the treatise, to be absolutely damaging to Dr. Majumdar. The body of the book is marred all over by such an amount of typographical blemishes as to exhaust the patience of any reader. This is his maiden production and he has no right or an iota of historical authority to deal such a rude shock to the corporate instinct of the public by presenting the "Maiden" so horribly disfigured by the Printer's Devil. In our judgment Dr. Mazumdar ought to make an immediate and complete reparation by publishing an *edition de luxe* of this rich, instructive and inspiring dissertation.

KALHAN.

THE WORD SWARAJ IN THE RIG VEDA

By KRISHNAKANTA HANDIQUI, B.A.

NOW that the demand for Swaraj looms large in the political consciousness of India, it may be of some interest to many of our countrymen to know how the word Swaraj fares in the Rig-Veda, the oldest literary treasure of India, and for the matter of that, of the whole Aryan world.

The bases to which the different forms of the word can be traced are (1) स्वराजा and (2) स्वराज.

(1) The most characteristic use of the word स्वराजा is found in the 1st Mandala in the 80th hymn, addressed to Indra, where it occurs sixteen times, being repeated in each of the sixteen verses of the hymn. I shall quote only one verse—

नहि तु यादधीमसीन्द्रं को वीर्या परः ।
तस्मिन्नृ षामुत क्रतुं देवा ओजांसि सं दधुः
रथं न्नतु स्वराजाम् ॥ (1. 80. 15)

"We do never know Indra, going (everywhere). Who is greater in strength (than he)? In him, the gods have stored up wealth, strength and might. He is honouring (i. e. displaying) "his own regime.", "His own regime" in this verse is स्वराजा. It is very interesting to note here that the Latin root "regere" from which the word "regime" comes is allied to Sanskrit राज the Indo-European form being R E G. The word राजा cannot possibly be here explained as "kingdom," for, in Sanskrit, the primary meaning of the word is "the attribute (भाव) or the vocation of a king." (Bhattoji Dikshita on Pan. 5-1-128).

The word स्वराजा occurs in some other places, in one place in three successive verses (1. 84. 10—12). Once it appears as an adjective of Agni (स्वराजमग्निं) which Sayana explains as "shining with his own (lustre)." There is yet another occurrence of the word in the form "स्वाजेय" which deserves special mention. Here is the verse concerned :—

यद्वामीयचक्षसा मित्र वयं च सूरयः ।
व्यचिष्ठे बहुपायेय यतेमहि स्वराजेय ॥ (5. 66. 6)

The word स्वराजेय here presents some difficulty. The verse can be thus translated provisionally—

"Ye Mitra (and Varuna), with a vast outlook, may we, who are your worshippers, strive for extensive स्वराजा, which is to be defended by many."

There are scholars according to whom राजा here means "kingdom" and स्व refers to Mitra and Varuna. According to Sayana, however, स्वराजा means स्वराट्त्व "one's own rule," "self-rule." I propose

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to follow Sayana for two reasons. First, राट्त्व "rulership" preserves the primary meaning of the word as opposed to राज्य meaning a kingdom, and it is the primary meaning of a word, wherever appropriate, that we should look for in so ancient a collection as the Rig-Veda. Secondly, it would be idiomatic for the word स्व ("one's own") to refer to the speakers in the verse rather than those spoken to. "May we strive for स्वराज्य"—here, in my humble opinion, idiom would suffer if स्व be made to refer to Mitra and Varuna, and not to the speakers themselves. The natural meaning would be "May we strive for our own rule" instead of "for Mitra and Varuna's own kingdom," particularly as the word Mitra occurs in a different line, as vocative, not genitive.

(2) The other base of the word, viz. स्वराज् appears in a variety of forms—स्वराट् nom. sing.), स्वराजम् (acc. sing.), स्वराजे (dat. (sing.) and स्वराजः (gen. sing. and nom. plural).

स्वराज् means "one who shines with his own lustre" and in some places "one who rules of his own accord." (Cf. Latin Regere). It is an epithet of Indra. In one place, the poet sings—"One (Varuna) is called सम्राज and the other (Indra) स्वराज" (7. 82. 2). It would be tedious to trace each use of the word. Let us take only one instance :—

अस्य देव प्र रिरिचे महित्वं दिवस्पृथिव्याः—
पर्यन्तरिक्षात् ।
.....आ विश्वगूर्तः स्वरिरमत्रो ववक्षे रणाय ॥

"It is he whose greatness surpasses the heaven, the earth and the sky.....capable of (doing everything), having worthy antagonists, and going (everywhere), he leads (his soldiers) to battle."

The passage left out here is "स्वराट्+दमे," "Indra is स्वराट् in his abode," i. e., rules of his own accord there. In order preserve the dignity of the idea implied "स्वराट्," Sayana explains "दमे" as "दमयितव्य विषये" in that which is to be subjugated But the word दम meaning "abode" is peculiar to the Rig-Veda. (Cf. Latin Domus Moreover, in the Nighantu the word appears in this very form (दमे) among synonyms of "house."

We should note in the above instance that the idea of ruling is particularly prominent there. The mention in 7. 82. 2 of स्वराट् along with the epithet सम्राट् applied to Varuna, the moral governor of the world, strongly points to the idea of ruling implied in the word.

To sum up, in the Rig-Veda, in some places the idea of shining (2.8.5, 1.36.5 etc.) and in some that of ruling (5.66.5 1.61.9, etc.) appears to be prominent in the use of the word स्वराज्, and the idea of shining is always connected with that of ruling, for the root राज् primarily means "to shine."

This is, in brief, the earliest career of the word, which has after thousands of years become a bye-word with educated Indians. All honour to Dadabhai Naoroji who gave it a new lease of life, a new interpretation with a new message !

The word स्वायत्तशासन seems to be a companion to सराज ; the great commentator Sayana has in some places explained सराज् as सास्वत्तदीप्ति.

THE INDIAN INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION AND RAILWAY WORKSHOPS

By Rai Saheb Chandrika Prasada,
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After reading the Report of the Indian Industrial Commission 1916-18, one is forcibly struck with the fact that India is sadly behind other civilised countries in the industrial line and in times of war its position becomes not only helpless but extremely dangerous. It seriously needs a thorough overhauling of its edu

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cational system and requires a number of Technical schools, Engineering Colleges and Institutes of technology. The foundation for technical instruction and training should begin from the elementary schools, where elementary drawing should be taught as a compulsory subject and physics and chemistry and carpentry and smithy included as optional subjects. In every town of importance we should have a technical school where theory and practice of all trades and industries should be taught to those who are likely to take the industrial line as their life's career. Larger cities or centres should have higher technical schools and engineering colleges, while higher Institutes of Technology should be provided at selected centres.

The provision of new or independent technical schools, etc., may take time and require large sums of money. In the meantime I desire once more to draw the particular attention of the public to the provisions which already exist in the Railway workshops in India in a large measure for the practical as well as theoretical training of the youth for mechanical and electrical engineering which require but a comparatively small amount of money for first equipment and for recurring expenses and are admirably suited for the purpose.

At pages 138-55 of the *Modern Review* for August 1917, the present writer dealt with the subject of practical training of officers and subordinates for the Technical Departments of Indian State Railways and pointed out the great facilities available in the Locomotive and Carriage and Wagon workshops of Indian Railways for the training of the Indian youth for technical work generally for railways and other industries. In October 1917 the Provincial Conference of the United Provinces held at Sitapur passed the following resolution :—

"XVI (*a*) This conference requests that the Locomotive and Carraige and Wagon Workshops of Indian State Railways, whether worked by the State or through the agency of companies, Government Dock Yards and other State Factories be made available for the practical training in Mechanical and Electrical Engineering, that the existing Technical Schools and Drawing classes attached to the Railway workshops be thrown open to Indians wherever they are reserved for European or Anglo-Indian apprentices, and uniform rules, conditions, rates of pay, and educational qualifications applicable alike to apprentices of all races or creeds may be laid down; and improvements where necessary may be made in the teaching staff and appliances, so as to make it increasingly possible to turn out men of both the superior and subordinate grades to meet all normal requirements."

It is satisfactory to note that the main points urged in the above resolution have been brought out and supported by the Indian Industrial Commission, whose report has been just published. The Commissioners state that "by far the most important development of mechanical engineering in India is represented by the numerous Locomotive and Carriage-building shops which are an essential adjunct to the Railway system." The Commission mention over seventy such shops. A score of them are of large dimensions and are well equipped with a variety of machinery needed for almost all classes of mechanical work. (Page 25 of the *Report*). The Commissioners were much impressed by the great possibilities for training in mechanical engineering in these workshops "which are so distributed as to form convenient centres in almost every major province of India." (Page 116). Some of these workshops have been in existence for a period of over 50 years, and if they were properly utilised for the training of Indians in mechanical work as ordered by Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India in 1870, we should have had to-day a large number of Indians properly trained not only as Chargemen and Foremen, but also as mechanical engineers occupying positions in the superior grades of Superintendents and Assistant Superintendents. But what did the Commission find ?—They "*were forcibly struck when visiting the large railway and private workshops throughout India, with the* complete *absence of Indians from the ranks of Foremen and Chargemen.*" (Page 118. The italics are ours). "Very few Indians" have been allowed to rise "to the ranks of foremen and still fewer have been appointed to the superior establishment." (Page 26).

In the early days of Indian Railways the usual practice was to import from England not only the officers of the superior grades but also subordinate mechanics such as Foremen, Chargemen, engine-drivers, etc, About the year 1870 a requisition was sent by the Government of India for 30 artificers, upon which the Secretary of State drew attention to the great advantage of endeavouring, as far as possible, to train the natives of the

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country in all those branches of handicraft that are necessary for the maintenance of Railways." It was pointed out that "every large work of the magnitude of a railway or canal, and every shop in connection with such, forms a training school for artisans; and from these there is no doubt that some suited for the position of foremen could be obtained." To ensure this result it was expressly enjoined that

"It will probably be necessary to attach a school to each large shop which likely men should be encouraged to attend and those that give promise of rising to the responsible positions should be helped and their practical knowledge supplemented with theoretical training and some instruction in drawing."

In circulating the above order to the Local Governments and Administrations, the Government of India added—

"The success of the experiment will of course depend mainly on the tact and judgment and energy of men at the head of the shops; but His Excellency in Council sees no reason to doubt the successful issue of the experiment, if the object is put before the supervisors as one to which the Government of India attaches much importance and if the Local Governments interest themselves in securing their accomplishment."

The orders were issued over 48 years ago, and the results so far are shown above in the words of the Industrial Commission. The orders of 1870 were expressly meant for the training of *Indians* in technical schools and drawing classes attached to the workshops, but they have been applied to *Europeans and Anglo-Indians only*. Asiatic-Indians have been almost entirely ignored. The schools and drawing classes are no doubt attached to each of the large workshops of the principal Indian Railways, but they are either reserved for non-Indians or Indians are allowed only a secondary place and this has been but recently allowed. The restrictions against Indians are still in force and in Appendix N. to the Commission's *Report*, to which a reference will be made hereafter, it is still proposed to keep Indians down in number.

Some of the European Officers in charge of the Railway workshops are under the impression that Indians do not like mechanical work, that they prefer clerical work, or are incapable of doing the former. These complaints are devoid of truth. The Commissioners have expressly discarded them. In fact Indians have not been allowed an opportunity of showing their worth or exercising their choi[illegible] They have, on the contrary, been d[illegible] couraged by these very critics. Whenev[illegible] an educated Indian makes an attempt [illegible] take up mechanical work, he is descourag[illegible] ed by such low stipends and low prospe[illegible] as no one would care to accept. Th[illegible] have thus been driven to clerical wo[illegible] which gives them at least a better sta[illegible] They get 20 or 25 rupees a month [illegible] begin with in the clerical line, wh[illegible] Rupees 6 or 7 a month only is offered f[illegible] the mechanical work. The Commission[illegible] have but mildly put the case when th[illegible] state that

"it is doubtful if sufficient inducement in the way [illegible] pay are yet held out to men to become a really [illegible] class artisan." (Page 117).

At another place they observe that—

"the stipends and prospects offered are not of [illegible] nature to induce the better educated classes to sp[illegible] a number of years as workmen." (Page 118).

Will Government see that sufficie[illegible] encouragement is given to Indians a[illegible] proper facilities are provided for th[illegible] training? This is only possible when ra[illegible] or religious distinctions are complete[illegible] removed.

The observations and recommendatio[illegible] of the Industries Commission are summe[illegible] up in para 152 of their *Report* which [illegible] reproduced below:

"Railway workshops are, as we have stated, [illegible] many cases already receiving European and Ang[illegible] Indian apprentices, to whom some degree of techni[illegible] training is given with the object of enabling them [illegible] obtain posts as foremen, or, in special cases, e[illegible] higher appointments. There is, however, a m[illegible] worthy absence of provision for the middle-cl[illegible] Indian. We consider it of great importance that [illegible] conditions of training should be such as the educa[illegible] Indian youth will consider consistent with his se[illegible] of self-respect; for if this is not satisfied, we shall [illegible] depriving ourselves of a most promising field of [illegible] cruitment. The arrangement made for Indian [illegible] prentices are at present inadequate; and the stipe[illegible] paid them during the period of training and [illegible] salaries offered on its completion are very m[illegible] lower than the corresponding amounts in the case [illegible] Europeans and Anglo-Indians, a fact which is large[illegible] responsible for the failure of the better educa[illegible] Indians to take advantage of these courses. [illegible] regards salaries, we consider that the principle m[illegible] be adhered to that equal proficiency should be equa[illegible] remunerated. The inequality of stipends is to s[illegible] extent justified by the difference in the standard [illegible] living between Europeans and Anglo-Indians on [illegible] one hand and some classes of Indians on the oth[illegible] though the stipends at present offered to Indi[illegible] assume too low a cost of living to meet the case [illegible] the educated middle classes. We think the diffic[illegible] might be got over by allowing free board and lo[illegible] ing to all Europeans and Anglo-Indians, and to s[illegible] Indians as prefer it. To other Indians, a stipend [illegible] cover board expenses based on the standard of liv[illegible]

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of the middle classes should be given. Apprentices of all kinds should receive a monthly sum over and above the expenses of their board and lodging, depending on the length of time they have worked and on their efficiency in the shops. We consider that every effort should be made to develop the training facilities existing in these shops, grants being given from Government funds for the establishment of technical classes, together with hostel accommodation and such other amenities as are necessary to attract educated Indian youths of the middle class. The precise allotment between Government and the Railways of the extra expenditure entailed will require further consideration. With the technical school alongside the workshop, it becomes possible to provide an almost ideal course of training. Almost equal possibilities for training can be made available in a few of the larger private workshops, and we do not doubt that the managements of these would welcome the provision of similar arrangements for the technical training of their employees. In discussing the question of training industrial artisans, we have suggested the adoption of an appreticeship system, and we think that a precisely similar system should apply to the more advanced class of students with which we are now dealing. The regulations for the admission of apprentices and for the working of the system generally should secure the admission of a proper proportion of Indians and the fair and equal treatment of all classes in their course of training, while upholding the authority of the workshops management to the fullest extent. The Indentures should be for a period of four or five years, and, as we have said already, the apprentices should be paid wages. Apprentices of this class should start work usually between 16 and 18 years of age. If they enter the workshops at too early an age, their physique will be insufficiently developed to stand the stress and their previous opportunities for obtaining the necessary education will be unduly restricted.

"An example of a scheme of this type, worked out by officers of the East Indian Railway Company, will be found as Appendix N."

Most of these recommendations are satisfactory. The only point to which exception may be taken is about the line drawn between European or Anglo-Indian and Indian apprentices on the so-called standard of living. The difference is mainly in the way or manner of living and should not be emphasized. The only fair and equitable arrangement would be to treat apprentices of all creeds alike and to give them equal terms, equal facilities, and equal training.

According to his custom of living, a European or Anglo-Indian apprentice can live comfortably in a boarding-house or hostel which an Indian sometimes cannot do. The proposal of the commissioners allows fully what is needed or is at present allowed to Europeans and Anglo-Indians but it does not concede what is necessary for the Indians. Their proposal to allow Indian apprentices "a stipend to cover board expenses based on the standard of living of the middle classes" would leave the matter still in an unsatisfactory state, for an Anglo-Indian Superintendent of Railway workshops may think that an Indian can live without any money. To place the matter on a satisfactory basis, equal rates of stipend and board allowance should be allowed without distinction of race, creed or colour. If the matter be left to the discretion of Superintendents of workshops, who at present are Europeans or Anglo-Indians only, they will continue to "assume too low a cost of living to meet the case of the educated middle class" as has been the case so far.

Appendix N. to the Report of the Industrial Commission embodies the scheme of a proposed Technical school in connection with the E. I. Railway workshops at Jamalpur. It shows that at present European and Anglo-Indian apprentices are engaged on a five years' indenture, and Indian apprentices of two classes are also appointed, with stipends as under:—

Europeans and Anglo-Indians	Rs. 30 rising to 50 in 5 years.		
Indians			
1st class	Rs. 10	,, to 15	,,
2nd class	Rs. 4	,, to 9 in 6 years.	

The proposed scheme provides for the training of 195 European and 56 Indian apprentices. Considering the large number of the Indian population, the numbers of apprentices proposed are very disproportionate. The stipends for both races are proposed at Rs. 15 per mouth, but boarding allowance is proposed at Rs. 34 per month for Europeans and at Rs. 15 for Indians.

The rates should be equal for both. "For Indian apprentices a separate hostel would be provided but in other respects the boys would all work together and no distinction would be made between Europeans and Indians." This is as it should be.

In connection with railway workshops or large engineering establishments, the Commissioners propose the establishment of ten schools each capable of dealing with about 200 apprentices. These schools would be located alongside suitable existing workshops, which would result in the following distribution :—one each in

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Madras, the United Provinces, the Punjab, Bihar and Orissa, Burma and Assam, and two each in Bengal and Bombay (Para 372, Page 268). So far as these provinces are concerned, the proposal is in the right direction, but the requirements of other important provinces have been left out. Take, for instance, Ajmer-Merwara and Rajputana, Central Provinces, etc. At Ajmer we have two very large railway workshops equipped with extensive machinery, where Locomotive Engines and rolling-stocks are entirely constructed out of raw material only. These workshops should certainly be utilized as a technical school established at Ajmer, would serve not only this industrial town but would also be extremely useful to the subjects of the surrounding Native States like Jaipur, Jodhpur, Bikaner, Udaipur, Indore, Gwalior, etc. These Native States will, it is hoped, gladly join a scheme for the establishment of a technical school or an Institution for higher technology at Ajmer.

The Commissioners note that in the Engineering Colleges at Roorkee, Madras, Sibpur and Poona

"Increasing attention has in recent years been paid to the provision of instruction in mechanical and electrical engineering, but the measures adopted are inadequate and are conceived on altogether narrow lines to meet the needs, present and prospective, of a rapidly expanding industrial system. Indian Civil Engineers have done well in the Public Works Department and have established their claims to promotion to the highest ranks of the service; but in mechanical engineering, which, outside the railway workshops, is mainly carried on by private enterprise, we find that in the absence of a proper system of training they have seldom attended to positions of importance or responsibility. In practically all the Engineering workshops which we have visited we found the same state of affairs existing with regard to the superior staff as we had seen in the case of Foremen. The former whether assistants or managers were men who had been trained as mechanical engineers in Great Britain" (page 154).

This state of affairs cannot be satisfactory and the Commissioners state that—

"The experience of the war itself has been responsible for a new attitude on the part both of Government and of leading industrialists. They realise that it is necessary to create in India the manufactures that are indispensable for industrial self-sufficiency and for national defence, and that it is no longer possible to rely on free importation of essential articles in time of war. * * * *"

"Finally the attention of the educated public and in particular of the large industrial employers has been drawn to the inconveniences and dangers that arise from the entire dependence of India on imported personnel for the supervision of Engineering industries." (Page 122).

The Commissioners recommend the adoption of the fundamental principles drawn up by the Council of the Institution of Civil Engineers for the United Kingdom. They are noted below :—

"(1) That the average boy should leave school when he is about 17 years of age; that much depends upon the development of individual boys, but the minimum age should be 16 and the maximum 18 years.

(2) That the practical training should be divided into two parts and that the preliminary stage of practical training should consist in all cases of at least a year spent in mechanical engineering workshops.

(3) That during workshop training, boys should keep regular working hours and should be treated as ordinary apprentices, be subject to discipline and be paid wages.

(4) That nothing should be done in the form of evening study which would impose unnecessary strain upon the boys.

(5) That as a rule, it is preferable to proceed to a technical college on the completion of the introductory workshop course; but that, in the case of boys intended to become mechanical engineers, it may be advantageous to complete the practical training before entering the college; but in such cases it becomes important that simultaneous education during practical training should be secured. Otherwise, the boys would lose seriously during four or five years' suspension of systematic study, and would be at a disadvantage on entering the college.

(6) That for the average student, the period of college study should be at least three years.

(7) That at least three to four years should be spent in practical training, inclusive of the introductory workshop course previously mentioned."

They note that the age of students when they join an Engineering College in India is from two to three years higher than that recommended. Indian boys are at a disadvantage inasmuch as they have to spend several years in acquiring a knowledge of the English language. To become an efficient mechanical engineer one should possess sound brains and a sound body. Indians should acquire sufficient knowledge of English to understand technical books at the age of 16 or 17 years. The matriculation standard with special coaching in mechanical terms and expressions should do.

In order to compete with boys of other nations, Indians should have the instruction in their mother tongue. This emphasizes the need for national education in the vernacular and the production of necessary text books in the vernaculars of India, for that is the only way by which Indians can keep pace with the boys of other countries. Until this is done, they must bear the extra strain caused by the

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study of the English language, which alone gives them access to the higher technical knowledge at present.

The Commissioners record that there is a very decided consensus of opinion among practical men that—

"The ideal method of training Mechanical Engineers is to combine workshop practice and technical instruction as closely as possible. To attain this end in India, the workshop has been imported into the college, but the results have not been altogether satisfactory. The atmosphere of the workshop cannot be obtained in the school, and the importance of this is so great that we are convinced that mechanical engineers must be trained in the workshops, receiving supplementary class instruction in technical schools alongside, which should of course be of a more advanced nature than that which would be provided for foremen." (Para 158, page 124).

We need such a school at every town or city where large workshops are established. These are at the following centres already :—

BENGAL

1. Lilloah (Calcutta) } E. I. Railway.
2. Jamalpur ... ... }
3. Kanchrapara ... E. B. Ry.

BOMBAY

4. Parel ... B. B. & C. I. & G. I. P. Rys.
5. Hubli ... M. & S. M. Ry.

MADRAS

6. Perambur ... ... M. & S. M. Ry.
7. Negapatam ... ... S. I. Railway

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH

8. Lucknow ... .. O. & R. Ry.
9. Gorakhpur ... ... B. & N. W. Ry.
10. Izatnagar ... ... R. & K. Ry.
11. Jhansi ... ... G. I. P. Ry.

PANJAB

12. Lahore ... ... M. W. Railway

RAJPUTANA AND AJMER

13. Ajmer ... ... B. B, & C. I. Ry.
14. Jodhpur ... ... J. B. Ry.

CENTRAL PROVINCES

15. Kharagpur ... ... B. N. Ry.
16. Secunderabad ... N. G. S. Ry.

KATHIAWAR

17. Bhavnagar B. G. Ry.

ASSAM

18. Pahartali ... ... A. B. Ry.

BURMA

19. Insein ... ... Burma Railways.

Similar workshops are at many other places, some of which may suit the purpose of training apprentices.

The recommendations of the Industrial Commission are summarised as follows at pages 276-77 of their *Report* :—

"(34) Training for manipulative industries which include mechanical engineering should be given in the works themselves to which theoretical classes should be attached."

"(36) The training for mechanical engineering as an example of a manipulative industry is discussed above in detail."

"(37) At the large engineering shops practical training should be given to artisan apprentices on an organised system, with teaching in shop hours, and the apprentices should be paid wages, a part of which they might receive in the form of deferred pay on leaving."

"(38) In the case of foremen a system of apprenticeship on conditions that shall attract middle-class Indian youths is suggested with teaching in shop hours of a more advanced type than in the case of artisan apprentices; and providing for boys who would start at somewhat higher age."

"(39) In the case of mechanical engineers also, the large engineering shops should be used as the practical training ground; but a greater proportion of the time should be devoted to the theoretical teaching of a higher kind than is necessary for foremen. Those students who desire it may, after completing their shop training, take courses in special subjects at an Engineering College."

"(43) It is recommended that the engineering classes in the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute, Bombay, should be adapted to meet the requirements of the apprentices in the railway and other workshops in Bombay and that the courses in the technology should be supplemented by two years' practical work before the full diploma can be gained."

In this connection I would draw attention also to the recommendations of the Public Services Commission of 1912 as contained in para 32, pages 22-23 and in paras 5 and 9, pages 338-40 of their Report, Volume I. The Commissioners in that Report also recorded their opinion in emphatic terms that the conditions which necessitated the importing of officers for the superior grades of the Loco and Carriage and Wagon Departments of Indian State Railways from England "should not be allowed indefinitely to continue" and that a determined and immediate effort should be made to provide better educational opportunities in India, so that it may become increasingly possible to recruit in that country (India) the staff needed to meet all normal requirements."

The central workshops of the large railways in India have already technical schools and drawing classes attached to them. All that seems necessary is

i. To throw them open to Indians as most of them are at present reserved for European or Anglo-Indian apprentices.

ii. To widen and enlarge the courses of instruction so as to provide for the

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superior grades as well as for the subordinate apprentices of the technical branches of railway services and industrial requirements generally.

It is recognised that the cost of training apprentices other than those required for railway work should not be borne by railways. The Industrial Commission have noted that "the precise allotment between Government and the Railways of the extra expenditure entailed will require further consideration." (Page 120).

It is hoped that the Government of India will be pleased, as announced by H. E. the Viceroy at the last Convocation of the Calcutta University, to pass only orders adopting the recommendations of the Industrial Commission, with the few modifications suggested herein, namely that the stipends and board allowances of apprentices should be fixed on a uniform scale without regard to creed, caste or colour and that Indians may be admitted to the Railway Technical schools in due proportions. This will no doubt attract a large number of educated Indians who are at present driven to clerical work or joining the legal or other professions which are over-crowded. I particularly draw the attention of educated Indians to this matter of vital importance to the country. It is hoped the authorities of Ajmer-Merwara and the ruling Princes of Rajputana will see that a suitable Institution of Technology is established at Ajmer in connection with the State Railway workshops there.

Jonesganj, Ajmer.

THE OFFERING

Where is the earth,
Rich with its ancient rest,
And full of light of sun
And glamour of tingling stars,
Grave of winter—cradle of laughing life,
Transfused with the blood of heroes dying true,
And washed with the winds of the world,—
O, where is the Earth
These hands shall knead to a treasured form,

These fingers mould to an offering
For the Beloved,
For Her who watcheth over us unseen,
And sendeth love and rapture,
And findeth our faltering footsteps in the dark.

E. E. SPEIGHT.

HON. MR. PATEL'S BILL--A DEFENCE FROM BIOLOGICAL STANDPOINT

MR. Patel's bill is being denounced by some critics on the ground that from the biological standpoint free intermarriage between the different castes of the Hindus will be productive of no good to the society, and in support of this passage is being quoted from G. Archdall Reid to show that the Brahmins, if allowed to freely intermarry with the Namasudras, will very soon lose their special characteristics just as "the speed of race horses can not be maintained without continued stringent selection."

Analogy is not always a safe guide in biology. Biologically speaking, Brahmins cannot claim to have any special characteristics which are totally wanting in Namasudras. They belong to the same race (even the meaning of the word 'race' has undergone a radical change after the researches of such distinguished scientists as De Vries, Bateson, &c). The difference

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which we now see between them as classes is wholly due to economic, social and political causes. Given the same opportunity and environment, the Namasudras will not be found lacking in those special characters, which the critics claim as the exclusive possessions of their own caste. On this point, the attention of the critics is drawn to an interesting article by Prof. Cattell, which appeared in Popular Science Monthly, May 1915. Moreover one thing must always be borne in mind, viz., the triumph of the Biometricians was a short-lived one. Now-a-days there is a general consensus of opinion among the biologists that genetic problems cannot be studied *en masse*. We must take individuals of known ancestry and study their offsprings. Thus, it will not prove anything if you can point out the bad results of cross-breeding between such and such races or castes. These bad effects can be explained in another way. There is a very real tendency in human beings to prefer members of their own race. The fact called 'the race prejudice' is the expression of this preference. Indeed, Prof. Karl Pearson's statistical studies have led him to the conclusion that this tendency goes much further, so that the tall people tend to marry tall and the brown-eyed to marry the brown-eyed. This general tendency for like to marry like is termed 'homogamy' by Karl Pearson. So long as this race or caste prejudice exists, sober-minded persons on the average will not think of marrying outside their own castes for fear of social persecution. Thus, only among persons having morbid and undesirable forms of sex-impulse, the greatest percentage of mixed marriages will take place with the result that a number of offsprings of such persons will inherit feeble-mindedness, which is a Mendelian recessive. If, on the other hand, the different castes of India cease to be votaries of this 'idol of race', social and religious persecution will cease and a large number of normal and superior individuals will marry outside their castes and there will be, in these cases, no reversion to lower forms.

The present caste system which favours a very close interbreeding is not a very healthy biological process. The attention of the critics is drawn to Prof. W. E. Castle's book 'Genetics & Eugenics' "when society becomes stratified, and class distinctions arise with castes or families closely intermarrying, heredity is likely to bring Mendelian recessive defects repeatedly to the surface. Democracy is a safe remedy against such evils" (P. 275). Further, it is a biological fact, that inbreeding *unattended by selection* (as obtains in Hindu caste-bound marriage) decreases physical and mental vigour. The reasons are two-fold, viz., (1) inbreeding tends to the production of homozygous state which in many cases can be proved to be feebler than heterozygous state; (2) inbreeding brings to the surface the hidden or latent recessive defects such as albinism and feeblemindedness in man.

It is being pointed out by certain critics that 'large numbers of aborigines are finding their way within the pale of Hinduism,' asking, 'Can any good come of any intermarriages between them and the high caste Hindus?' It is evident from the above quotation, that the writer claims for his caste 'purity of race' which any athropologist will not do. Moreover, if you ask the latter to name one such pure race, he will reply that he cannot name one but that the nearest to such a standard are the lowest races he knows. To another question whether the mixture of the 'pure-bred' Hindus with the aborigines will be productive of any good, it can safely be admitted that it will cause at least no harm so far as cultural inheritance is concerned, provided such crosses do not disturb the agencies of social inheritance. As regards the physical vigour, such cross-breeding will be of much good to the population by 'bringing together differentiated gametes, which, reacting on each other, will produce greater metabolic activity. (Vide Castle's Genetic's and Eugenics, P. 224).

I shall now quote three examples to prove that instances of human cross are not necessarily attended with untoward results. (1) The population of Pitcairn and Norfolk Islands originated more than a century ago by a cross between Englishmen and women of Tahiti. The experiment has gone far beyond the F. generation and would afford unique material for a study of effects of racial crosses uncomplicated by race-antipathies. So far as present information goes the results have been excellent both biologically and sociologically. (Vide Castle P. 236).

(2) Another successful experiment in human racial crossing has been recently

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studied and described by a German, who chronicles the origin of a tribe in German S. W. Africa of mixed Boer and Hottentot blood. Very likely the group as such will presently disappear but the experiment has progressed far enough to show that under conditions which do not interfere with cultural inheritance, crossing of racial stocks as widely separated as Europeans and Africans, has no evil consequence but produces a vigorous and sound race. (Vide Castle, P. 237).

(3) That the mixture of races is not necessarily disastrous is proved by the achievements of Anglo-Saxon race which is leading mankind in many particulars. No one can walk along the street, even in a provincial English town and fail to observe the extraordinary variety of human types and of human combination that confronts him everywhere. The Anglo-Saxon race is really an assemblage of Individuals produced by the most extraordinary degree of 'mongrelisation' or intermixture ; and perhaps the day may come when it will be possible to trace many facts of the national character and history of the Anglo-Saxon race to the great diversity of types which it comprises..... And if we look at the dominant peoples of the world we find no evide in favour of the view that inter-breedi involves degeneration of any kind. T reverse seems to be the fact. It is i lation that involves the degeneracy o community. The lowest types we kno such as native Australian, the Tasma an, the Patagonian and many others, a races of men marked by considerable p sical uniformity who have been isola for a long period and who have certai not ascended in type by reason of th purity of race. (Vide P. 4254—Har worth Popular Science Series).

I think I have been able to prove th some of the critics of Mr. Patel's Bill ha started with wrong assumptions a arrived at wrong conclusions. In th connection, I have one word to say t Mr. Patel. It is high time that h should withdraw his Bill. By this st he will at least save us from much no sense that is being written or spok against the bill which is coming as a ve painful reminder to many a true lov of India that our love of freedom in all the departments of national life is i the inverse ratio of the fire-eating res lutions at congresses and conferences.

S. M. CHOUDHURY

THE NEW PARLIAMENT AND INDIA

BY ST. NIHAL SINGH.

BY a strange irony of fate, the Parliament that, in all likelihood, will be called upon to settle India's immediate future has been elected on cries like "Kill the Kaiser." "Make the Hun Pay," and "No Huns Under This (the British) Flag." Problems pertaining to a just peace and to national and Imperial reconstruction that one had every right to expect would figure prominently in the election were swept aside by slogans born of the passions engendered by the conflict that raged for almost four and a half years.

In view of the time selected for the election, nothing else than what actually happened could have been expected. Had the appeal to the country been made six months earlier or six months later, the electors would have been in different frame of mind, and the results might have been correspondingly different. No one knows that better, I am sure, than the Prime Minister, who is a shrewd judge of the moods and tenses of his people. The large majority with which he has returned to Parliament is due to the fact that he gauged, with precision, the sentiments of the nation and conducted his campaign along lines thoroughly in accord with British wishes. He is in power because the British felt that he has won the war, while Mr. Asquith has been heavily defeated, because

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the people believe that had he remained at the helm of the nation the war may have been lost.

Perhaps never before were Britain's thoughts occupied with matters other than Indian than the time of the election. Any one who had been foolish enough to hope that, on account of the magnificent part that India had played in helping to ensure victory the immediate future of India in the British Commonwealth of nations would constitute one of the live political issues of the campaign, was, therefore, doomed to disappointment.

True, Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Bonar Law did not altogether forget India in their joint election manifesto. But the paragraph that they inserted was much too brief and colourless to rouse anybody's enthusiasm. It read:

"The people of this country are not unmindful of the conspicuous services rendered by the Princes and peoples of India to the common cause of civilisation during the war. The Cabinet has already defined in unmistakable language the goal of British policy in India to be the development of responsible government by gradual stages. To the general terms of that declaration we adhere and propose to give effect."

No wonder that even the Coalition candidates who had the combined support of Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Bonar Law in their constituencies paid little heed to that pledge.

Several of my friends, some of them British, in no way connected with any special Indian movement, did their best to raise the question in the course of addresses by candidates. But they received, as a rule, disheartening replies. The answer given in a metropolitan constituency by a Coalition candidate was, for instance: "India is far too big, far too complex, and too far away to warrant my taking up the time of the audience with the discussion of Indian problems."

Had a vigorous campaign in behalf of Indian Dominionhood been carried on during the election, some enthusiasm for India might have been roused. Unfortunately none of the societies interested in the Indian cause ran candidates, though Britons interested in the Home Rule for India League and the British Committee of the Indian National Congress, contested seats on their own account. So far as I know, only one Indian, Dr. Tarachand of Nottingham, stood for election. Though heavily defeated he was able to do good service to the Motherland by giving our cause publicity that could not be secured in any other way. While the British Committee of the Congress contented itself with issuing a small number of handbills bearing a question to be put to Parliamentary candidates to ascertain their opinion regarding the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, the Home Rule for India League, which, unlike the Congress Committee, has, from the beginning, been supported by British friends of India, the Home Rule of India League broadcasted a million copies of four leaflets calling prominent attention to India's war services, and to the failure of bureaucratic rule in India, and asking the British to apply to India their own doctrine of freedom, which they were applying to Bohemians, Sabians, Poles, Jago-Slavs and Czecho-Slavs. If indian propaganda is to be effective in Britain, it must be conducted on a large scale.

India was lucky inasmuch as a few British candidates gifted with imagination to understand the Indian psychology and sympathy to appreciate Indian culture and ideals took the trouble to direct the attention of their constituents to the Indian cause. For instance, Captain Sindey Ransom, who spent several years in India mostly at the Theosophical Headquarters and whose wife, like him, is keenly interested in Indian progress, declared, in his address to the electors of the Sutton Division of Plymouths:

"In the case of India, I am eager to see there a progressive realization of self-governing institutions."

The programme of Liberalism printed at the back of his own address included a sentence reading:

"Liberals insist that Home Rule must be given to Ireland and that Self-Government must be extended in India."

Similarly, Mr. George Lansbury, the great Labour leader, who is identified with so many progressive movements, among them Home Rule for India, stated in his address to the electors in the Bow and Bromley Division of London:

"I think a start must be made with self-government for India. In that country there are 310 millions of human beings governed by British officials. They are

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asking why India, whose sons have fought to enable the Nations of Europe to secure self-determination, should be denied the same rights for themselves."

In another place he declared :

"All political prisoners, both at home and in India and the Colonies, must be set free, no matter what may be the offence for which they are suffering imprisonment. We must restore Freedom of the Press, Freedom of Speech, and Freedom of Public Meetings."

Mr. John Scurr, Mr. Lansbury's able colleague, who stood for Buckingham, holds the same views in regard to India, and advocated them. Major David Graham Pole, who contested East Grinstead, who has visited India many times, who has the Scottish gifts of imagination and sympathy to comprehend and appreciate our difficulties, our ideals, and our aspirations, and who uses all his influence to further our cause, did not forget us during the election.

But fortune proved fickle, and all these candidates were defeated. Dr. G. B. Clark, of the British Congress Committe and Professor Sidney Webb, who has considerable sympathy with our cause, also were rejected by the electorates.

The defeat of all the women candidates with the exception of the Countess Mariewicz, who, on account of her Sinn Fein tendencies, is not likely to sit in Parliament, kept many women out of Parliament who would no doubt have helped the Indian cause. Mrs. Despard, who lost by a rather narrow margin in Battersea (North, London), is, I know, very sympathetic. Mrs. Will Anderson, (Miss Mary Macarthur), is also a progressive woman. The Woman's party, which put forward Miss Chrystabel Pankhurst, declared in their programme :

"Any proposed change in the system of governing India to be submitted to the Imperial Parliament after it has been clearly explained to the British people in what way the system is to be reconciled with racial differences, the caste system, the peculiar position of Indian women, and Indian conditions and traditions."

Sir Herbert Roberts, Bart., who for years has been co-operated with the British Committee of the Congress and is at the head of the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association, had, for some reason or other, to withdraw his candidature. Nearly all the members of the last House of Commons who took an interest in Indian affairs failed to be returned. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, Mr. Phillip Snowden, Mr. Charles Roberts, Mr. Geoffrey Howard, Mr. H. E. Cotton, Mr. Lees-Smith, Mr. O'Grady were not be found in the new House. Mr. Kier Hardie who, in the last Parliament raised his voice again and again against official despotism in India and in defence of liberty of person, press, and platform in India, is, alas ! no more.

So far as I can see, only two of our old friends have been returned—Colonel (formerly Commander) Josiah C. Wedgwood who, in his able and fearless minority minute in the Mesopotamia report, did more to shatter the boasts of the British bureaucracy in India than any other single individual, and Mr. A. MacCallum Scott who, I am told, has not attended any of the few meetings that the British Committee of the Congress has held during recent years.

Sir J. D. Rees, who has been returned as a Coalition-Unionist, would have us believe that he has abandoned his old ways of obstructing Indian reform, and if we were merely to judge him from superficial evidence we would gratefully admit his claim. But if I were Mr. Montagu I would pray to be delivered from such a supporter, for he very clearly brings out the fact that the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms do not go very far in conceding to Indians any effective control over their own affairs ; and that they confirm and consolidate "the British bureaucracy in India." Speaking in the last House of Commons he said, for instance :

".....The greatest objection raised in this country (Britain)—and I have read most of what has been said about these proposals, and have studied them with great care—is that they give away a good deal of the power of our Government in India. I find exactly the contrary at every stage. In the changes which have been made in the provincial council amount power is safeguarded to the Governor to carry through any legislation that he wishes. In the Viceroy's legislative equipment complete power is given to carry out what he and his colleagues think necessary for the good of the country. So far from the Report having the opposite tendency, I think it *confirms and consolidates our position.* I find towards the end the Report says that so far ahead as the authors can foresee a substantial English element will be necessary in the administration, and that continued presence of English Civil Servants is vital to making India a self-governing entity. The authors

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of the Report, in their almost last words, write that the presence of the British Civil Servants will be as necessary as ever for the public service in India. *As an old Civil Servant*, and as one who has been actively concerned with the affairs of India all my life, as actively since I left as when I was there, *I can deliberately say I think the assurances which have been given are of the most satisfactory kind ...*" (The italics are mine).

Among retired Anglo-Indians re-elected to the House is Colonel Yate, who continues to judge India by his generation-old experience in backward parts of our country. The Anglo-Indian ranks in the House have been strengthened by the election of Mr. T. J. Bennett, elected for Seven Oaks. He is one of the proprietors of the *Times of India*, and, I am told, the partisans of the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme are counting upon his support. Mr. W. Joynson-Hicks, who in the last House championed the cause of the Indo-British Association, has been re-elected.

The heavy defeat of the Asquithian Liberals, who will number only 26 in the new House, and who have lost all their leaders, including Mr. H. H. Asquith, Mr. McKenna, Mr. Runciman, Sir John Simon, Mr. Herbert Samuel, Mr. Charles Roberts, Mr. Geoffrey Howard, Mr. Masterman, Mr. J. M. Robertson, Mr. McKinnon Wood, Mr. H. J. Tennant, Sir C. Hobhouse, Mr. Gulland, and Mr. Walter Rea, will undoubtedly alter the Indian situation in Parliament, for our leaders of the Gokhale school relied upon their aid. Indians will also miss the Irish Nationalists, whose number has been reduced from 78 to 12.

It is true, on the other hand, that Labour has increased its strength in the House from 38 to 64 members. But we must not forget that it has lost nearly all its leaders, including Mr. Arthur Henderson, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, Mr. Philip Snowden, Mr. W. C. Anderson, and Mr. F. W. Jowett. None of the three leaders—Mr. W. Adamson, Mr. J. R. Clynes, and Mr. J. H. Thomas—who remain in Parliament, is, I am afraid, particularly well-informed on Indian affairs, or has the leisure, to undertake an intensive study of our problems.

The return of so many mining candidates is, I believe, a great gain to our cause. Unlike many classes of British labourers they have no selfish interest that comes in conflict with their desire to do the right thing by India. Three of my friends who lectured on Indian self-government in many mining centres in Britain assure me that the miners are heart and soul with us in our struggle for free institutions within the Empire.

Young India, I find, is counting upon Labour in much the same way that old India relied upon the Liberals. I hope that in its instinct young India will be more right than was old India, whose demand for free institutions was met by the response from Liberal leaders that they could not foresee a time when India would be given a "measure of self-government approaching that which has been granted in the Dominions."

The time for test will come when Labour in Parliament has to vote on the question of investing India with power to build up gigantic industries that will enable her to utilise her raw materials at home instead of shipping them abroad and depending upon the outside world (chiefly Britain) for manufactures. When that time comes, I hope that Labour will have risen superior to selfish motives sufficiently to act otherwise than it did last year when the question of cotton duties came up before the House of Commons. Anyone who takes the trouble to look up the division list of that debate will find that the Labour Members of Parliament voted almost solidly against India, among them being Philip Snowden, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, Mr. W. C. Anderson and Mr. Jowett. I may add that Sir Charles Swann, for something like a generation a member of the British Committee of the Congress and still, I believe, technically a member of it, and other Liberals believed by us to be our friends, voted the same way, because they belonged to the Manchester school of politico-economic thought, and some of them actually represented Lancashire constituencies.

I have discussed with many Labour leaders the question of Indian fiscal autonomy. Some say that industrialization is bad for India's soul and that it would be an infinite pity if her hand-industries were to disappear. Others say that it is unsound, from the world point of view for a nation that is expert at growing raw materials but inexpert in modern industrialism to attempt to manufacture for herself, when she can get all the manufactured goods that she needs from

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industrially advanced nations. All decry labour conditions in Indian factories.

Only one Labour leader have I met in all my years in Britain who recognized India's right to choose to be protectionist if she wished to adopt that course to foster her industries. He further conceded that so long as the policy of ruling India was dictated from this country and the pressure exerted for the improvement of factory conditions could be interpreted as a cunning device on the part of British capitalists to check the progress of Indian industrial expansion, such pressure could not but "put India's back up"—to use his expression. He admitted that not until the tremendous Indian energy that is now being poured into the Indian political movement to secure the most elementary rights was released by the grant of Home Rule, domestic reform would receive the attention that it deserves.

Instead of trusting to the generous instincts of Labour, we ought to make it our business to interest it in our ideals and aspirations. It ought to know what we have achieved in recent years in educational, social, and moral reform. It ought to be told what our progressive administrators have done in Indian States where the British could not elbow them out of reponsible positions. While we are sleeping, our political enemies are hard at work seeking to mislead Labour in regard to India.

In my opinion, it would be as great a mistake for us to confine our educational efforts to the Labour party as it was to repose our implicit trust in the Liberal party. It is being freely said that Mr. Asquith will not recover from the blow that has been dealt to him, by Mr. Lloyd George, who has carried with him the bulk of Liberals elected to the House of Commons, and that the Liberal party has no future unless it accepts Mr. Lloyd Geor as its leader. It is also being said that th Liberals with pronounced conservati tendencies will drift to the Unionist rank while those who are really radical w join Labour—the party with which th future lies. Only the other day I was to by an eminent Englishman that when M Lloyd George cannot get on with M Bonar Law, he will turn to Labou These are surmises which the future alon can prove or disprove.

In the meantime, the stern facts of th situation stare us in the face. Conserva tives enjoy a large majority in the Hous of Commons, perhaps the largest in histor and our political enemies are using a capitalist agencies to prejudice the against educated Indians. So far as ou past experience goes, the rank and file o Liberals have not been far ahead of th Unionists in their attitude towards Indian reform. Even the British minority Socialists are not, at present, prepared to go far in the matter of Indian reform: so grea a democrat and friend of India as Georg Lansbury speaks only of making "a start with "self-government for India." Al sections of Britons—Anglo-Indians not excepted—know little of India that is not rank prejudice.

If Indians wish the new Parliament to endow our Motherland with free institutions, then let them do all in their power to make Parliamentarians acquainted with Indian aspirations, capacity, and promise. Indians who wish to see the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme drastically altered must bestir themselves and put their case before the British nation, or they will find that the bureaucracy, supported by officialised Indians, will ignore their wishes and carry the measure, perhaps in a somewhat whittled-down form through Parliament.

NOTES

Philippine Independence.

In the *Japan Advertiser* for December 30, 1918, there is an article with the heading, "*Filipinos Trained in Good Citizenship*," and the subheading, "*Archipelago Ready Now, Thanks to Uncle Sam, to Acquire Full Independence.*" The Philippine Islands were ceded by Spain to the United States by the treaty of peace concluded between those two countries on April 11, 1899; and the Organic Act of the Islands

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passed by the Congress of the United States on August 29,1916, known as the Jones Law, has provided an autonomous form of government for the Islands. This one sentence may be said to sum up the good work done by the Americans for the Filipinos. *The Japan Advertiser* tells us :—

For nineteen fruitful years the work of strengthening and unifying the Filipinos, politically and industrially, has been going on under the tutelage of Uncle Sam, and now, says Mr. Manuel Quezon, president of the Senate of the Philippines, the time has come when the Filipinos feel free and justified in asking that the independence long promised them by the United States be granted.

Mr. Quezon, who has been at the Grand Hotel in Yokohama for the past few days and who sails at noon today on the S. S. Shinyo Maru, is on his way to Washington, where he expects to see and confer with President Wilson on his return from Europe, and to gain from the American Executive the assurance that in the readjustments of the world brought about at the Peace Conference, the independence of the Phlippines will not be forgotten.

Mr. Quezon is an experienced statesman.

Mr. Quezon is fortified with an experience of seven years as representative of the Islands in the United States Congress—1910 to 1917—and for nearly as long as member, and later as President of the Filipino Senate. Should the Philippines be made independent, it is more than likely that he will add to his honors that of becoming the first President of the Philippine Republic.

Mr. Quezon is naturally reticent about his trip and refuses to make any prediction as to its result, as his mission is really that of a herald, rather than an arbitrator or envoy. The Commission to follow him stands for the political and business interests of the Islands. It is comprised of members of the Cabinet, of the Senate, the House of Representatives, and important businessmen, and will leave the Islands about the end of January, to join Mr. Quezon, who will preside over it in America.

The Japanese paper gives us some idea of what the Filipino Commission will say in America.

In its discussions with the American Government, this Commission will point to the fact that in the nineteen years of American occupation, the education of the natives has gone on apace, so that a large proportion of its population of 15 millions has now been developed by education to the point of being able to organize and maintain a well-balanced self-government.

The Filipino of yesterday is no more, says Mr. Quezon, and the inheritors of old methods and apathetic ease are no more. They are awake, they are eagerly grasping the knowledge that America has given them, so eagerly that compulsory education has not been necessary. On the contrary parents and the children themselves make all sorts of sacrifices for an education.

ECONOMICALLY INDEPENDENT.

To day, the Philippines are economically better off than they ever have been. Acres of new industries are springing up and the finances of the Government have been developed on a firm and stable foundation. Furthermore, the Islands have practically had an autonomus government ever since the enactment of, what is called, the Jones Law, brought about partly through the efforts of Mr. Quezon when he was in Congress.

The only official representative of the United States in the Government is the Governor-General, the Cabinet, Senate and Congress being composed of Filipinos. The program adopted by Governor-General Harrison, who has just left the Philippines probably for good, was one of complete co-operation and understanding with the Speaker of the House Mr. Sergio Osmena who is considered to be the leader of the people in all their political affairs. This policy made Mr. Harrison the most popular official in the Islands among the Filipinos.

That the Filipinos are thinking of independence, appears also from an editorial article in the *Philippine Review* for December, 1918, entitled, "*The Matter of Philippine Independence.*" In the course of this article, the editor prints a letter received from Congressman Kraus, from Indiana, on the subject of Filipino independence, which runs in part as follows :—

I notice, under the portrait of President Wilson, that he is presented as the President during whose term of office and through whose sponsorship the Philippines may 'At Last Become A Free, Independent Nation.'

I know that National Sovereignty is a commendble aspiration of all peoples, and I have nothing in condemnation of this spirit of your people, but nevertheless I wonder at it as a matter of expediency and welfare of the Philippine Islands. With such powerful aspirations as the Japanese have who are your neighbors, and considering the insecureness of the Philippines should they become isolated, or established as an independent nation, I wonder at the latter's ultimate fate, and how you gentlemen with patriotism consider this aspect. I do not know, of course, but I assume that as an independent country the Philippines would have more of self-government under the United States than under any nation in the world ; and I cannot help but believe that if absolute independence were granted to the Philippine Islands it would only be a question of time when they would fall under the domination of some strong power of the world. If this should be true, why should not the Philippine Islands be contented in its present relations to the United States when upon our part there is a warm friendship and a disposition to grant the broadest liberality to the Islands in self-government.

I am interested in your subject in good faith and have presented my own superficial views, and would be extremely pleased to have you present the viewpoint as taken from the interests of the Islands.

It may be that in commercal circles there is a disposition to hold the Philippine Islands for their own business interests, but others, who are devoted to self-government, and to opportunity to a people, are disposed to be broad and liberal with the Philippine Islands, but I cannot understand why they should at such hazard to themselves, want to throw off the kindly protection of the United States.

I would sincerely appreciate a letter from you

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disclosing in detail the entire subject from the standpoint of those in the Philippine Islands who desire separation, as I understand your position to be.

In reply the editor says :—

In part our first two sub-articles answer this letter which we are happy to publish now with due apology. In addition we should say that our independence would not mean separation : *physically*, may be, as we are separated now, but *morally* and *spiritually the union will be closer and warmer and gratefully eternal.* We are not concerned by the unfair "disposition to hold the Philippines for their own business interests." For we hope to be able to control and readjust said interests in the near future *for the good of all.* As to Japan, for obvious reasons we are entertaining no further worry about her after the war. She is an Oriental country, an Allied country, and a sister country, besides, and we are confident she will go by the principles of justice to govern international relations hereafter, and that the happiness, uplift and prosperity of the whole Orient will be henceforth closer to her heart.

The old international policy must give its way to the Wilsonian one as demanded by the happiness and prosperity of Humankind.

We shall now give an idea of the "first two sub-articles" referred to by the editor. The whole of the first sub-article is quoted below.

Two recent arrivals from States are authorities for the statement that the question of our independence would depend upon our own choice, and that a congressional committee would visit the Islands to determine the true will of the people as to protectorate or absolute independence for the Philippines. The matter of our independence is one now beyond the realm of doubt, insofar as we Filipinos are concerned. It is unnecessary for us here to mention that, during the centuries we had been under the Spanish domination, the undaunted spirit of the people for freedom from foreign yoke was distinct and unmistakable. It is true that we were not then strong or armed enough to face the handful of our so-called conquerors that first invaded the country. But the death of Magellan, the death of our own heroes, and the revolutions then successively occuring in the Isands were the best evidence of that unfailing liberty spirit.

As to our political relationship with the United States, we doubt if it could in any way be improved upon. Although our progress could have been faster up to about 1913, no doubt we have wonderfully advanced since that year, particularly since the passage and under the Jones Act, whereby we were given very much greater, almost complete legislative and administrative responsibility. But as we had stated once and again, no matter how pleasant said relationship may be, no matter how wonderful our present progress may be, the longings of the people of the Islands can only find their full satisfaction in a complete political independence. It is our long-ago-made self-determination. For to live one's own life the worthy way one wishes to, and in accord with and within the limitations of law, order, peace and mutual respect, is the one supreme aspiration of a people or an individual, that cannot be curtailed or alienated. It is so self-evident, that whoever may feel otherwise should ask himself if he would find true satisfaction in a different way.

So with the Philippine Nation.

In the course of the second sub-art[illegible] the Filipino editor says :—

Then the Philippines, if given her independe[illegible] at an early date, will be instrumental in starti[illegible] if she has not already started it, her share in a [illegible] community life in the Orient, to be the begin[illegible] of the independence of other Oriental countries. [illegible] Java, for instance, with her 35,000,000 inhabita[illegible] now still in an almost enslaved condition, Holl[illegible] should no longer continue to shut the doors of [illegible] country to the light of true civilization as conve[illegible] through an efficient, up-to-date public educatio[illegible] system, under the pretext that "the Javanese [illegible] not like you, they are very loath to it". The Mo[illegible] and Mountain people are enjoying better—their [illegible] —chances. Indeed, it is hurtful for us to [illegible] 35,000,000 people held in dependency by such [illegible] small nation like Holland, through a few thousa[illegible] soldiers. Java should now be free from her pres[illegible] ignominious yoke, which should arouse the in[illegible] nation of the rest of the Orient. For we Orienta[illegible] have no separate fate. We are all one people, [illegible] one racial community, no matter what others m[illegible] say. And we are bound to that union which sho[illegible] make the Orient respected in every way by all [illegible] Oriental people. Has Holland any further justifi[illegible] tion any longer to continue in Java? We Orienta[illegible] can accomplish the task better. It is this gre[illegible] undertaking of the complete liberation of the Orie[illegible] that Japan should start, through the necessa[illegible] negotiations with Holland and other Europe[illegible] powers, particularly with the sympathetic, mor[illegible] and material support of America. European colo[illegible] zation of the Far East must come to an end throug[illegible] diplomatic channels. Wars or revolutions must n[illegible] longer be resorted to. Their purpose can TODAY [illegible] attained, perhaps more efficiently, through the forc[illegible] of reasoning and logic at a table conference. T[illegible] Orient, as much as Europe, is entitled to an ind[illegible] pendent life, free from any further dependency, [illegible] which it has has enough for centuries. The Orie[illegible] must have its chance. And it is time now for [illegible] We are glad to read in the papers that India [illegible] soon to get a more substantial form of self-gover[illegible] ment. It is gratifying for us to note that in th[illegible] the labors of America have not been altogeth[illegible] uninfluential. But that is not enough. 315,000,0[illegible] people, exceeding in bulk the size of Europe's pop[illegible] lation, are certainly entitled to it and MUCH MO[illegible] They must be fully qualified factors of present-d[illegible] civilization and usefulness to the World. Gre[illegible] Britain, we also notice with gratification, is dete[illegible] mined to bring about self-government in Ind[illegible] possibly independence later. But, as we have s[illegible] in one of our previous issues, she would profit m[illegible] greatly with a free India, thankful to her [illegible] bound to her by the bonds of gratitude, than w[illegible] an India held through the bonds of armed politic[illegible] dependency. So the other countries in the East.

The independence, therefore, of the Philippine[illegible] is a world-wide convenience, highly advisable fro[illegible] the standpoint of Oriental politics, as well as fro[illegible] the standpoint of European politics. During th[illegible] war, the acknowledgment of the rights of sm[illegible] countries, down-trodden by Germany, has alwa[illegible] been the moving ideal of the Allied Powers. [illegible] this is true, no European or other colonization h[illegible] any further reason to exist. And the issue im[illegible] diately to follow is the extension of that recogniti[illegible] to every people outside of Europe, West and Ea[illegible] in Africa, and elsewhere. Then East and We[illegible]

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could meet together and face each other as friends or brothers or allies, for the cause of universal good. This may not sound pleasing to all concerned. But no member of the Allied Powers could loyally antagonize this plea for the welfare of small nations which is the ultimate result of this war.

The Republican party in America has not been very favorable to the idea of Filipino independence. But, as the Filipino editor rightly points out, that party is an integral portion of the great American nation, whose guiding principles of justice and liberty are the same for all and every American.

Besides the Philippine case has already passed the party line, and both the parties and America herself are looking forward to that day when the great task they had so brilliantly initiated in the Islands shall be an inspiring success. The constitution of a republic in the Orient out of a dependent people now ready to join the leaders and toilers of Democracy as a nation, and the tremendous influence to be exercised by the Filipinos in the promotion of the welfare and civilization of the so-called *backward* peoples in the Far East—*backward* because they are still denied that opportunity they need so badly for themselves to acquire the instruments for a national life—should be a source of deeper gratification than party selfishness. *The future relation, therefore, between the United States and the Philippines, beyond doubt, will be forever most cordial.* We will always look on America as our protector, as our deliverer from our former dependency, and as our guide and inspiration. We will always need her, and we hope, however small, the Philippines will never cease to be of service to her, either as an Allied nation in the Orient, or as a trade center in the Far East. And we will be of greater service to her in an independent status and as a friend, than as a dependency.

Once more we will say: *Our future will be one in which our union will be still closer than today, warmer than ever in the furnace of gratitude and mutual love and sympathy. Not separation;*

Such will be the eventual result of our independence.

We will add a few observations of our own to what the Filipino editor has written. There are independent states in Europe which are smaller in area or population or both than the Philippine Archepelago, as will appear from the following table, which does not furnish an exhaustive list:—

Country	Area in sq. miles	Population.
Philippines	114,400	10,000,000
Denmark	15,582	2,940,979
Holland	12,582	6,583,227
Norway	124,642	2,391,780
Sweden	173,035	5,757,566
Switzerland	15,976	3,880,500
Portugal	34,490	5,957,985

Why do not these countries require "protection" at the hands of some great power or powers? It cannot be said that each and all of these European countries have sufficient military strength to preserve their independence unaided if some "great power" or powers were to attack any of them. The reason why it is thought that "coloured" peoples of non-European extraction (except the Japanese who possess mailed fists) require "guardians" or "protectors," is that they are considered fair game. When the strong "civilised" peoples of the world are able to rise above the barbarous predatory stage in their international sentiments and dealings, then non-European peoples, small or big, will be able to enjoy freedom without requiring "protectors." But so long as any people, big or small, show by their conduct that they are satisfied with their position of dependence, no altruism or liberal political principles of strong nations, can enable the former to taste the blessing of true independence. For, though they may not have foreign despots, they will have swadeshi tyrants. Moreover, it is in the long run a partially beneficent law of nature that the weak must go to the wall, because it provides an incentive for the weak to be strong. In order that freedom may reign all over the world, unorganised peoples must be organised and the psychology of all peoples must undergo such a change that, should they be unable to strongly survive they would prefer strongly to be extinct.

It is mere hypocrisy to say that any European nation ever conquered or occupied any country with the sole or chief motive of maintaining law and order there; selfish gain has always been the main motive. If western nations be impelled by altruistic considerations, why do they not send all their armies to Russia, for example, to establish law and order there?

Economic Aspect of Philippine Independence.

The Philippine Review has published a table of the revenues, expenditures, and surplus of the Philippine Islands, from 1907 to 1919. The figures, in pesos, for 1908 were in round numbers, 23 millions, 22 millions and 12 millions respectively; and those for 1919 (estimated) are 71 millions, 77 millions and 22 millions. This tells a story of remarkable expansion in revenue. The Filipino editor is justified in observing:

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It would be well to notice here that, up to 1916, our total Insular Treasury assets available for yearly appropriations remained stagnant at an average of about only 33,000,000 pesos, while since the inauguration of the Philippine Legislature (we mean to say both Houses of the Legislature) in occordance with the Jones Act, or in two years, we have doubled said assets, and the prospects of the following years look very much brighter indeed.

Autonomy has also enabled the Filipino people to attain to a condition of great financial prosperity, as will appear from the yearly balance of their National Bank —practically owned by the people through their Government—from its inauguration.

TOTAL ASSETS

May 23, 1916	... Pesos	11,800,000,00
July 15, 1916	... ,,	29,300,000,00
December, 1916	... ,,	50,700,000,00
June 30, 1917	... ,,	98,035,000,00
December 31, 1917	,,	138,276,000,00
March 31, 1918	... ,,	164,093,000,00
June 30, 1918	... ,,	210,942,000,00

These figures fully justify the following observations of the Filipino editor. :

We doubt if anywhere the world over any bank has made such a wonderful stride forward in hardly two years and six months of existence. Without, and before the grant of, our present legislative control, it would have been impossible, for obvious foreign business and political reasons, for us to think of owning a bank. In fact the establishment of the National Bank was bitterly opposed. We were absolutely dependent on local branches of foreign Banks established in the Philippines, not for the avowed purpose of helping to develop our resources, but to finance, and for the advancement of, their nationalities. No real help was given us, and we were forced to accommodate ourselves, the best we could, with our own means, which in no wise were enough fairly and properly to meet such an organized competition. The Filipino producers were thus practically helpless at the mercy of foreign buyer. It was simply impossible to think of co-operation, or of sugar centrals, of commercial and shipping companies, of oil companies, of intensive farming, etc. That was not our gift as it is now. However, with the establishment of our National Bank, these banking discriminations came to an end, the Bank at once becoming a most powerful factor to fianance Filipino enterprises, which only now are beginning properly to live. On the other hand, in a government of our own our independent economic life, our resources will be scientifically developed more in accord with our national needs—and it should be borne in mind that our natural resources are as yet almost 90 p.c. untouched and that it is only now that we are beginning to touch them, although in many cases, in a way rather mediaeval, as a result still of the recent past. Then we are confident we will be able to carry a five hundred million peso budget in the future, if necessary, and thereby have all the instruments of public happiness and prosperity—greater avenues of business, direct business relations with the rest of the world, ampler education and chances for the masses, modern extensive and intensive farming and development of our other natural resources, an adequate army and navy if needed, etc. The appropriation of Japan was only in the neighborhood of this amount a few years ago and, during the pre-war era, and worse still after, not many nations could or can very well afford to carry so large a budget.

Furthermore, if there is to be a league of nations efficient enough to put an end to wars and the ravages of the stronger upon the weaker, exemplarily to punish war-provokers as now justly intended to do with those of the recent war, and to make international community safer, and life in it much easier and less burdensome, and the world "a decent place to live in" for all alike, we are confident our independence will not be a failure from the economic standpoint.

"Independence Can Never Be Given From Outside."

Along with other messages of good will, *The Independent*, the new daily of Allahabad, prints the following from Sir Rabindranath Tagore :

Independence can never be given from outside. Slavishness has its roots in our fear and self-distrust in the treacherous meanness of our self-seeking ambitions, in our intellectual timidity which shuts its eyes to truth and seeks shelter in the dark holes of sophistry, and our moral cowardice which feels itself safe in the abject acceptance of all impositions from tyrannical power that resides in society or outside it. Those who are always ready ruthlessly to crush all signs of independence in thefr own community where they have authority to exercise their power, and are never ashamed loudly to denounce the helpless minority's claims for freedom of conscience, will never be able to retain the doles of independence given to them in their beggar's bowls, full of cracks, and any accession to power will give them freedom for tyranny, which is another aspect of slavery, like the prickly aspect of the cactus born in the desert soil.

Sir William Meyer In Philippines.

Sir William Meyer, the late finance minister of the Government of India, has been on a visit to the Philippine Islands for the purpose of studying political and economic conditions. We learn from a clipping of a statement of his printed in one of the Manila morning dailies that Sir William thinks that " there are two main parties in India, the extremists who are in favour of immediate home rule while the moderates are fairly well content with the rate at which self-government is being extended." What Sir William has said is false. The Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri is one of the very ablest of the moderate leaders. He showed in his presidential address at the Bombay Provincial Conference that our legislative councils, constituted in 1853, "worked for eight years before the first

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Indian found entry into them *by nomination.*"

"Thirty years passed before the next step was taken, *a period within which other peoples have found it possible to begin and consummate their political evolution.* This step consisted of a slight increase of non-official Indians, some of whom came in by a subsidiary process of election, not recognised in law. Seventeen more years passed before election became a reality and the provincial legislatures had a majority of non-officials, *which has proved a delusion and a snare.* What is the next step to be, and when will it be taken? Perhaps we should get an elected majority, in two years more, that is, ten years after the last reform. Of course this majority would be bare and utterly ineffective. To make it decisive, at least one decade would be necessary. Our mentors would then take us in successive decades through such fractions as two-thirds, three-fourths, four-fifths, till in another half a century we might have a wholly elective legislature in the advanced provinces. Of course a longer period would be required for the Indian Legislative Council and the councils of the backward provinces to reach this level."

Referring to our progress as regards the public services Mr. Sastri showed that

"Eighty four-years after statutory affirmation of our equality we are still looking forward to getting something between a fourth and a third of the chief administrative posts in our own country. And the whole history is marked by noble sentiments and promises, backsliding, bitter recrimination and paltry and graceless concession. Can a people who have endured this sort of thing be accused of seeking to introduce "catastrophic" or revolutionary changes or to effect a "sudden upheaval" and "startling transfer of political authority into ignorant and inexperienced hands"?

It was a noticeable fact, Sir William said, that the politicians who had made no personal sacrifices for the causes of the allies in the war, were eager to make capital of what their fellow-countrymen had done in the Indian armies which fought in Flanders, Mesopotamia, Palestine and East Africa, and to insist that greater measure of home rule should be extended as a just reward. The men who actually took part in the campaigns, however, are for the most part satisfied with the present state of affairs under British rule and exhibit confidence that Britain will proceed wisely in the gradual extension of self-government.

In Great Britain and Ireland some 8 million additional men and women have been given votes by the Reform Act of last year. Did they all "actually take part in the campaigns" or make other "*personal* sacrifices"? What "*personal* sacrifices" did the British politicians and capitalists make during the war, that they now seek to gain various advantages by the annexation of territory or other ways of exploitation? Moreover, it is not true that Indian politicians and others who did not in any way take part in the campaigns, made no personal sacrifices. Many contributed to war funds and war loans, some helped in recruiting soldiers, many co-operated by public speech and writing in creating and maintaining friendly feelings towards the Allies and thus keeping the country quiet, and all Indians, except a few rich men, have been up till now suffering from various kinds of economic distress caused by the war.

But the strongest and, in fact, the only vital argument in favour of self-rule is that it is every nation's and every people's birth-right. Whether we made any sacrifices or not, it is our right to have self-rule. And we mean to have it.

Sir William says that "the men who actually took part in the campaigns are for the most part satisfied with the present state of affairs under British rule," &c. Indeed! How did Sir William, or any other bureaucrat, ascertain the opinion of these soldiers? Was any plebescite taken? Have the fighters issued any manifesto? When it suits the bureaucrats to say so, they speak of our *dumb* millions knowing nothing of and caring nothing for our politics and therefore not sharing the views of our politicians. But when a different purpose has to be served, these same bureaucrats *imagine* that the *dumb* millions have become vocal and have given expression to opinions supporting the bureaucratic position! So far as our information goes, neither the civilian nor the military population of India are "satisfied with the present state of affairs under British rule."

Sir William Meyer has stated that "some British residents of India are of the opinion that Mr. Montagu's recommendations are too liberal, although they by no means satisfy the hopes of the extremist party of native politicians." As if "some British residents of India" did not in the past oppose as revolutionary every administrative or constitutional "reform," however delusive or unreal!

We have got one admission from Sir William Meyer which, though there is nothing new in it, possesses some importance, and which we have italicised.

One phase of the question which Sir William touched upon was the clamor on the part of the Indians for some sort of a protective tariff in order to allow them an opportunity to develop native industry along manufacturing lines. *This proposition does not meet a responsive chord in England, especially among the merchants, since British commercial policy has been* based traditionally on free trade lines, *and since*

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manufacturers at home do not care to see development in India along manufacturing lines. The Indians, however, argue, their chances for great industrial and economic development are lessened if there is not an opportunity to utilize at home the raw materials which they produce.

The Chamber of Commerce of the Philippines gave a banquet in honor of Sir William, at which Mr. Gregorio Nieva, editor of the *Philippine Review* made a speech from which the following paragraphs are taken :

To a certain extent, there is actually some parallel between Indian and Philippine affairs, particularly as regards the destinies of the two peoples in the Far East. India and the Philippines cannot feel themselves as different peoples because of the place they hold on earth, and because both come under the common term of "Oriental peoples." Their aspirations are very much similar, and, however different one country may physically seem from the other, such dissimilarity dwindles to insignificance in the broadening horizon of the Orient. On the other hand, India has been, during the last century and a half, under the *dependency* of the Power that has unfailingly been the mother of small nationalities in Europe, while the Philippines has had the very great fortune of being, during the last two decades, under the *guidance* of that power which is now at the head, effectively and wholeheartedly, of world Democracy, and of the new idea of binding the World together with the bonds of sympathy add friendship —America. Thus you see that there is really some parallel between India and the Philippines as well as between America and Great Britain. And while it is not yet all the parallel we wish it should be, we feel confident their purpose, and their aims, and their motives will at last become all one and the same at one time. And this is important to the promotion of public welfare in the Far East, and to the happy creation of that new psychology and that new atmosphere so strongly, so devotedly advocated by our President. Of this the Philippines furnishes a very gratifying evidence. During the three distinct stages of our existence under the glorious flag of America that is so nobly leading us to full independent nationhood, one under purely American administration, one with the co-operation of the former Philippine Assembly, and one, lastly, under our almost exclusive legislative and administrative responsibility,—all three in less than two decades—the commerce and revenues of the Islands have steadily grown up fully in proportion to the growth of our political institutions. This would lead us to affirm that the commercial resources of the Far East would reach their full or gradual development according as the still dependent countries of the Orient are fully or gradually released from European colonial tutelage. Thus their usefulness to the cause of universal welfare would be complete.

Such is, to our mind, the logical basis of, and requisite for, a great commercial boom in the Orient. For commercial intercourse in the east could only be carried on on a due scale between one country and another, and between Europe and the Orient, that day, to which we are anxiously looking forward, on which the East and the West could meet each other, not the one as a dependency or expansion-field of the other, bnt as true friends in unabridged enjoyment of equal international rights, and we trust God that day will come with the opening of the new age and the inauguration of the new statesmanship to come and stay forever and for good. No doubt the great European powers will soon realize that this is worth their true earnest effort, for the promotion of intensified business intercourse in the Orient.

Mr. Nieva writes : "We believe that notwithstanding present conditions in India *as seen by foreigners*, all that India needs to advance, very much more rapidly than heretofore, is chance and native leadership,"

Lord Morley and the Press Act.

On May 28, 1908, Lord Morley as Secretary of State wrote to the Viceroy Lord Minto :

"In the Cabinet, Ripon was very restive, remembering his own reversal of Lytton's Press policy. I believe that our introduction of a *judicial* element at every stage is an improvement, apart from general principles of a Free Press on the one hand, and the maintenance of Law and Order on the other."

In the Indian Press Act of 1910, which is Act I of 1910, we do not find a *judicial* element at every stage. It is only when a security, a publication, or a press has been forfeited that an appeal lies to a High Court ; and we know how futile such appeals are. When a press is established, or when a newspaper is started, security may be and is usually demanded. Security may be and has in many cases been demanded from presses and newspapers established before the passing of the Press Act. There at any time security may be enhanced and increased security demanded. When a press changes its premises or its printer or when a newspaper changes its publisher, and consequently new declarations have to be made, security may be and has often been demanded for the first time or a previous security enhanced. There is no judicial element at these stages ; an executive order, against which there is no appeal, is quite sufficient. And in passing such an order, no hearing is given to the printer or the publisher. It is, therefore, difficult to see why Lord Morley wrote that a judicial element had been introduced at every stage. Did he really at first introduce such an element at every stage in the first draft of the bill, which was afterwards altered for the worse? Or was he mistaken ? In any case, if there had been a judicial element whenever security was demanded or enhanced, and if there had been an appeal against the

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executive order at every stage, that would certainly have been a distinct improvement upon the Act as passed. The introduction of these changes even now would be an improvement. But it is not improvements which will satisfy us now or meet the needs of the situation. It is the ending of the Act that is needed, not any mending.

The Inquisition and the Rowlatt Bills.

The Inquisition is a hated name which still gives people the nightmare. And why? Because of the horrible cruelties for which it was responsible and of which the following lines from *Chambers's Encyclopædia* will give some idea :

"The number of victims, as stated by Llorente, the popular historian of the Inquisition, is positively appalling. He affirms that during the sixteen years of Torquemada's tenure of office nearly 9000 were condemned to the flames. The second head of the Inquisition, Diego Deza, in eight years, according to the same writer, put above 1600 to a similar death ; and so for the other successive inquisitors-general. But Catholics loudly protest against the credibility of these fearful allegations. It is impossible not to see that Llorente was a violent partisan ; and it is alleged that in his work on the Basque provinces he had already proved himself a venal and unscrupulous fabricator. Although, therefore, he has made it impossible to disprove his accuracy by appealing to the original papers, which he himself destroyed, yet his Catholic critics—as Hefele in his *Life of Cardinal Ximenes* have produced from his own work many examples of contradictory and exaggerated statements ; Prescott, in his *Ferdinand* and *Isebella* (III. 467-70), has pointed out many similar instances ; and Ranke does not hesitate (*Fursten und Volker Von Sudenropa*, I. 242) to impeach his honesty. Still, with all the deductions which it is possible to make, the working of the Inquisition in Spain and in its dependencies even in the New World involves an amount of cruelty which it is impossible to contemplate without horror."

We do not make or suggest any comparison between the Inquisition and the Rowlatt Bills as regards cruelty and horror ; but we do wish to point out some similarities of procedure, and to say that, as the operation of the Defence of India Act and similar laws has been held responsible by public opinion, directly or indirectly, for the suicide, insanity and death from disease of some men and also for the heartless treatment of some men, the operation of the Rowlatt Bills, if passed into law, would probably be attended with similar undesirable results. We also assert that the procedure proposed to be adopted and the powers with which the executive and the police are proposed to be vested by these repressive bills, would be responsible for these results, just as the procedure of the Inquisition was mainly responsible for its horrors.

Let us see what the procedure of the Inquisition was. We quote from *Chambers's Encyclopædia.*

"The procedure of the Inquisition deserves a brief notice. The party, if suspected of heresy, [in the case of the Defence of India Act it sometimes was and in the case of the Rowlatt Bills it would sometimes be political heresy.—Ed., *M. R.*] or denounced as guilty, was liable to be arrested and detained in prison, only to be brought to trial when it might seem fit to his judges. The proceedings were conducted secretly. He was not confronted with his accusers nor were their names even then made known to him. The evidence of an accomplice was admissible, and the accused himself was liable to be put to the torture in order to extort a confession of his guilt."

The procedure of the Inquisition is thus described in the *Encyclopædia Britannica :*

"The procedure was secret and in the highest degree arbitrary,...its object being to ascertain not so much particular offences as tendencies.....and on the other hand, external acts of piety and verbal professions of faith were held of no value. Moreover the Inquisition was not bound by the ordinary rules of procedure in its inquiries : the accused was surprised by a sudden summons, and as a rule imprisoned on suspicion. All the accused were presumed to be guilty, the judge being at the same time the accuser. Absence was naturally considered as contumacy, and only increased the presumption of guilt by seeming to admit it. The accused had the right to demand a written account of the offences attributed to him, but the names of the witnesses were withheld from him, he did not know who had denounced him, nor what weight was attached by the judges to the denunciations made against him. The utmost that was allowed him was the unsatisfactory privilege of the *recusationes divinatrices*, *i.e.*, at his first examination he was asked for the names of any enemies of whom he knew, and the causes of their enmity. Heretics or persons deprived of civil rights (*infames*) were admitted as witnesses in cases of heresy. Women, children or slaves could be witnesses for the prosecution, but not for the defence, and cases are even to be found in which the witnesses were only ten years of age. Langhino Ugolini states that a witness who should retract his hostile evidence should be retained, and have its full effect on the sentence. No witness who should retract his hostile evidence should be punished for false witness, but his evidence should be retained and have its full effect on the sentence. No witness might refuse to give evidence under pain of being considered guilty of heresy. The prosecution went on in the utmost secrecy. The accused swore that he would tell the whole truth, and was bound to denounce all those who were partners of his heresy, or whom he knew or suspected to be heretics. If he confessed, and denounced his accomplices, relatives or friends, he was "reconciled" with the Church, and had to suffer only the humiliating penalties prescribed by the canon law. If further examination proved necessary, it was continued by various methods. Bernardus Guidonis enumerates many ways of obtaining confessions, sometimes by means of moral subterfuges, but sometimes also by a process of weakening the physical strength,

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And as a last expedient torture was resorted to..... Canonically the torture could only be applied once, but it might be "continued." The next step was the torture of witnesses, a practice which was left to the discretion of the inquisitors. Moreover, all confessions or depositions extorted in the torture-chamber had subsequently to be "freely" confirmed. The confession was always considered as voluntary. The procedure was of course not litigious; any lawyer defending the accused would have been held guilty of heresy. The inquiry might last a long time, for it was interrupted or resumed according to the discretion of the judges, who disposed matters so as to obtain as many confessions or denunciations as possible."

In Jack's *New Encyclopædia* we are told;

"The judicial procedure of the Inquisition was quite different from that to which we are accustomed. The accused was assumed to be guilty; he did not know who had accused him, and all proceedings were in secret. Hardly a case is known of complete acquittal, but if the prisoner confessed, he had to suffer various pains and penalties, such as scourging, penance, imprisonment. Torture was frequently used to extort confession, and every effort made to induce the heretic to accuse others also."

It is necessary to make another extract from the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

Two features of the Spanish Inquisition are especially noteworthy: the prosecutions for "speeches suspected of heresy" and the censure of books.

The censure of books was established in 1502 by Ferdinand and Isabella as a state institution..... In 1547 the Suprema produced an Index of prohibited books, drawn up in 1546 by the University of Louvain; it was completed especially as regards Spanish books, in 1551, and several later editions were published. Moreover, the *revisores de libros* [the revisors of books] might present themselves in the name of the Holy Office in any private library or bookshop and confiscate prohibited books. In 1558 the penalty of death and confiscation of property was decreed against any bookseller or individual who should keep in his possession condemned books. The censure of books was eventually abolished in 1812."

Rowlatt Bill No. 1, which provides for the amendment of the Indian Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, has a section which is an "improvement" upon and more drastic than the way in which the Inquisition dealt with books. Section 2 of the Bill runs as follows:—

In Chapter VI of the Indian Penal Code after section 124-A the following section shall be inserted, namely:—

"124-B. Whoever has in his possession any seditious document intending that the same shall be published or circulated shall, unless he proves that he had such document in his possession for a lawful purpose, be punishable with imprisonment which may extend to two years or with fine or with both.

Explanation.—For the purposes of this section the expression "seditious document" means any document containing any words, signs or visible representations which instigate or are likely to instigate whether directly or indirectly—

(a) the use of criminal force against His Majesty or the Government established by law in British India, or against public servants generally or any class of public servants or any individual public servant,* or

(b) the commission or abetment of anything which is an offence against sections 121, 121-A, 122 or 131."

The Inquisition punished men for being in possession of *published* books which it had already prohibited and condemned and of which the names could be found in the Index prepared by it, and successive editions of the Index were published, making it available to the public. Any individual member of the public who valued safety more than freedom of thought and conscience could, therefore, easily ensure his safety by knowing the names of these books and not being in possession of any of them. Rowlatt Bill No. 1, proposes to punish men for being in possession of both published and unpublished books and also published and unpublished pictures, of a "seditious" character. Unlike the Inquisition, the Rowlatt Bill does not, as it cannot, provide the public with an Index of "seditious documents"; but instead, it gives an "explanation" of "seditious documents," making use of such comprehensive, vague and elastic words as, "which instigate or are likely to instigate, whether directly or indirectly." It was, therefore, easier under the Inquisition not to possess prohibited or condemned books than it would be under the proposed law not to possess "seditious documents." In justice, however, to Rowlatt Bill No. 1, it must be said that, whereas the Inquisition prescribed the penalty of death and confiscation of property for the offence of possessing prohibited and condemned books, Rowlatt Bill No. 1 prescribes a punishment only of imprisonment which may extend only to two years or with fine or with both.

Let us now point out some similarities between the procedure adopted by the Inquisition and the procedure proposed to be laid down for the Investigating Authority by Rowlatt Bill No. 2. Roughly the points of similarities are these: (1) Sudden arrest without warrant on mere suspicion, and detention without trial; (2) Conduct of the proceedings secretly in camera; (3) The person under trial ignorant of the name &c., of his accusers or of the witnesses

* Including police constables and village chowkidars.—Ed. *M. R.*

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against him; (4) the accused not confronted with his accusers or the witnesses against him; (5) The accused not enjoying the right of defending himself with the help of lawyers; (6) The accused having only the right to a written account of the offences attributed to him; (7) No witnesses allowed in defence; (8) Judicial procedure quite different from that to which we are accustomed; (9) Trial or investigation of indefinite duration.* The Reader may establish other points of resemblance for himself. In order to enable him to judge whether the points of resemblance enumerated above really exist, we print below two sections of Rowlatt Bill No. 2 to be compared with the accounts of the procedure of the Inquisition quoted above from three *Encyclopædias*

25. (1) When the Local Government makes an order under section 21, such Government shall, as soon as may be, forward to the investigating authority to be constituted under this Act a concise statement in writing setting forth plainly the grounds on which the Government considered it necessary that the order should be made, and shall lay before the investigating authority all material facts and circumstances in its possession in support of its action.

(2) The investigating authority shall then hold an inquiry in camera for the purpose of ascertaining what in its opinion, having regard to the facts and circumstances adduced by the Government, appears against the person in respect of whom the order has been made. Such authority shall in every case allow the person in question a reasonable opportunity of appearing before it at some stage in its proceedings and shall, if he so appears, explain to him the nature of the charge made against him and shall hear any explanation he may have to offer and may make such further investigation (if any) as appears to such authority to be relevant and reasonable:

Provided that the investigating authority shall not disclose to the person whose case is before it any fact the communication of which might endanger the public safety or the safety of any individual:

Provided further that nothing in this sub-section shall be deemed to entitle the person in question to appear or to be represented before the investigating authority by pleader nor shall the Local Government be so entitled.

(3) Subject to the provisions of sub-section (2) the inquiry shall be conducted in such manner as the investigating authority considers best suited to elicit the facts of the case; and in making the inquiry such authority shall not be bound to observe the rules of the law of evidence.

(4) On the completion of the inquiry the investigating authority shall report in writing to the Local Government the conclusions at which it has arrived.

(5) If the investigating authority has not completed the inquiry within the period for which the duration of the order is limited by section 24, such authority may recommend to the Local Government that the period of duration of the order shall be extended for such period as it may consider necessary, and on such recommendation the Local Government may extend the duration of the order accordingly.

*Cf. Bill N. 2. Section 25 (5).

It is necessary to quote section 33 also.

33. (1) Where, in the opinion of the Local Government, there are reasonable grounds for believing that any person has been or is concerned in such area in any scheduled offence, the Local Government may make in respect of such person any order authorised by section 21, and may further by order in writing direct—

(*a*) the arrest of any such person without warrant;

(*b*) the confinement of any such person in such place and under such conditions and restrictions as it may specify; and

(*c*) the search of any place specified in the order which, in the opinion of the Local Government, has been, is being, or is about to be, used by any such person for any purpose prejudicial to the public safety.

(2) The arrest of any person in pursuance of an order under clause (*a*) of subsection (i) may be effected at any place where he may be found by any police officer or by any other officer of Government to whom the order may be directed.

(3) An order for confinement under clause (*b*) or for search under clause (*c*) of sub-section 1 may be carried out by any officer of Government to whom the order may be directed, and such officer may use any and every means to enforce the same.

We have seen above that the Inquisition resorted to the "process of weakening the physical strength" and to torture, as means of obtaining confessions. In connection with the operations of the Defence of India Act and Regulation 3 of 1818, there have been allegations of torture and of weakening the physical strength by such means as depriving the suspect of food, of sleep and rest, &c. The truth of these allegations has not been established by legal evidence, nor have they been disproved by open inquiry in due legal form. The suicide and insanity of several suspects and the hunger-strike of many detenus and State prisoners lend colour to these allegations. The irresponsible and arbitrary powers proposed to be given to executive and police officers by the Rowlatt Bills give rise to the well-grounded apprehension that the possession of these powers would make the resort to the above Inquisition methods possible with impunity.

The Encyclopædia Britannica observes that the "object" of the procedure of the Inquisition was "to ascertain not so much particular offences as tendencies." The fact that, as a rule, internees and State prisoners are not brought to trial for any particular offence and that many of them have been released, support the

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presumption that a large proportion of them must have been deprived of their liberty not for any particular offence but for the suspected "tendencies" of their lives,—of their casual conversation, their letters, the company they kept, &c. The two repressive bills under criticism appear to have for their object, in part, the penalising of "tendencies." In support of this view, we quote the following sections of Bill No. 2 :

20. If the Governor-General-in-Council is satisfied that movements which are in his opinion likely to lead to the commission of offences against the State are being extensively promoted in the whole or any part of British India, he may, by notification in the *Gazette of India*, make a declaration to that effect and thereupon the provisions of this Part shall come into force in the area specified in the notification.

21. (1) Where, in the opinion of the Local Government, there are reasonable grounds for believing that any person is or has been actively concerned in such area in any movement of the nature referred to in section 20, the Local Government may, by order in writing containing a declaration to that effect, give all or any of the following directions, namely : that such person—

(*a*) shall, within such period as may be specified in the order, execute a bond with or without sureties to be of good behaviour for such period not exceeding one year as may be so specified :

(*b*) shall notify his residence and any change of residence to such authority as may be so specified ;

(*c*) shall remain or reside in any area in British India so specified ;

provided that, if the area so specified is outside the province, the concurrence of the local Government of that area to the making of the order shall first have been obtained ;

(*d*) shall abstain from any act so specified which, in the opinion of the Local Government, is calculated to disturb the public peace or is prejudical to the public safety ; and

(*e*) shall report himself to the police at such periods as may be so specified.

(2) Any order under clauses (*b*) to (*e*) may also be made to take effect upon default by the person concerned in complying with an order under clause (*a*).

32. If the Governor-General-in-Council is satisfied that scheduled offences have been or are being committed in the whole or any part of British India to such an extent as to endanger the public safety, he may, by notification in the *Gazette of India*, make a declaration to that effect, and thereupon the provisions of this Part shall come into force in the area specified in the notification.

Section 33 which has been quoted before, should be read here again.

Section 5 of Bill 1 also requires to be quoted in this connection.

5. After section 510 of the said Code [of Criminal Procedure, 1898], the following section shall be inserted, namely :—

"510A. On the trial of an offence under Chapter VI of the Indian Penal Code, the following facts shall be relevant, namely :—

(a) that the person accused has previously been convicted of an offence under that Chapter, and

(b) that such person has habitually and voluntarily associated with any person who has been convicted of an offence under that Chapter :

Provided that such facts shall nevertheless not be admissible in evidence under the provisions of this section, unless written notice of the intention to give evidence thereof has been served on the accused at least seven days before the commencement of the trial, together with reasonable particulars of the conviction or association intended to be proved."

The Star-Chamber and the Rowlatt Bills.

The Star-Chamber has been branded with infamy in history ; but originally it was neither meant to be nor was it in fact an instrument of oppression.

"The statute conferred on the Chancellor, the Treasurer, and the Keeper of the Privy Seal with the assistance of a bishop and a temporal Lord of the Council, and chief-justices, or two other justices in their absence, a jurisdiction to punish, *without a jury* the misdemeanours of sheriffs and juries, as well as riots and unlawful assemblies. Henry VIII. added to the other members of the court the President of the Council, and ultimately all the privy councillors were members of it. *The resulting tribunal was, during the Tudor age, of undoubted utility* as a means of bringing to justice great and powerful offenders who would otherwise have had it in their power to set the law in defiance. *It was independent of a jury, and at that time juries were too easily terrorised by the nobles.**

The form of proceeding was by written information and interrogatories, except when the accused person confessed, in which case the information and proceedings were oral ; and out of this exception grew one of the most flagrant abuses of this tribunal in the later period of its history. Regardless of the existing rule that the confession must be free and unconstrained, pressure of every kind, including torture, was used to procure acknowledgments of guilt ; admissions of the most immaterial facts were construed into confessions ; and fine, imprisonment, and mutilation inflicted on a mere oral proceeding, without hearing the accused, by a court consisting of the immediate representatives of prerogative. The proceedings of the Star-chamber had always been viewed with distrust by the commons ; but during the reign of Charles I. its excesses reached a pitch that made it absolutely odious to the country at large ;...and in 1641 a bill was carried in both Houses which decreed the abolition of the Star-Chamber and the equally unpopular court of High Commission." *Chambers's Encyclopædia.*

We learn from the *Encyclopædia Britannica* that

"By an act of 1529 an eighth member, the president of the council, was added to the star-chamber, the jurisdiction of which was at the same time con-

* The Rowlatt Committee's Report, section 15, recommends the exclusion of juries and assessors on similar grounds. It says, "We think it necessary to exclude juries and assessors mainly because of the terrorism to which they are liable." But history shows that the Star-Chamber became an engine of oppression, because, among other reasons, there was no jury associated with the judges.

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formed. At this time the court performed a very necessary and valuable work in punishing powerful offenders who could not be reached by the ordinary courts of law."

"Its procedure was not according to the common law. It dispensed with the encumbrance of a jury; it could proceed on rumour alone; it could inflict any penalty but death. It was thus admirably calculated to be the support of order against anarchy, or of despotism against individual and national liberty. During the Tudor period it appeared in the former light, under the Stuarts in the latter."

The reader cannot fail to have observed the points of resemblance between Star-Chamber proceedings and the procedure laid down in the Rowlatt Bills for the special court of three high court judges and the investigating authority. The Star Chamber had amongst its members men of learning and piety and of judicial training and experience,—bishops, Chief-Justices and other judges of the highest courts; and at one time it performed a useful function, too. Why and how did it then fall into disrepute, become oppressive and unpopular, and was at length abolished? The answer is to be found in the last two sentences quoted from the *Encyclopædia Britannica*: "It was thus admirably calculated to be the support of order against anarchy, or *of despotism against individual and national liberty*. During the Tudor period it appeared in the former light, under the Stuarts in the latter." We contend that as there is no anarchy in India, the Rowlatt Bills would only be "admirably calculated to be the support.....of despotism against individual and national liberty."

For more than a decade, so far as arbitrary methods go, we have been living in the Stuart period of our history. Hence we are justly afraid of the proposed coercive laws. Of course, in case there be an outbreak of anarchism, in the near future, which is improbable, the laws would be an effective weapon against it for the moment, but they would also be an effective weapon for the destruction of individual and national liberty. Government ought to devise some means which will prevent the rise of anarchism and will at the same time foster the growth of public spirit and the increase and expansion of civic freedom. This means can be found only in the direction of an adequate liberalisation of our political institutions. And the time is very opportune for making India free, because Government can do so without there being the least cause for anybody thinking, saying or suggesting that India's liberation has been achieved by terrorizing its government.

Even if we accept as correct all that has been officially said regarding the existence and degree and extent of prevalence of anarchism in India before the Defence of India Act was passed and enforced, we are deliberately of the opinion that, without the aid of any special law, it was quite possible to cope with the evil with the aid of the ordinary laws of the land, an efficient police and a liberal measure of constitutional reform.

The history of the star chamber brings home to the minds of students of history one important lesson. It is that if a people are so weak and cowardly that they cannot protect themselves against the oppression of bold bad men, be they lawless powerful nobles or lawless anarchists, it is futile to think of giving them lasting protection with the help of lawless courts or laws. In the history of England, the star chamber certainly cruelly and unjustly oppressed many more persons than it saved from oppression. The Defence of India Act and Regulation 3 of 1818 may have saved some persons from death or plunder at the hands of "political" assassins or dacoits, but can anybody positively assert that their enforcement and operation have not been the direct or indirect cause of the death and insanity of some men and of blasting the lives of a considerable number of others? If a people be so cowardly that it cannot produce jurors who cannot be terrorized, it is certain that it will also furnish a large number of men who can be very easily and with impunity oppressed by courts, the executive and the police. That was the case in England, that is and would be the case here, too. It was not the star chamber which could give permanent protection to the people. That fearless public spirit of the people which abolished the star chamber also afforded them protection against lawless men. So for *permanent* protection against tyranny, whether practised by "political" dacoits and assassins or by police and other officials, we must look not to Rowlatt Bills, but to fearless public spirit securing civic freedom and civic freedom stimulating fearless public spirit. An enlightened government should make conditions favorable for the unfettered growth of public spirit and the expansion of civic freedom.

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Nothing is truer than the Sanskrit saying that he alone is truly protected who is protected by himself. Coercive or repressive laws are calculated to terrorise and cow down not only revolutionaries, anarchists and the criminally disposed, they terrorise and emasculate the law-abiding and peaceful population, too ; and perhaps this effect is produced on the latter to a greater extent than on the former. It is, therefore, quite unreasonable to think of securing the lasting safety of a timid population by laws which tend to make them still more timid, seeing that self-protection alone ensures lasting protection, and none but the brave are capable of self-protection.

Apotheosis of Irresponsibility.

The executive and the police are not at present responsible to the people, either directly or indirectly. The repressive bills are calculated to increase their irresponsibility to its maximum. Section 23 of the second repressive bill lays down that

23. The Local Government and every officer of Government to whom a copy of any order made under section 21 may be directed by or under the general or special authority of the local Government, may use any and every means to enforce compliance with the same.

Similarly section 33 (3) says :

(3) An order for confinement under clause (b) or for search under clause (c) of sub-section 1 may be carried out by any officer of Government to whom the order may be directed, and such officer may use any and every means to enforce the same.

We cannot think of a more arbitrary and dangerous law,—one which is the negation of all law. What heightens its lawless character, if that were possible, is section 41, which runs as follows :—

41. No order under this Act shall be called in question in any Court, and no suit or prosecution or other legal proceeding shall lie against any person for anything which is in good faith done or intended to be done under this Act.

The orders under section 21, to which reference is made in section 23, are to see that a person against whom section 21 is to be enforced,

"(a) shall, within such period as may be specified in the order, execute a bond with or without sureties to be of good behaviour for such period not exceeding one year as may be so specified ;

(b) shall notify his residence and any change of residence to such authority as may be so specified ;

(c) shall remain or reside in any area in British India so specified ;.....

(d) shall abstain from any act so specified which, in the opinion of the Local Government, is calculated to disturb the public peace or is prejudicial to the public safety ; and (e) shall report himself to the police at such periods as may be so specified."

It may be asked whether the officer entrusted with enforcing compliance with order (a), may keep the person in question in confinement, standing for 24 hours or more, without food, sleep, rest, or natural conveniences, or beat or torture him, in order to make him excute the bond in case he be unwilling to do so : for, "any and every means" do not exclude these means. And should the officer use such or similar means to enforce compliance with order (a) or those which follow it, would section 41 quoted above protect him or would it not ? One does not know definitely what may or may not be done in India in good faith. It is generally presumed that officials act in good faith. In enforcing compliance with order (c), would the officer be justified in keeping the person in question in solitary confinement ? In enforcing compliance with order (d), would an officer be justified in making a person physically incapable of using his organs of speech and his hands ? Well may people tremble to think to what lengths of oppression and cruelty unscrupulous and tyrannically disposed officersmay be encouraged to proceed by the immunity promised by sections 23, 33 (3), and 41. We cannot imagine how in the 20th century in a country governed by a civilised nation such shocking and irresponsible powers can be proposed to be given to any man in quite an unabashed manner ?

"All the Accused were Presumed to be Guilty."

We have seen in the descriptions of the procedure of the Inquisition quoted before that all the accused brought to trial before it were presumed or assumed to be guilty. In section 2 of the first repressive bill a similar assumption is made ; for it is laid down there that "whoever has in his possession any seditious document intending that the same shall be published or circulated shall, *unless he proves that he had such document in his possession for a lawful purpose*, be punishable with imprisonment which may extend to two years or with fine or with both." So the burden of proving that the possession of the document is for a lawful purpose is thrown on the accused, or in other words, it is to be assumed that the possession

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for an unlawful purpose unless the opposite is proved by the accused. In the assumption of the guilt of an accused person, which is contrary to the principles of civilised jurisprudence, the first repressive bill is, therefore, akin to the Inquisition.

Another section of this bill also appears indirectly to assume to some extent the guilt of an accused. On the trial of an offence under Chapter VI of the Indian Penal Code, section 5 makes the fact of a previous conviction of the accused under that Chapter and of his habitual and voluntary association with a previous convict under it, relevant evidence against him. In other words, the guilt of an accused who is a previous convict or habitual companion of a previous convict is indirectly presumed. This section also, therefore, proves the kinship of the first repressive bill with the Inquisition.

The First Repressive Bill.

This bill is meant to have a permanent place in the Indian statute book. It ought not to have even a day's lease of life, as it is dangerous to the liberty of the subject.

Section 4 runs as follows :—

> 4. To section 343 of the said [Criminal Procedure] Code, the following proviso shall be added, namely :—
> "Provided that a promise of protection to an accused person against criminal force or any promise properly incidental to a promise of such protection, shall not be deemed to be the use of influence within the meaning of this section."

The words "or any promise properly incidental to a promise of such protection" require careful consideration. The question is, what is and what is not properly incidental to a promise of such protection. An accused who by his confession gives away his fellow-accused, may, if he lives in a thatched house, profess to be afraid of being killed by his house being burnt down at night. Therefore it may be argued that a promise to give him a *pucca* masonry building to live in is a promise properly incidental to a promise of protection. Further, it may be argued that he would require for his protection a body of armed retainers and sufficient income to pay them, and that, as, if he moved from place to place on foot, he might be easily assaulted he ought to have a protected conveyance and an assured income for its upkeep. Would the promises of a masonry house, a body of retainers, a good conveyance, and sufficient income for their maintenance and upkeep, be considered "properly incidental to a promise of such protection"? If so, in what respect would such promises differ from bribing or holding out illegal inducements? If not, is it not indispensably necessary to make it quite clear by many illustrations what is meant by the words "or any promise properly incidental to a promise of such protection"?

The material portion of section 5 is that on the trial of an offence against the State (Chapter VI of the Indian Penal Code),

> the following facts shall be relevant, namely :—
> (a) that the person accused has previously been convicted of an offence under that Chapter, and
> (b) that such person has habitually and voluntarily associated with any person who has been convicted of an offence under that Chapter :

This section has been drafted ostensibly in accordance with the last paragraph of section 177 of the Rowlatt Committee's Report, which runs in part as follows :

> "Lastly, we think that in all cases where there is a question of seditious intent, evidence of previous conviction for seditious crime or association (of an incriminating kind of course) with persons so convicted should be admissible..... What we have called seditious crime would of course have to be accurately defined."

The reader will notice that section 5 does not mention that the association with a previous convict must be "of an incriminating kind of course." By the omission of these words a great safeguard has been taken away. Any kind of association, provided it is habitual and voluntary, might thus suffice to damn a man, which is quite unreasonable. A man convicted of an offence against the State (which may not necessarily be an offence against morality and may be only a technical offence *) would therefore be precluded from having friends, playmates, employees, employers, co-workers, teachers, pupils, or relatives living with him in the

* For example, consider section 124A of the Indian Penal Code which defines and provides punishment for sedition. It has been judicially held that absence of affection is disaffection, (*Bal Gangadhar Tilak*, 22 B. 112 (134)) and to excite or attempt to excite disaffection is one form of sedition. Strictly speaking, therefore, most journalists, British and Indian, and most public speakers, are guilty of sedition, though they may never have been brought to trial and convicted. A man of the highest character may be brought to trial and convicted of sedition ; and the First Rowlatt Bill proposes in effect to make him worse than "untouchable."

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same house, without the possibility or probability of his jeopardising their safety. He would thus be made a modernised specimen of an "untouchable," "unapproachable," and "uncompanionable" creature ;—a most shocking punishment.

The Rowlatt Committee say : "What we have called seditious crime would of course have to be accurately defined." But the bill under comment does not define seditious crime either accurately or inaccurately. It tacitly takes it for granted that all offences against the State dealt with in Chapter VI of the Indian Penal Code are seditious crimes ; and it is well-known that so many things can be construed as sedition that it is seldom that anybody accused of sedition has escaped conviction.

As regards making the previous conviction of an accused under Chap. VI of the Indian Penal Code a relevant fact against him, this change in the law is proposed to be made only as regards offences against the State. But, to use the words of the Rowlatt Committee's Report, "there can be no justification for making" this change in the law "in order to facilitate prosecutions in cases of sedition if in other cases the law is allowed to remain" as it is, "a proper safeguard against injustice." The proposed change is neither fair to the accused nor reasonable. Every fresh offence ought to be proved independently, and a previous conviction for the same offence may be considered as enhancing the guilt of the accused, only when the offence for which he is being tried has been independently established. The English law does not allow evidence of a previous conviction until a verdict of guilty has been given. There is no reason why the law should be particularly hard on alleged political offenders by the omission of existing safeguards against injustice, unless it be intended that even those who have recourse to constitutional agitation and other constitutional means for the attainment of an increasing degree of civic freedom, should be terrorised and emasculated. In countries which are not governed by the representatives of the people, many laws against offences against the State may in one sense be considered as partisan laws, that is to say, laws which the party or persons in power have enacted in order to prevent the people or their representatives from securing the right and the power to manage their own affairs. Some offences against the State are statutes made, because what was no offence formerly may be made an offence afterwards ; and what is an offence in one country is not an offence in another. And practically the party which makes these laws is also the party which tries offences under these laws. Therefore, in the trial of political cases, there ought in fairness to be greater safeguards against injustice than in ordinary trials. But the repressive laws under consideration propose to take away even some of the existing safeguards. This attempt must be opposed by all constitutional means in our power and whoever will not join in this opposition will brand himself as a slave or as disloyal to his country and his nation.

Section 6 is of a most dangerous character. It relates to persons convicted of an offence punishable under Ch. VI of the Indian Penal Code, whom we will briefly call political offenders or political prisoners. We will quote its material portion :

6. After section 565 of the said Code the following section shall be inserted, namely :—

"565-A. (1) When any person is convicted of an offence punishable under Chapter VI of the Indian Penal Code, the Court may, if it thinks fit at the time of passing sentence on such person, order him on his release after the expiration of such sentence to execute a bond with sureties for his good behaviour so far as offences under Chapter VI of the said Code are concerned, for such period not exceeding two years as it thinks fit.

(2) An order under sub-section (1) may also be made by an Applate Court or by the High Court when exercising its powers of revision.

(3) If the Court makes an order under sub-section (1), it shall further direct that until the person who is the subject of the order furnishes the required security, such person shall notify to the Local Government or to such officer as the Local Government may by general or special order appoint in this behalf, his residence and any change of residence after release for the period for which security is required.

(4) Where any person is under an obligation to notify, in accordance with the provisions of sub-section (3), his residence and any change of residence after release, the Local Government may by order in writing direct that such person—

(a) shall not enter, reside or remain in any area specified in the order,

(b) shall reside or remain in any area in British India so specified, and

(c) shall abstain from addressing public meetings for the furtherance or discussion of any subject likely to cause disturbance or public excitement, or of any political subject or for the distribution of any writing or printed matter relating to any such subject.

(5) Any person refusing or neglecting to comply with any direction under sub-section (3) or any order under sub-section (4), shall be punishable as if he had

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committed an offence under section 176 of the Indian Penal Code.

In cases of a *second* conviction with imprisonment for 3 years or upwards for offences like counterfeiting coins and Government stamps, theft, robbery, dacoity receiving stolen property, cheating, house. breaking, Section 565 of the said [Criminal Procedure] Code gives power, at the time of passing sentence, to add an order that the offender's residence and any change of residence after release be notified to the police for a term not exceeding five years from the date his release.

Political prisoners generally belong to the educated class and are men of a higher order of society than coiners, thieves, dacoits, burglars, &c. The first Rowlatt Bill shows its kindness to political prisoners in various ways. *First*, it places them in the same category with thieves, burglars, &c. *Secondly*, whereas thieves, &c., may be required *only* to notify residence, &c., if convicted a *second* time and sentenced to imprisonment for three years or more, political offenders, even when convicted for the *first* time and sentenced to imprisonment for less than three years, may be required to execute a bond with sureties for good behaviour for a maximum period of two years, and, until the security is furnished, *also* to notify residence, &c., for the period for which security is required. *Thirdly*, —and this is what thieves, &c., are not subject to,—political offenders may be ordered, *in addition*, (a) not to enter, reside or remain in any area specified in the order, (b) to reside or remain in any area in British India so specified, and (c) to abstain from addressing public meetings for the furtherance or discussion of any subject likely to cause disturbance or public excitement, or of any political subject or for the distribution of any writing or printed matter relating to any such subject. And *fourthly*,—and here the bill surpasses itself in its tenderness for political prisoners,—*as no period is fixed or definitely mentioned in the section for which the orders marked (a), (b) and (c) may be passed and remain in force, they may be meant for the remaining period of the lives of these unfortunate men.* Thus, it may be in the power of the Local Government to blast their whole lives and subject them to a kind of civil death in a state of solitary confinement in a house. There is no subject, religious, social, industrial, economic, political, and even philosophical or scientific, of which the discussion may not occasionally cause public excitement or which may not be held likely to cause public excitement or disturbance. This section, therefore, practically gives powers to the local Government to prevent any and all kinds of public discussion and activity on the part of persons who, whatever the purity of their character or their integrity and record of public service, may have unfortunately been convicted of sedition. They may not for the rest of their lives discuss or write on "*any* political subject." How drastic and how barbarous such a law would be, can be understood by those who know how easy it is at present to get a man punished for sedition. That many are not so punished is not due to the state of the law, but to the policy pursued for the time being by the powers that be. That is no freedom or security which is not enjoyed by a man as a matter of right, but only as a matter of favour or politic forbearance. Any Indian who has heard of these repressive bills and would be content to have such laws is either perfectly fitted to be a slave or is a traitor to his country.

The Second Coercion Bill.

Owing to the sturdy opposition of the Indian non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council, Government has promised that the second coercion bill will be in force for only three years, following in this promise the precedent of the Irish Coercion Bill. Regarding coercion in Ireland Lord Morley, by the by, has made the following remarks in his *Recollections* :

> .....as for "legislating on the lines of the Irish Crimes Act," it is pure nonsense. He seems to refer to Forster's Act (not Balfour's of 1887), and that was about the most egregious failure in the whole history of exceptional law. If I know anything in the world, it is the record and working of Irish coecion since 1881,....."

In another passage he speaks of himself as possessing "a spotless character as an anti-coercionist in Ireland."

The limiting of the duration of the second repressive bill to three years ought not to conciliate or deceive anybody ; and it is satisfactory to find that it has not in the least diminished the opposition to the bill in the country. It is to be hoped that the opposition would be continued even if and when the bill becomes law. The promise of limitation has no meaning. The

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Defence of India Act was meant to be in force for the duration of the war and six months thereafter. Has that fact stood in the way of the Government trying to give it a longer lease of life in another and a more drastic form and under new names? Similarly, if after three years, the men then constituting the Government of India consider it necessary to introduce a new bill similar to the present one, they would certainly not be bound by the promise made by the present Government. Moreover, the very fact of there being in the country a law like the present bill for three years, may produce political conditions which in the opinion of the bureaucracy may justify the forging of new weapons to combat them. The vital and essential objection to the bill is to its principle and methods, not to the length of its life.

The bill is professedly meant to supplement the ordinary criminal law, but in reality it will, if passed, to a great extent supplant the ordinary criminal law. Section 3 says:

> 3. If the Governor-General-in-Council is satisfied that scheduled offences are prevalent in the whole or any part of British India, and that it is expedient in the interests of the public safety to provide for the speedy trial of such offences, he may, by notification in the *Gazette of India*, make a declaration to that effect, and thereupon the provisions of this Part shall come into force in the area specified in the notification.

The scheduled offences are briefly as follows: waging war or attempting to wage war against the king, conspiracy for the same, collecting arms for the same, assaulting Governor-General, Governor, &c., sedition, waging war against allied Asiatic power, abetting mutiny, and the following offences, if connected with any movement endangering the safety of the State, namely, rioting armed with deadly weapon, promoting enmity between classes, murder, culpable homicide, attempt to murder, attempt to commit culpable homicide, voluntarily causing grievous hurt by dangerous weapons or means, voluntarily causing hurt to extort property or to constrain to an illegal act, voluntarily causing grievous hurt to extort property or to constrain to an illegal act, voluntarily causing hurt to deter public servant from his duty, voluntarily causing grievous hurt to deter public servant from his duty, putting person in fear of injury in order to commit extortion, extortion by putting a person in fear of death or grievous hurt, putting person in fear of death or grievous hurt in order to commit extortion, robbery, attempt to commit robbery, voluntarily causing hurt in committing robbery, dacoity, dacoity with murder, robbery or dacoity with attempt to cause death or grievous hurt, attempt to commit robbery or dacoity armed with deadly weapon, preparing to commit dacoity, belonging to gang of dacoits, belonging to gang of thieves, assembling for purpose of committing dacoity, mischief by injury to public road, bridge, river, or channel, mischief by fire or explosive substance with intent to cause damage, &c., mischief by fire or explosive substance with intent to destroy house, mischief with intent to destroy or make unsafe a docked vessel or one of 20 tons burden, mischief committed after preparation made for causing death or hurt, making house-trespass or house-breaking in order to commit offence punishable with imprisonment, the same after preparation for hurt, assault or wrongful restraint, the same by night in order to commit offence punishable with imprisonment, the same after preparation for hurt, assault or wrongful restraint, grievous hurt caused whilst committing house-trespass or house-breaking, and criminal intimidation. The following also come under the schedule: any offence under Explosive Substances Act, 1908, any offence under section 20 of the Indian Arms Act, 1878, any attempt or conspiracy to commit or any abetment of any of the above offences.

The above list, which is not exhaustive, will show how large and varied are the offences whose prevalence will warrant the Governor-General-in-Council to exercise emergency powers under Part I of the bill and supplant the ordinary criminal law. It would not at all be difficult for the C. I. D. to satisfy the Governor-General-in-Council that they are prevalent or that they are connected with any movement endangering the safety of the State, seeing that the safety of the State or public safety has been held to be so very brittle a thing as to be liable to be endangered by the mere presence or speeches of some public men in certain areas. Practically, the law may come into force at the sweet will and pleasure of the Governor-General-in-Council; for most of the offences included in the schedule are not rare but ordinary forms of crime, and

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there is no definition given in any law-book or lexicon which lays down the number of offences per month per thousand square miles which would justify one in holding that they are prevalent. This law, moreover, is only ostensibly and apparently meant for the trial of the scheduled offences. In reality and in actual practice it may be used for punishing any offence mentioned in the Penal Code. For, section 15 provides that

15. If in any trial under this Part it is proved that the accused has committed any offence, whether a scheduled offence or not, the Court may convict the accused of that offence although he was not charged with it.

We have shown below how, taking advantage of this section, the court may punish any accused person for any offence, scheduled or not, without his having the opportunity of self-defence. So this bill is really intended to supersede the ordinary criminal law.

After section 3 has come into force in any area, a person may be tried for any scheduled offence according to the provisions of Part I, where the local government *is of opinion* that he should be so tried. Nothing more is required than the mere opinion of the local government! Executive authorities being generally in favour of shortcuts to the punishment of accused persons, local governments would generally be in favour of the trial of persons according to the provisions of Part I. This consideration shows in how large a number of cases accused persons may not have the advantage of trial under the existing ordinary laws of the land.

The courts for the trial of offences under this part will be constituted by the Chief Justice and will consist of three High Court Judges. But the Chief Justices are Englishmen resident in India having for the most part the bureaucratic bias against the dependency of India having freedom, and it would generally be easy for them to choose three bureaucratic civilian judges. But even such a court would have been a welcome improvement upon the present state of things, if it tried only those accused who had been sent up for trial by a magistrate after the usual public preliminary investigation, if the trial were fully public and open, if the accused had the right of being tried by jury, and if he had the right of appeal. But the bill takes away all these usual safeguards.

The special court consisting of High Court judges, formed for the purpose, "may sit for the whole or any part of a trial at such place or places in the province as it may consider desirable." It should be considered whether and how this may prejudice the accused. Do these words mean that the court may sit in other than a a public building or in a room (in a harem, for example !) not accessible to the public? That would do away with the least semblance of a public trial. The special courts will, no doubt, consist of High Court judges. But, away from the atmosphere of the High Court, they may not inspire as much confidence as they do in the High Court, or they may themselves be unconsciously affected by local conditions. Moreover, in High Court towns it is easier for the accused to obtain the services of good lawyers at moderate fees than elsewhere. For these reasons, the special courts should sit only in High Court rooms.

The court is bound to grant only a maximum adjournment of 10 days, and that only when a charge is framed, not afterwards. But this may not in many cases enable the accused to make all necessary preparations for defence.

As the judgment of the Court is to be "final and conclusive" "and there shall be no appeal," it may seem perhaps that it does not much matter that "the court shall be required to make a memorandum only of the substance of the evidence of each witness examined." But even during the trial should there be a difference of opinion between the judges and the lawyers for the defence as to what a witness has said, how are the different impressions of the lawyers and the judges to be reconciled and a just decision arrived at in the absence of a full record of evidence ? Much depends on the exact words used by witnesses. The difference of or in a single word may make all the difference between justice and injustice. Therefore it is imperatively necessary that all evidence should be taken down in full. The memory of neither judge nor counsel is infallible. No law should assume that in trials speed or ease of passing sentence is of greater importance than the ends of strict and impartial justice.

Section 11 provides that the Court may at its discretion conduct the whole trial or any part of it in strict secrecy "in the public interest or for the protection of

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a witness." But public interests are never served by secret trials, as the history of the Inquisition and the star chamber shows, and the secrecy maintained to "protect" witnesses would most probably encourage lying scoundrels to perjure away the lives and liberties of political suspects or of those against whom they had a grudge, and it would also encourage unscrupulous police officers to fabricate evidence. It is the accused whom the laws ought to be the most anxious to protect. If he be in danger of being punished with the help of fabricated evidence, he ought at least to have that moral support of public opinion which publicity secures, and lying witnesses also ought to be kept in check by that social opprobrium which publicity may bring on them. Neither a court, nor an accuser, nor witnesses ought to enjoy immunity from public reprobation, if they do wrong. There is no kind of evil imaginable which secrecy may not breed. These observations apply also to the following proviso in section 25 :

> Provided that the investigating authority shall not disclose to the person whose case is before it any fact the communication of which might endanger the public safety or the safety of any individual.

Section 12, subsection 3) (a) deprives the accused of the usual safeguard that a witness need not answer a question which may incriminate him.

Sections 15 and 16 are most dangerous to the accused. They say :

> If in any trial under this Part it is proved that the accused has committed any offence, whether a scheduled offence or not, the Court may convict the accused of that offence although he was not charged with it.
>
> The Court may pass upon any person convicted by it any sentence authorised by law for the punishment of the offence of which such person is convicted, and no order of confirmation shall be necessary in the case of any sentence passed by it.

So in reality these Courts, whose proceedings may be made entirely secret, may in reality sentence a man for any offence whether scheduled or not; and therefore this Bill No. 2 of 1919 practically in fact may supplant the ordinary criminal law of the land. If in the course of any trial for a scheduled offence, after the days of adjournment are over, a surprise is sprung on the accused and evidence is brought forward to prove some other offence, whether scheduled or not, he would be unprepared to rebut the charge by calling defence witnesses or by other means, and he would not have the right to demand an adjournment to have time for preparation for self-defence. For, according to section 9, the court is bound to grant an adjournment at the request of the accused only at the time when a charge is framed. Thus an accused would very often be bound to be punished, either for the scheduled offence for which he was being tried, or for some other offence. If such a law be passed, the people of India, particularly those who love liberty and openly write or say that they long to have it, must be prepared for a reign of terror; for nobody who was suspected by the police or against whom spies and informers had a grudge, would be safe.

Section 18 supersedes the Indian Evidence Act as regards evidence given by persons who have not been cross-examined ;

> "Such statement may be admitted in evidence by the Court if the person making the same is dead or cannot be found or is incapable of giving evidence, and the Court is of opinion that such death, disappearance or incapacity has been caused in the interests of the accused."

But may not the disappearance of some witnesses be sometimes caused by police action? Suppose a witness says something very damaging and incriminating against an accused. His disappearance may be presumed to be caused by the friends of the accused ; but it may also be caused by police action. For should he be a lying and tutored witness, cross-examination may expose the lies, and the police may bring about or report his disappearance to prevent such exposure.

Part II of the Bill is preventive. Section 20 says how it shall come into force.

> If the Governor-General-in-Council is satisfied that movements which are in his opinion likely to lead to the commission of offences against the State are being extensively promoted in the whole or any part of British India, he may, by notification in the *Gazette of India*, make a declaration to that effect and thereupon the provisions of this Part shall come into force in the area specified in the notification.

No offence need be committed by any one to bring this Part into force. If the Governor-General-in-Council is *satisfied* that *movements* which are *in his opinion likely* to lead to the commission of offences against the State, then every man and woman may be placed at the mercy of Local Autocrats. Imperial Autocrats who are timid, panicky, afraid of and opposed to popular freedom, innocent of first-hand

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knowledge of the country and who see things through the eyes of the C. I. D., may be easily satisfied that the most innocent and legitimate movements are likely to lead to the commission of offences against the State. The way in which the Press Act and the Defence of India Rules have been misused shows that our apprehensions are not unfounded.

Section 21 has been reproduced and partly commented upon in a previous Note in this issue, as also section 23. Sections 25 and 26 have been so framed that the Local Government may keep a political suspect deprived of liberty for as long as it likes, practically condemning him even to life-long confinement. Section 25 has been quoted before. Here is section 26 :—

26. (1) On receipt of the report of the investigating authority, the Local Government may discharge the order made under section 21, or may pass any order which is authorised by the terms of that section :

Provided that—

(a) any order so passed shall recite the finding of the investigating authority and

(b) a copy of such order shall be furnished to the person in respect of whom it is made.

(2) No order made under sub-section (1) shall continue in force for more than one year from the date on which it was made, but the Local Government may, if it is satisfied that such a course is necessary in the interest of the public safety, on the expiry of any such order again make any order in respect of the person to whom it related which is authorised by section 21.

(3) No order made under sub-section (2) shall continue in force for more than one year from the date on which it was made, but on its expiry may be renewed by the Local Government for a further period not exceeding one year :

Provided that any order so made or renewed may at any time be discharged, or may be altered by the substitution of any other order authorised by section 21, and in that case no further reference to the investigating authority shall be necessary.

Section 25, quoted before, prescribes how "the investigating authority" shall conduct its inquiry. The methods resemble those of the Inquisition and the Star Chamber. To our previous comments on this section we will add a few observations on the following portion of it :—

Such authority shall in every case allow the person in question a reasonable opportunity of appearing before it at some stage in its proceedings and shall, if he so appears, explain to him the nature of the charge made against him and shall hear any explanation he may have to offer and may make such further investigation (if any) as appears to such authority to be relevant and reasonable.

In the memorandum submitted to the Bengal Government by the Advisory Committee appointed by it, consisting of ex-Justice Sir N. G. Chandavarkar and Mr. Justice Beachcroft, we read that these experienced judges did not allow any detenu or state prisoner to appear before them in self-defence. One reason which they gave for the course adopted by them is as follows :

"From our judicial experience we have found that if an accused person is not defended by counsel, he, generally speaking, spoils his case when he conducts his own defence or in answer to questions from the trying judge either gives irrelevant answers or makes vague protests of innocence, or makes unwittingly admissions against himself, or by his demeanour in answering questions prejudices his defence by producing an unfavourable impression on the mind of the judge."

Now, if, according to two judicial authorities chosen by Government to enquire into the cases of suspects, such are the dangers of defending oneself personally, why is a law going to be made depriving a suspect of the right of defending himself by counsel and allowing him to appear in person before the investigating authority, only to "spoil his case"?

Lawyers on neither side are to be allowed to appear before the investigating authority, and "the inquiry shall be conducted in such manner as the investigating authority considers best suited to elicit the facts of the case ; and in making the inquiry such authority shall not be bound to observe the rules of the law of evidence." It is easy to see what kind of justice a suspected person is likely to have under such conditions. The bill is famous for giving a carte blanche. It has been pointed out before how the bill gives a carte blanche to various officers by sections 23, 33 (3), and 41. To these should be added the above-mentioned words giving the carte blanche to the investigating authority. Probably Government has discovered in the carte blanche an infallible means of securing "public safety", "the safety of the state" and "public interests". But this infallible means was tried by the Inquisition and the Star Chamber, by various bodies and persons in France before and during the Revolution and also in Russia of the Tsars,—but always with the same ultimate result, *disaster*.

Sir William Vincent has said in council that the period of orders under parts II (section 26) and III is limited to one year in the first instance and three years

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in all. But this is nowhere clearly and definitely mentioned in the bill, which gives one the impression that Government can deprive any suspect of his liberty for life.

Sir William has himself said that "Part III is more drastic." The only thing that is necessary for this part to come into operation is that the Governor-General in Council should be "satisfied that scheduled offences *have been* or are being committed to such an extent as to endanger the public safety. In such circumstances, the Local Government, where there is reasonable ground for believing that a person has been concerned in a scheduled offence, may direct the arrest of such person [without warrant], his confinement [without trial] in such place and under such conditions as may be prescribed." It will be noticed that both in section 32 of this part and in section 21 of Part II, there is no time-limit. According to section 21, a person who is or *has been* (in some past time) concerned in any movement, &c., shall come under its operation; and according to section 32, Part III, shall come into force if scheduled offences *have been* (in some past time) or are being committed, &c. So this unparalleled law can bring within its clutches both the Past and the Present; the Future alone still enjoys immunity. Whatever is said in any section of the two bills about the Governor-General in Council or the Local Government being satisfied or being of any opinion, &c., simply means the satisfaction or opinion of the C. I. D., which again very often rests merely on the information supplied by such incarnations of truth as the spies and informers employed by the police. From this one can understand, how much the life and liberty of Indians would be worth when the bills became law.

Part IV applies the provisions of Part III automatically, without reference to the investigating authority, to persons suspected to have been "concerned in revolutionary crime" and who are under restriction under the Defence of India Act, Regulation 3 of 1818, the Ingress into India Ordinance, &c. Part V is ancillary, but is not at all unimportant. It closes all loopholes of escape for the accused and, by section 41 gives complete imunity to all officers concerned in enforcing the bill for anything that they may have done "in good faith."

The Promised Refoms and the Rowlatt Bills.

If the promised reforms be adequate discontent may be allayed and "the matter of sedition" disappear to a great extent, making the enactment of drastic laws unnecessary. Let us take it for granted that the reforms would be adequate. In that case why do not the bureaucracy allow these a chance to conciliate the country? Are they afraid that should such a chance be allowed and should it produce the effect desired by the people, it would be proved to demonstration that the unrest in the country was due to the inefficiency of the bureaucrats and their arbitrary and wrong ways of governing the country? Is it for this reason that they are eager to pass draconic laws, in order that they may be able to say that it was not the reforms but the repressive laws which kept the country quiet? Whether the people of India consider the proposed reforms adequate or not, certainly the foreign rulers ought to consider them adequate. They should, therefore, give the reforms a fair chance. But their great eagerness to pass coercive measures shows that they are not willing to give this chance.

But it is probable that the foreign bureaucrats know and believe that the proposed reforms would not satisfy the people, and there would consequently be agitation for further reforms. They also know that there would be thorough exploitation of the country by British capitalists and there would be agitation against it. They know further, that the present economic distress is not only not likely to be temporary, but that it may deepen and spread over a wider area and last for years, causing agrarian and labour troubles and intensifying political unrest. Is it for these contingencies that they are arming themselves with arbitrary and irresponsible powers beforehand? If that be so, they are merely sowing the wind, depriving us of the consolation which might have been derived from the words of courage and confidence uttered by the Viceroy in Council:

"Do not let it be supposed for one moment that I fear that this country lies in any danger of falling a victim to those disruptive forces best suggested by the name Bolshevism"

Sir William Vincent said in council: "It may be suggested, as it has been suggest-

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ed before, that all their [revolutionaries'] activities will be reduced by the introduction of the Reforms scheme. My Lord, I should like to say that these men are as much opposed to the Reform scheme as to anything else." In support of this assertion Sir William referred to an anonymous circular. But how is it proved that the circular represented the view of the majority of the "revolutionaries"? Many leading men have seen the letters written from the Andamans by Barindra Ghosh and Savarkar to their relatives in which these transported men have expressed themselves favourably disposed to the reforms. We are not personally acquainted with any man who has been proved to be a revolutionary and cannot pretend to know their views; but from his speech itself it seems to us that Sir William overshot the mark when he said that "These men [the revolutionaries]. . . . are really enemies of civilisation, they are enemies of progress and enemies of any form of organised government, whether European or Indian." Now who are "these men"? In the very speech from which we quote these words, Sir William speaks of the *detenus* as "persons known to have been concerned in revolutionary crime." Now, if these men be really enemies of civilisation, progress and any form of organised Government, how is it that, according to Sir William's speech, "out of 1062 detenus 677 have already been released on guarantees," and "of the rest, 385 are subject to restrictions of domicile only, 125 being domiciled in their own homes"? Are we to believe that Government has let loose on the people so many tiger-like enemies of society?

According to Sir William, "from 1906 up to the date of the [Rowlatt] Report [1918] there were no less than 311 offences and attempts at offences connected with this revolutionary movement, in which 1038 persons were known to be implicated." Taking these figures to be correct, there were 26 such offences per annum on the average, in a country having an area of 1,802,629 square miles and a population of 315,156,396. We have no desire to minimise the gravity of these offences; but surely it is too much to expect people to support most draconian laws, endangering the lives and liberties of individuals, at a time when the country is quiet and at peace, when, for whatever reason, there is no anarchism or revolutionary crime in the country,—simply because in twelve past years 1038 persons out of 315,156,396 committed 311 offences.

Punjab Soldiers and the Rowlatt Bills.

The Rowlatt Bills are professedly based upon the Rowlatt Committee's Report. That Report gives many reasons why "legislation" of a drastic character resembling martial law, may be "required." One of the reasons is that "there will, especially in the Punjab, be a large number of disbanded soldiers, among whom it may be possible to stir up discontent." And, therefore, there must be draconian laws to put down this possible discontent! Why not provide against such possible discontent by just and generous treatment of the disbanded soldiers? We know there is and has been discontent among demobilised and other British soldiers of the United Kingdom; but there has not been and will not be any martial law there for coping with that discontent. On the contrary, effort are being made to remove the grounds of discontent by finding employment for these men, improving their housing conditions, making grants of land to them, &c.

India and the New House of Commons.

In the present number we print two important articles on India and the new House of Commons. One of these is by the Hon. R. D. Denman—a brother of the Right Hon. Lord Denman (lately Governor General of Australia). Mr. Denman was in the last Parliament. He is a Liberal and is very sympathetic towards Indian aspirations. The other article is by the reputed Indian journalist Mr. St. Nihal Singh. It is unnecessary to try to bring home to our readers the lesson of these articles. Political propagandist work on behalf of India was never more urgently needed in England than now. It is no doubt necessary to tell the people of England what exactly we want. But what is, and always has been, still more necessary is the removal of Englishmen's colossal ignorance of India, past and present, and their low opinion of Indian capacity, character, achievements and civilisation, due to interested misrepresentation, conscious or unconscious, by Anglo-Indians and Christian missionaries, and thereby to make them favor-

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ably disposed towards India. The task is stupendous and requires efforts and preparations of a colossal character. But the magnitude of the work which lies before us, must not paralyse our energies. For just as the work is difficult, so are we a big people with a great past and a greater future. If we could only husband and utilise all our resources, we should certainly be able to do what is required of us. We ought to use all available means and persons. We ought not to wait for the Home Rule deputation, the Congress deputation and the Moderates' deputation to reach England before commencing propaganda work there on an adequate scale. No doubt, Mr. Baptista has been doing such work for months, and latterly Mr. Tilak and Mr. Karandikar have been making earnest efforts in the same direction. And Mr. Saint Nihal Singh has been in England from before the commencement of the war, and has, before and during the war, written much in the London and provincial periodicals and newspapers to tell Englishmen of our achievements, needs and aspirations. Having been on the spot for years and being an able and skilful journalist of international experience and reputation, he knows just what facts would appeal to the British people in particular and occidentals generally. It is to be regretted that the capacity and willingness of men like Mr. Singh have not been utilised as they should be. But there is time yet to bind in an *active* organisation all capable persons who love the Motherland in the service of her suffering children. Party and personal prejudices must be given up. Every one must make and have the opportunity of making the special kind of contribution which he is capable of.

It is of the greatest importance that when the Congress, the Moslem League and the Moderates' Conference deputations reach England, they should be able to arrive at an understanding among themselves. Their self-sacrificing efforts may be to a great extent frustrated if they quarrel among themselves there.

The League of Nations Covenant.

A London cablegram, dated February 14, states that the text of the League of Nations Covenant has been published and then proceeds to give full summaries of some of the more important articles. From these it appears to us that the probable effect of the League may be to establish over the non-white races of the earth a more powerful despotism of the white races than any that the world has yet seen. The future of the non-white races is indeed gloomy. The only non-white nation which has obtained real recognition is Japan; but what can her one vote do against the European and American votes? And it is doubtful whether Japan will care or dare to advocate the cause of the Asiatic and African peoples. There are some Japanese who even deny that the Japanese are an Asiatic or "coloured" people, and the *Globe* newspaper of England once seriously wrote that the Japanese were a white race!

The preamble states that the Powers signatory to this Covenant adopt this constitution of the League of Nations in order to promote international co-operation and secure international peace and security, in part, by the maintenance of justice and scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of *organised peoples* with one another. *Unorganised peoples* are to be kept in tutelage, professedly for their good, but really, it is to be feared, for being ruthlessly exploited.

Each contracting party at the meeting of delegates shall have one vote but not more than three representatives. The Executive of the Council shall consist of representatives of the United States, the British Empire, France, Italy, Japan, and four other States who shall be selected by the delegates. States which are not signatories to the Covenant can be admitted to the League only with the assent of not less than two-thirds of the States in the body of the delegates; and this admission is limited to fully self-governing countries including Dominions and Colonies. Thus Ireland, India, Egypt, &c., cannot be members of the League and cannot have its benefits. So the League of Nations would not consist of all nations, not even of all self-governing nations; and practically it would be a League of White Nations.

By Article eight the high contracting parties agree that the private manufacture of munitions and implements of war lends itself to grave objections and they direct the Executive Council to advise how the evil effects attendant on such manufacture can be prevented, due regard being

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and to the necessities of countries which are unable to manufacture for themselves the munitions and implements of war necessary for their safety. In Article 10 the high contracting parties undertake to respect and preserve against external aggression, the territorial integrity and the existing political independence of all members of the League. The Executive Council shall advise how this obligation shall be fulfilled where aggression is carried out or threatened. In article seventeen it is laid down that the League is entrusted with the general supervision of the trade in arms and ammunition with countries in which control of this traffic is necessary. These agreements and undertakings are calculated to prevent breaches of international peace, but they would also prevent the independence or liberation of subject races, except with the consent of those who hold them in subjection. We are as anxious as anybody else that wars, including wars of independence and liberation, should not break out in future. But as the League of Nations Covenant has tried to adopt means for the prevention of war, it should also have taken steps to see that all nations, organized or unorganised, white or coloured, dependent or partly self-governing, should, by fulfilling certain definite conditions, be able to avail themselves of the principle of self-determination without fighting. It was trumpeted all over the world for more than four years that the recent war was a war for world-freedom and world-democracy and many other high-sounding things. Are all these fine phrases to end in making provision for rivetting for ever, if that were humanly possible, the chains of slavery on all those who are not now free?

The permanent court of international justice for the establishment of which provision shall be made, shall be competent to determine any matter submitted for arbitration. But the court will obviously deal only with disputes arising between the members of the League, who must all be independent or fully self-governing nations. Therefore the establishment of such a court does not inspire a single ray of hope in the minds of enslaved and oppressed peoples.

Article 19 deals with "colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war ceased to be under the sovereignty of States formerly governing them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world." The principle should be applied that the well-being and development of such peoples should form a sacred trust of civilisation and securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in the League's Constitution. The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such be entrusted to advanced nations, who by reason of their resources, experience or geographical position can best undertake this responsibility, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as mandatories on behalf of the League. The character of the mandate must differ according to the stage of development of each people, the geographical situation of its territory, its economic conditions and other similar circumstances.

That this paragraph refers to the quondam German colonies and the former Turkish provinces is evident from their description and from the paragraph which follows.

Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognised, subject to conditions which guarantee freedom of conscience or religion and subject to rendering administrative advice and assistance by a mandatory Power until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the mandatory. Other peoples, especially those in Central Africa, are at such a stage that the mandatory must be responsible for the administration of territory subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals and the prohibition of abuses, such as slave trade, arms and liquor traffic, the prevention of the establishment of fortifications or military or naval bases, and military training of natives for other than police purposes and the defence of territory, and will also secure equal opportunities for trade and commerce of other members of the League. There are territories such as South-West Africa and certain Pacific Islands which owing to the sparseness of population or small size or remoteness from centres of civilisation or geographical contiguity to a Mandatory State or other cirumstances, can best be administered under the laws of the Mandatory State as integral portions of it, subject to the safeguards above-mentioned in the interests of the indigenous population. The Mandatory State shall render to the League, an annual report with reference to the territory committed to its charge. The degree of authority, control or administration to be exercised by the Mandatory State shall, if not previously agreed upon by the high contracting parties in each case, be explicitly defined by the Executive Council in a special act or charter. The high contracting parties further agree to establish at the seat of the League a mandatory commission to receive and examine the annual reports of Mandatory Powers and assist the League in ensuring the observance of the terms of all mandates.

It was not very long ago that President Wilson vigorously denounced the theory of national trusteeship and guardianship. Has

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he really been a sincere convert to it now? or is he deceiving himself? We do not know how to explain the following passage from his speech at the Peace Conference explaining the covenant;

> We are done with the annexations of helpless people. In all cases of this sort it shall be the duty of the League to see that the nations assigned as tutors, advisers and directors of those peoples shall look to their interest and development before the interests and material desires of the Mandatory Nation itself. There has been no greater advance than this. The great Power which has happily just been defeated put intolerable burdens and injustices upon the helpless people of some of the colonies it annexed, its interest being rather their extermination than their development and its desire being to possess their land for European purposes and not to enjoy their confidence in order that mankind might be lifted in those places to a higher level. Now the world says: There is an end to that. Under their tutelage the helpless peoples of the world will come into a new light and a new hope. I think, I can say of this document that it is practical and humane and that there is a pulse of sympathy in it. The conscience of the world has long been prepared to express itself in such a way. In the administration of the affairs of more than one of the great States represented here the humane impulse has already expressed itself in dealings with their colonies whose people were yet at a low state of civilisation. We have had many instances of colonies being lifted into the sphere of complete self-government.

Unctuous sentiments and eloquent speeches cannot alter the facts of contemporary and past history. History does not say that it is only the one great defeated power which abused its "trust". How have the "civilised", the organised, the Christian, the white, and the powerful races hitherto generally, but not of course in all cases or always, treated their wards, the uncivilised, the unorganised, the "heathen", the coloured, and the weak peoples? Speaking generally, the history of the contact of these races and peoples may be summed up in one or more of the words (total or partial) extermination, enslavement, emasculation, degradation, exploitation, and impoverishment, of the weaker party. Incidentally and in a subsidiary way, certain advantages have accrued to some peoples who have not been exterminated, but in their case, too, one or more of the descriptive words mentioned above hold good. One is both astounded and amused at the self-righteousness, the hypocrisy and the arrogance of the powerful nations which coolly ask the world to believe that they are all fit by their previous history and present character to be the teachers, guardians, benefactors and developers of backward peoples. They have no doubt the might to do what they like. But what *right* have they to reduce other peoples to "tutelage," which really means the position of hewers of wood and drawers of water? Many an uncivilised race would prefer to be left alone. Why are they not to be allowed to find the right way after blundering on for as long as may be necessary? Why compel them to accept the position of the under dog?

Article 19 says that "certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire," like the Arabs, "have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognised, subject to conditions which guarantee freedom of conscience or religion and subject to rendering administrative advice and assistance by a mandatory power until such time as they are able to stand alone." It is easy to understand what this administrative advice and assistance would really mean. It would really amount to dictation. Still there is a ray of hope in the words, "*until such time as they are able to stand alone.*" Until that time, however, the mandatory Power would practically be the lord and master of these communities. And, therefore, what the *Nation* of London wrote in connection with General Smuts's scheme of the league of nations, seems, to us, very apposite here, and perfectly just.

> We realise that the actual state of the world the Allies will certainly have to take over as "mandatories" and "trustees" the administration of some disturbed, derelict or immature areas. They will do well, however, to make as much as possible of American co-operation and we think that some neutrals, like Sweden or Norway, might also perform some of these tasks. The conditions which ensure disinterested trusteeship require more drastic definition. Some of these areas, like the mine-fields of Siberia and the oil-wells of Mesopotamia, are fabulously profitable. The profits ought not to go to British concessionaires. They ought to go to repair the world's havoc. There will be a big "unearned increment" from all the blood and bravery that have gone to make international Government possible. It ought to go to pay for the restoration of which the world stands in need, and not to the companies which extract the ore and sink the wells. An international super-tax might well be imposed in "trustee" areas on these ventures.

There is fine unconscious irony in the admission that certain communities, formerly "misgoverned" by the Turks, "have reached a stage of development

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where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognised," "until such time as they are able to stand alone." Evidently Turkish misrule has produced results which British, French, Dutch or other good rule has not produced in any of their dependencies; for the Covenant does not recognise the fitness of any of them for provisional independence, leading to perfect independence when they are able to stand alone. The dependent peoples are left to their fate.

As regards Germany's quondam colonies, the Covenant practically votes for their annexation by the neighbouring British and Boer colonies. These South African Colonials are not in the least fit to be the teachers and guardians of any African or Asiatic race. They are too unjust, grasping and heartless for such a high trust.

A people possessed of arms and military training can exert at least moral pressure against oppression by their rulers. But the natives of Central Africa and South-West Africa would be helpless in this respect. For according to the Covenant, whoever may rule them must prevent arms traffic and "military training of natives for other than police purposes and the defence of territory."

Commenting on General Smuts's scheme the *Nation* observed :—

There is thus no body, provided which could at least say in the name of populations to the dominating Great Powers, "you are over-doing this 'mandate' business. You are governing the world by your majority of six Governments (two or three of them may be such States as Turkey, Portugal, or Panama, incapable of real independence). You have made a close oligarchy, and you are using your trust for a camouflaged imperialism a modern capitalist variation of the old Holy Alliance." To say anything like that Switzerland or Holland or Norway might have to wait twenty years till by rotation their turn came to sit on the Executive. Or imagine a case in which America and Britain were always in a minority on the Council against the other five, who might all choose to be Land Powers or possibly all Powers with a Socialist Government in office. Take the cleavage alternately either way, and it is to our thinking, clear that some body there must be more representative of all civilization, and much more free to debate, question, suggest, and initiate than General Smuts's conference of all the Governments. With food and raw materials, as well as peace and war, dependent on the Executive Council, there must be a body which can speak for consumers and producers, for conscripts and their parents, as well as for Great Powers

The Covenant no doubt says that a mandatory commission shall be established to receive and examine the annual reports of the Mandatory Powers and assist the league in ensuring the observance of the terms of all mandates. But these reports would be pictures of the lion painted by himself for the admiring gaze of his kinsfolk. There is no provision for receiving and considering complaints from the people placed under the mandatories. And supposing by some means the mandatory commission is convinced that a mandatory power has neglected its duty or has turned oppressor, what provision is there for bringing it to book, and deposing and replacing it, or, failing any such course, setting the people under it free ?

The final Aritcle 26 provides for the effectiveness of amendments to the Covenant when ratified by the States whose representatives compose the Executive Council and by three-fourths of the States whose representatives compose tho body of delegates.

When the world has outgrown its present stage of predatory nationalism and cannibalistic civilisation, this article may enable the representatives of the then highest civilisation to try to ameliorate the lot of the dependent peoples and of those placed under mandatory powers.

Article 20 states that the high contracting parties shall endeavour to secure and maintion fair and humane conditions of labour for men, women, and children in their own and all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend, and agree to establish as part of the organisation of the League a permanent Labour Bureau.

The League is appointed the instrument to secure and maintain freedom of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of all its members.

All international bureaux henceforth constituted shall be placed under rhe League's control; also existing bureaux if the parties to it agree.

It is to be hoped that in the name of humanity this article will not be used to hamper the growth of or destroy indigenous industries in dependent countries, Apart from this apprehension the object of this article is highly commendable, as explained by Dr. Wilson :—

It is not contemplated that this should be merely a league to secure the peace of the world. It is a League which can be used for co-operation in any international matter. That is the significance of the provision introduced concerning Labour. There are many ameliorations in Labour conditions which can be effected by conference and discussion. I anticipate that there will be very great usefulness in the League's Bureau of Labour. While men, women and children who work, have been in the background through long ages

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and sometimes seemed forgotten, now there comes into the foreground a great body of labouring people of the world upon whom the great burden of sustaining the world must from day to day fall, who go to bed tired and wake up without the stimulation of lively hope. These people will be drawn into the field of international consultation. There is a very great step in advance in the mere conception of that.

That "no treaty or international agreement hereafter entered into by a member of the League shall be binding until registered with the Secretaries of the League who shall publish it as soon as possible," is a very wise and necessary provision. Secret treaties have worked great mischief in the past.

The Peace Conference.

Sir Frederick Smith, a member of the Lloyd George ministry, said in the course of a speech before the recent general election :—

"I will tell you perfectly plainly, and with responsibility as a member of the Government, that it is our intention if we are returned to power, that not one yard of the former colonies shall go back to the Germans. (Cheers.) Why, for instance, should we give up Mesopotamia ? That is so rich a country that it might almost pay for the war.

That Germany is not to have back her former colonies in Africa or elsewhere may be taken for granted. But may it be hoped that the spirit which breathed through the last two sentences would not be the spirit in which the mandatories of the League of Nations would act ?

Dr. Nilratan Dhar and Physical Chemistry.

In the January issue of the *Modern Review* we gave an account of the remarkable contribution in the domain of Physical Chemistry by Mr. Jnanendra Chandra Ghosh, M.Sc. The credit of being the initiator of the systematic study of Physical Chemistry in India must be assigned to Dr. Nilratan Dhar. To quote from the published "Essays and Discourses" of Sir P. C. Ray (p. 43) :

"Physical Chemistry is yet in its infancy, but thanks to the labours of Ostwald, Arrhenius and others it is beginning to assert itself. To Mr. Nilratan Dhar, one of the most brilliant amongst our late pupils, belongs the credit of initiating work in this branch in our country, and it is gratifying to note that a monograph on complexions recently published in England quotes him as an authority."

It gives us sincere satisfaction to learn from the issue of *Nature* to hand that at a special meeting of the Faraday Society under the presidency of Sir J. J. Thomson

Dr. Nilratan Dhar.

held to discuss "the present theory of Ionisation" Dr. Dhar has been asked to take part in the proceedings along with other eminent specialists including Arrhenius, the father of the dissociation theory.

We understand that Dr. Dhar besides being a D. Sc. of the London University has recently become a *State* Doctor of the University of Paris, on the presentation of an elaborate thesis which will entitle him to be a Professor of French Universities. Dr. Dhar has been studying at the University of Paris, as a State scholar.

In the Report of the Indian Industrial Commission (p. 255) under the heading "Chemical Research," there is a recommendation for engaging the services of two chemists of the superior staff including two *physical* chemists. Elsewhere, in Sir P.C. Ray's article (pp. 225-6) will be found his authoritative opinion on the supreme necessity of engaging *none but Indians* for these posts. It is sincerely to be hoped that whenever the occasion arises Dr. Nilratan Dhar and Mr. Jnanendra Chandra Ghosh, both of whom have won laurels in this field, will be the first occupants of the two posts ear-marked for physical chemistry.

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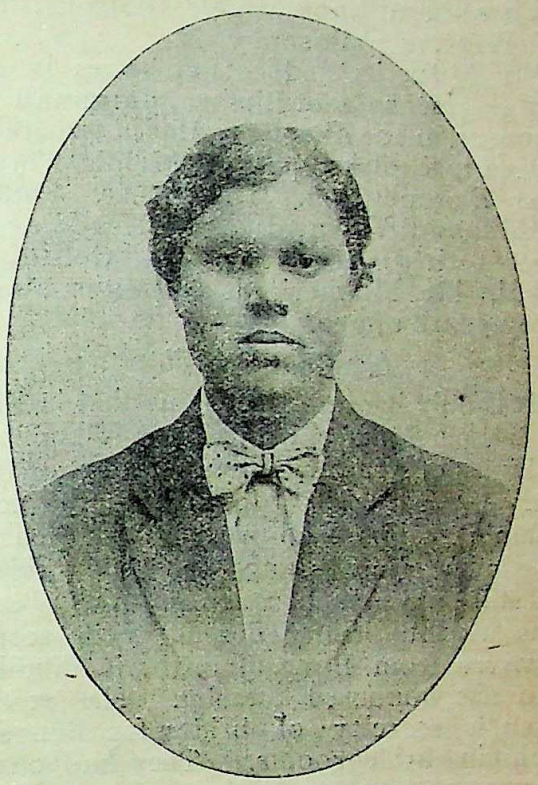
While going to the press we are gratified to learn from papers received by this week's mail that Mr. Jnanendra Chandra Ghosh's contribution on the "dilution law" naturally formed the subject of discussion at the meeting of the Faraday Society referred to above. Professor Partington, a well-known authority on the subject, devotes six pages to a consideration of the various conclusions deducible from *Ghosh's Law*. We can only make room for the introductory remarks: "Whilst the present communication was in course of preparation, a series of very interesting papers on the dilution law [by J. C. Ghosh] appeared, in which the problem is treated from a novel standpoint".

It must be a source of supreme gratification to Sir P. C. Ray that the researches of two of his brilliant pupils should figure conspicuously and simultaneously at the Faraday Society's special session. Indeed the highest compliment that may fall to the lot of a teacher is that paid by *Nature* (Nov. 21, 1918), namely "Dr. Ray's most important work has been the foundation of the Indian Chemical School and the establishment of the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works, now a flourishing concern."

Bengali Lecturer of Philosophy at Oxford.

Sometime ago Reuter announced that Mr. Kiran Chandra Mukherjee had been elected Lecturer in Bengali at Oxford. We learn from the same source now that he has been appointed Lecturer in Philosophy also at that University. Mr. Mukerjee passed the Entrance and F. A. examinations of Calcutta University from the Dacca College with scholarships, and graduated from the Presidency College, Calcutta, in 1908, with triple honours, in English, Sanskrit and Philosophy, standing first in English. In 1910 he took his M.A. degree from the same College standing second in English, and soon after left for England, where he joined the London University and studied Medieval English for sometime. Thence he migrated to Oxford, where he passed the "Greats" (final Honours) Examination in classics (Literœ Humaniores), standing second in order of merit. In 1917 he finished his academic career most brilliantly by carrying off the John Locke scholarship, and thereby earning a fellowship, which however he declined, as the terms did not suit him. He scored highest in all the papers, which consisted of such subjects as classical scholarship, philosophy, political sciences,



Mr. Kiran Chandra Mukherjee.

anthropology, &c. The Board of Examiners reported of him as follows: "Mr. Mukherjee is an acute thinker with very considerable powers of expression and an extraordinary capacity for mastering the thought and language of European authors in various languages, of both ancient and modern times. ... His papers showed specially his knowledge of Plato, Plotinus and Bergsson. . . . He is a real scholar who should some day produce original work of real value," &c.

Mr. Mukherjee has been called to the Bar. In a letter to a relation dated December 20, 1917, he wrote that he had been offered a professorship in Philosophy in the Indian Educational Service, but that he had refused the offer, as he wanted to enter public life. "My intention,'" he wrote, "is to do some work, however humble, to raise the political status of my country." Mr. Mukherjee is said to be engaged on a work on Greek philosophy. Having regard to his mastery of Sanskrit, Latin and Greek, and of various modern European languages, his work is expected

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to be an original contribution to the subject, in which, for the first time. perhaps, Indian philosophy will receive the consideration which is its due from one with real first-hand knowledge of both Eastern and Western philosophy.

Mr. Mukerjee's education began in the village *pathsala* of Birtara, parganah Vikrampur, in the district of Dacca, where he secured a scholarship in the Middle Vernacular Examination. His father, Pandit Saradakanta Vidyaratna, was Head Pandit (since retired) of the Dacca Collegiate school. Mr. Mukherjee is at present about thirty years of age.

A "Boat-Bride"

It is only in very recent years that in East Bengal, particularly in pargana Vikrampur Brahmins of some sub-castes have ceased to marry "boat-brides" belonging to non-Brahmin castes and sometimes even to Musalman families. Some "boat-brides" are still alive as housewives. *Kulin* Brahmins used to marry dozens and scores of wives from Bangsaj Brahmin families who felt honoured thereby. The result was a scarcity of brides for Bangsaj Brahmin bridegrooms. They had often to pay as much as a thousand or 1,200 Rupees for a bride. So many could not marry at all. Hence there sprang up a clandestine traffic in brides. Young low caste widows, Musalman young women, girls born of illicit unions, fallen women—all were induced by various means to pass themselves off as Brahmin maidens in distant villages, to which they were conveyed in boats, because these parts had not yet become accessible by railway and steamer. They were known as *Bharar Meye*, or "boat-brides." Arrived at a village, they were offered for marriage to *Bangsaj* Brahmin bridegrooms for comparatively small amounts. The men who married them did not pray into the secrets of their personal or family history; —they could guess what it was. Persons who married these boat-brides were often subjected to social obloquy and persecution, but none of them ceased to be Brahmins. The frontispiece in the present number is an imaginary portrait of such a boat-bride. It is reminiscent of the kind of inter-caste Hindu Marriages which were current in East Bengal until very recent years. Some say that a few such marriages still take place occasionally. There are many amusing anecdotes told of such brides, and there is a well-known humorous song current in Bengal relating to them, composed by that well-known reformer, the late Babu Rash Bihari Mukhopadhyaya, who did his best to strike at the root of *Kulin* Polygamy and succeeded to a great extent.

Have We Enough Doctors?

In the course of the speech which the Viceroy made in opening the Delhi session of the Indian Legislative Council, His Excellency referred to the influenza epidemic and observed:

> Two lessons we may learn if indeed they have not already been sufficiently impressed upon us by the ravages of plague and other diseases. The defects of sanitation in India are fully recognised, and in June last we addressed Local Governments on this subject, and especially on the necessity for sanitary organisation in rural tracts, and we placed before them the recommendations made by an informal conference of Sanitary Commissioners which had been held here. In the second place, it is incumbent on us to increase our facilities for research. The Medical services in India have a proud record in this respect, a record which should encourage us and give us confidence in making a bold advance in the establishment of research institutes to investigate those ailments which are particularly prevalent in India.

It is surprising that the Viceroy should have spoken of only *two* lessons, and not of *three*. Is he unaware that the number of trained doctors in the country is woefully small? There can be no sanitary organisation without a sufficient number of men and women trained in medical schools and colleges; and however much the facilities for medical research may be increased and whatever the value and number of researches carried on, unless there be an adequate number of physicians to treat patients according to the results of these researches, they would be fruitless. Therefore the first thing to do is to increase the accommodation in all the existing medical institutions and to establish a large number of medical schools and colleges all over the country. There is no sense in shirking this duty.

"Place of the Services in the Future Scheme of Things."

The way in which the Viceroy discoursed on "the place of the services in the future scheme of things" ought to satisfy the members thereof, particularly the covenanted civilians. They are to continue to-

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be the real rulers of the country, and the Indian ministers are to a great extent to play the second fiddle to them and be ornamental figure-heads. But let us quote the Viceroy's exact words, "My first proposition," as he calls it, is enunciated in the following words: "If we set up ministers, ministers must administer; and the permanent services must execute. That is so well accepted a maxim of our British polity that no one will dispute it." This is quite an unexceptionable proposition. Not so the second proposition, which runs thus:

"But to suppose as has been alleged that we propose to place the services as a whole in helpless subordination to inexperienced and possibly hostile ministers; that we intend not merely to deprive them of power, but to require them blindly to execute policies which they cannot reconcile with their self-respect is very seriously to misconceive our purpose. Let me explain at once why that is impossible. Progress to further constitutional growth in India is to come not by a process of drift: not by the English Departments or Governments throwing up the sponge out of weariness or a sense that they are fighting a losing game; not by our taking back our hand from the plough; but by the response made by Indians to the great opportunity now offered them—by the measured verdict of the highest outside impartial authority upon their performance. It is recognised at the present moment that the time is not ripe for Indians to take over the entire management of the country. Every moderate and thoughtful Indian admits that truth himself. And government, believe me, is not the simple thing it may sometimes seem. The help of the services, trained, efficient, impartial, with their high standards of duty, of character, of the public interest, is absolutely essential if this vast experiment is to succeed. We cannot afford and we do not mean to lose them until India acquires, what she has not got at present, something approximately as good to put in their place. That is my second proposition.

We do not at all admit that the services cannot almost entirely be manned by competent Indians in the course of a decade or so, nor that even at present they cannot be largely manned by our own men quite successfully. As for the *impartiality* of the services, as between British and Indian interests, the less said the better. The Viceroy thinks that from the indigenous human material India *may* in course of time acquire only *something approximately as good as the British members of the services!* The high standard of the latter is so unapproachable.

British rulers always manage to ignore the economic aspect of the very highly paid foreign personnel of the British administration in India. India cannot afford to have such unapproachably efficient men; and their salaries are all going to be increased very appreciably.

The Viceroy went on to say in very authoritative tones:

"The Secretary of State and I have declared our intention to protect the services in the defence of their rights and the discharge of their duties. I see that apprehensions have heen aroused by the general character of his phraseology. Let me now, speaking for myself and my Government, endeavour to give precision to the undertaking. In the first place as regards their pay and pensions. I propose that the pay, pensions, leave and conditions of service generally of the services recruited from England shall be guaranteed at least by statutory order of the Secretary of State, which no authority in India will have power to disregard or vary. My idea is that the all India services are to be retained, as in a mould cast by Parliament and the Secretary of State, as an exemplar to all the services drawn exclusively from India. In this respect, therefore, I see no cause for disquiet.

It is perfectly true that no authority in India will be able to reduce the pay, pensions and allowances of the British-manned services. Indians will only protest ineffectually by dying prematurely in large numbers of malnutrition, famines and pestilences.

In the last place, His Excellency tackled the "difficult question" of "the position of the services who are under Indian Ministers." It is not quite clear why it should have been deemed a difficult question; for the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme of diarchy has been so devised as to place as few Englishmen under Indian ministers as possible,—in any case in most provinces at least for the first ten years of "responsible government." However, the Viceroy's solution of this difficult question is very simple. "Responsible men," that is to say, men who have the good sense to know their place and understand who is master and who are consequently not possessed of backbone and a stiff neck, must be got as ministers. Secondly,—but let us quote His Excellency:

In the first place, we hope to get as ministers responsible men who will realize how greatly the services can help them. There is more in this than a pious hope. We may look to what has happened elsewhere. It has often been the case that men going in fresh to office, full of prejudice against the public services, have found them their best ally and protector against the critics which every administrator encounters, and have ended by gaining the full confidence of the service and giving the service theirs. Secondly, we do not intend to leave that handling of the services wholly to the minister. We propose to instruct the Governor,

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in a publlshed instrument, that we lay on him a personal responsibility for securing the welfare of the services. He will disallow proposals that aim or tend towards their disintegration. The head of every department under ministers will have access to the Governor. He will be in a position to represent difficulties to him before they become acute : and it will be for the Governor to deal with them by influence and persuasion, and finally by tactful exercise of authority. Lastly we propose to secure all existing rights of appeal to the Government of India and the Secretary of State whenever an officer is prejudicially affected as regards emoluments or pension by a minister's order. ...

It may be that even more provisions will be required. I will merely add that the Government of India will always regard this question of the fair treatment of the services as one of the cardinal tests by which our great experiment will be judged.

The Viceroy's words are so explicit that no elucidation is necessary. He has only stated explicitly what could have been guessed by intelligent men. The *British* officers will have the ear of the *British* Governor, as the *Indian* ministers cannot ; and full advantage will be taken of this natural advantage, increased by all requisite artificial aids. And if the Indian ministers cannot keep the British services in good humour, why, it would be proved to demonstration that Indians are unfit for "responsible government." What would-be Indian minister will not feel his stature grow by two feet or more at the prospect of the great dignity awaiting him ?

British Commercial Interests and the Reform Scheme.

Having placated the British-manned services, the Viceroy addressed himself to the task of soothing the ruffled temper of British capitalists and men of business. He only made explicit what we understood and explained to our readers at the first opportunity on a perusal of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. It is that all essential legislation necessary to preserve the practical British monopoly in the administration and exploitation of India has been reserved, as at present, in the hands of the Government of India, and the Government of India is to continue to have power to carry any legislation in the teeth of even solid opposition on the part of the people's representatives. His Excellency began by observing : "It would distress me profoundly if I thought that we could with justice be accused of underrating either the colossal financial interests at stake, or *the enormous part which British non-official energy, character and brains have played in the task of making India what she is.*" The Viceroy here refers only to the bright side of the shield. But critics of the British "development" and exploitation of India, including some men of British race, believe that there is a dark side, too. The words which we have italicised will serve their purpose as well as they have served their purpose of the Viceroy. His Exceilency explained the position as he saw it, in the following words :

The legislation on which British commerce in the main depends is mainly all-India in character. Some of it is embodied in the great commercial codes; some of it deals with matters of peculiar interest to industry like railways, factories, Petroleum, explosives or mines. Now inasmuch as these will remain with the Government of India, who will, as I have laid down more than once, retain indisputable authority, there is surely no reasonable ground for apprehension. Commerce can make its voice heard just as effectively as heretofore. It may be said however that, in the future, Provincial Councils will exercise more freely the power of amending all-India Acts. But that they can only do with the previous sanction of the Governor-General. In any case there is the safeguard of the triple veto of the Governor, the Governor General and the Crown ; and this applies to all provincial legislation.

"It seems to me indeed that the control of the matters of peculiar interest to European commerce is to a great extent concentrated in the hands of the Government of India. I am thinking of the tariff and the currency ; of banking, railways, shipping, posts and telegraphs. In these respects no existing measure of security is being diminished, and therefore apprehension is surely groundless.

"But evidently it is in the minds of some people that in the provincial sphere it will be possible injuriously to affect the commercial community. Say, for instance, by special interests, being singled out to bear the burden of provincial taxation or by rival interests being artificially stimulated by bounties. What protection will there be in such cases ? Well, the Secretary of State and I have pledged ourselves in paragraph 344 to reserve to Government power to protect any industry from prejudiced attack or privileged competition. To speak for myself, I believe this can be secured by embodying this undertaking in the instrument of instructions given to the Governor on appointment, wherein he will be informed that His Majesty's Government lay on him a responsibility for seeing that the pledge is made good. With such a public document in his hands the Governor, with the Government of India and Secretary of State behind him, would be in a very strong position to resist all proposals of his ministers which appeared to him to be acts of hostility to British commerce. There will moreover be representatives of that interest sitting in the provincial chamber ; and I cannot do them the injustice of supposing that they will fail to bring any just grievance effectively to the Governor's notice, or if need be to remind him of his responsibility.

These paragraphs ought to satisfy all

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British merchants and industrialists in India that they will not lose any of the fair and unfair advantages which they at present enjoy, when India comes to have "responsible government." There is no doubt that *national* governments have in all countries, and particularly in industrially backward countries, given and still give more encouragement, protection and advantages to indigenous capitalists, merchants, industrialists and entrepreneurs than to foreign men of these classes. But in India "responsible government" is not going even approximately to mean a *national* government. Therefore, for the satisfaction of foreign administrators and foreign exploiters, prospective Indian ministers have been sought in advance to be brought to a suitably timid frame of mind, so that they may not even dream of doing for their country's commerce and industries what the ministers of self-ruling countries have done and still do for theirs.

But are we down-hearted at the prospect? NO. Our soul is not conquered or killed. We should firmly resolve to find a way to be in our country for its good what any other men are in theirs.

The Source of India's "good sense."

In the concluding paragraph of his speech the Viceroy said :

"Nor would I have you suppose that I have anxieties in regard to the Indian masses, for each year I have spent here has strengthened my confidence in the solid good sense of India as a whole. The bulk of the Indian masses may live their lives remote from affairs lacking in education, still wanting in most of the paraphernalia of progress. They may perhaps in some sense be voiceless masses. But the good sense of India springs from a deep political instinct from lessons elarnt in a harsh school perhaps, learnt in ill-rewarded toil, in pestilence and famine and under the drums and tramplings of many a stern conqueror, but still learnt and not to be easily unlearnt. In that instinct lies a solid foundation for our public life. There lies our ultimate source of strength."

It may be that the Viceroy wanted to pay India a compliment.

But is that "good sense" really worth much which is, in plain language, synonymous with ingrained timidity due to the repeated and age-long thrashing and cruel treatment which the people have received at the hands of "many a stern conqueror"? Or is that "good sense" either really worth much which is synonymous with the stolid insensibility and despondency born of ill-rewarded toil and of sufferings from famine and pestilence? That good sense alone is worth the name which teaches the courageous, hopeful, healthy, capable and educated person to be honorably peace-loving and sober. The kind of good sense which the Viceroy spoke of cannot be a solid foundation for public *life* of any sort, though it may be a solid foundation for the stillness of public *lifelessness*. When the Viceroy said : "There lies our ultimate source of strength," what did he mean by "*our*" ? Did he mean the strength of the foreign bureaucracy ? If so, he was right. For the greater the lifelessness of the Indian public born of timidity, indifference to worldly affairs and despondency, the stronger would the bureaucracy remain. But if he meant the strength of the Indian people, he was wrong. For a people who are timid, indifferent and despondent owing to causes mentioned above, can never be strong in any sense or in any direction.

A Queer "Test of Capacity."

There is a very amusing passage, a passage which takes it for granted that the Indian people and the Indian members of council are fools, in the speech which Sir William Vincent made in introducing the Criminal Law (Emergency Powers) Bill, known as Rowlatt Bill No. 2. He said :

I ask the Council very earnestly to realise their own responsibility in this matter. There are many here who claim responsible government for the country, some sooner some later ; are they willing to accept the responsibility which responsible goverment inevitably connotes ; are they willing to face the hostile criticism which must frequently be expected when action is taken in the public interest ? My Lord, there are many who are watching the conduct of this Council on this occasion with great interest ; it will be regarded by many as a test of capacity—whether the Members of the Council have the courage to do what is right in assisting the Governmennt in its first duty, the maintenance of the public tranquillity. Will the Members be found wanting, and give a right to anyone to say that their attitude on this question indicates their unfitness for responsible government ? I earnestly hope that no such occasion and no such material will be furnished to those who are opposed to political progress in this country.

One may ask the Government of which Sir William is a member a plain question : If all the Indian members vote for the two Rowlatt Bills, will Government and British officials admit *in practice* our fitness for responsible government ? Will the non-official British community in India, which

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in this matter as in most others view things from the same angle as the officials admit *in practice* our fitness for responsible government? That is to say, will Government, and the official and non-official European communities, cease to put obstacles in the way of our getting responsible government, and try their best to help us in getting it as early as practicable? Certainly not. They will find out a thousand and one other excuses for delaying the grant of responsible government. What Sir William said was a trick, a dodge, a trap. No one is so foolish as to be taken in and fall into the trap.

Sir William spoke of the Indian Member's responsibility in the matter. It must be a very curious kind of responsibility which does not enable the Members to promote the welfare of their countrymen even by complete unanimity, but which enables them only to injure their countrymen by weakly siding with the bureaucracy. Responsibility implies Right, it implies controlling power. Those who have no controlling power have no Responsibility in the sense in which Sir William used the word. That is to say, the Indian Members are not responsible, to a greater extent than any ordinary citizen, for the maintenance of law and order in the country. It is the bureaucrats who are responsible. Our representatives will be responsible when there is Home Rule.

Sir William asked those Members who claim responsible government for the country, "are they willing to accept the responsibility which responsible Government inevitably connotes; are they willing to face the hostile criticism which must frequently be expected when action is taken in the public interest?" Every advocate of self-government will certainly reply in the affirmative. But what is the responsibility which responsible government inevitably connotes? It is the responsibility which comes *simultaneously with* or *after the acquisition of* responsible government. It cannot be connoted where there is yet no responsible government. Those who do not possess and exercise the right of responsible government, cannot be asked to make themselves responsible in the same way as those who possess this right.

The responsibility, then, which responsible government connotes, rests with those who are actually in possession of the right and power of responslble government. Having made this position clear, let us see what this responsibility means. And first let us see what it does not mean. It does not mean the surrender of one's own judgment to the foreign bureaucracy or oligarchy in power. On the contrary, it implies the possession of the power to judge for oneself and to firmly act according to that judgment. The next thing which this responsibility implies is that the responsible man is to have perfect freedom to consider all possible means and measures for the attainment of a certain object and to choose the best of these. Suppose the object is to prevent the growth of sedition, anarchism, and revolutionary tendencies in India. A responsible Indian, we mean one who has the power which responsibility implies, would consider all the circumstances which in different countries have given rise to these evils, and he would first of all try to remove the social, political, and economic causes thereof. If necessary, he may also think of and have recourse to repressive measures. In any case, his hands would not be tied to the adoption of only one course, and that at the dictation of outsiders. Sir William's idea of responsibility is quite ludicrous. He seems to say in effect: "*I* say, you must coerce, because that is *my* decision; if you don't agree, you are unfit for responsible government." Or, in other words, the only person who is fit for responsible government is one who is such a fool that he cannot think and judge and devise means for himself but agrees slavishly to acquiesce in the judgment of others.

Sir William's second question was "are they willing to face the hostile criticism which must frequently be expected when action is taken in the public interest?" Considering the powers and position of the Indian Members and the present constitution of the Government of India, this was a supremely puerile and ludicrous question. Any Indian Member might well reply, "Why do you expect *me* to face the hostile criticism which is expected because of the action which *you* SAY *you* are going to take in the public interest? I shall certainly be prepared to face hostile criticism when, being in a position and having the power *freely* to do both what is pleasant and what is unpleasant to the public,

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I choose to do, in the public interest as I understand it, what is unpleasant."

Sir William, and with him all official and non-official Anglo-Indians (old style) we presume, professed to be curious to ascertain "whether the Members of the Council have the courage to do what is right in assisting the Government in its first duty, the maintenance of the public tranquility." On many occasions when one boy wants another to do something wrong or mischievous, he says, "you dare not do it." If the latter is a fool, he is taken in and says, "I dare," and immediately does it. But as the work of the Indian Legislative Council is not child's play, it is generally believed that Sir William was serious when he asked his questions. Let us then seriously consider the question printed above. Sir William is guilty of begging the question more than once. In the first place, he takes it for granted that there is or may certainly or most probably be in the near future a disturbance of the tranquility, to maintain which steps should *now* be taken. In the second place he takes it for granted that the object of the Rowlatt Bills is and solely is the maintenance of the public tranquility, and that the result of their enactment and enforcement will certainly be and will be nothing else than the maintenance of public tranquility. In the third place, he assumes that it is *right* to assist the Government to pass coercive laws in the present state of the country and considering all the circumstances. In the fourth place, he takes it for granted that there is no other or no better means to maintain the public tranquility than coercive legislation. In the fifth place he takes it for granted that if the Indian Members of the Council refuse to Vote with the officials in the debate on those bills, it would be because of their want of courage. We hold, on the contrary, that if they vote against the bills, it will be a proof of their sound judgment, courage and patriotism, and, therefore of their fitness and capacity for self-rule. Similarly there may be a legitimate difference of opinion as regards all his other assumptions.

Were the "Forces of Laws and Order Vanquished"?

The Rowlatt Committee's *Report* is a justification of the policy of internment of hundreds of men under the Defence of India Act rules and of the confinement of many others as state prisoners under Regulation 3 of 1818, on the ground that, as the forces of law and order had been vanquished by the forces of anarchism and revolution, it was necessary to call in the aid of special laws and procedure to re-establish the ascendancy of law and order. This assumption,—that the forces of law and order had been vanquished, and may be vanquished again in the absence of special laws and procedure—is also practically put forward as the justification for enacting special repressive laws. In the debate on Rowlatt Bill No. 2, Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma combated this assumption. He asked whether it was correct statement of fact to say that the forces of law and order had been vanquished. He submitted it was not, and gave reasons for his submission.

> I take the liberty to say that the police of Bengal as of other provinces have been as efficient, perhaps much more efficient, in tracking this particular kind of crime than they have been in grappling with other serious forms of crime, and if there is any inefficiency, if there is any inability to cope with the situation, it is not to be noticed in this particular case alone, but it is to be found all along in the case of grave crime. I beg permission to quote only a few facts to show...that in the matter of the sedition trials the percentage of convictions has been much higher than in the case of murders and dacoities, and therefore it is not a correct fact to say that the forces of law and order have been found inadequate in this particular instance. If you say that they have been all along inadequate in dealing with grave crime, I have no answer but to say, 'yes,' but if the Government thinks that they have been adequate in dealing with grave crime, but that in this particular instance alone they have failed, I beg to join issue with them.... The Committee say that in the ten attempts to strike at revolutionary conspiracies, 192 persons were involved in the prosecutions launched, and that 63 were convicted, that is a percentage of abont 33. Now, my Lord, what has been the fate of the cases which have been brought to the Courts for murder and dacoity ? You find in Bengal during the year 1912, 420 reported cases of murders and only 39 convictions, which is 9 per cent. You find in 1915, 514 reported cases and 71 convictions, about 11 per cent. ; in 1917, 425 and 60 convictions....
>
> "Take dacoities again. You find there were in 1912, 249 dacoities and you have had only 19 convictions or 7 per cent. and you had in 1915, 769 dacoities and 102 convictions, as against 24 or so in the case of sedition. You might multiply instances and you will find that, although the Bengal police take credit to themselves that in the detecting of cases including miscellaneous cases they have been more efficient than the rest of India, taking the whole of India the police in other provinces have been much more efficient than the Bengal police in the matter of trackling grave crime. Therefore, my Lord, having such an inefficient

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machinery in your hands, can the Government complain that the people have not loyally co-operated in dealing with this sort of grave crime? It is not the fault of the people that they have not succeeded in enabling the Government to secure a larger number of convictions. It is the fault of the administrative machinery.... Therefore, if you ask for a remedy, the remedy is to make the police in general, and the Bengal police in particular, more efficient.

Another argument advanced by the Rowlatt Committee, namely, that the convictions have not been able to repress crime, was subjected to criticism by Mr. Sarma. He asked:

Have they repressed crime in the case of murder? Have they repressed crime in the case of dacoity? We find that the number of crimes has been increasing year after year throughout India. This state of things is not confined to the case of sedition alone; it is to be found in the case of all grave crime. 3,340 reported murders in 1903 and 4,770 in 1915 with 1,103 and 1,401 convictions and 2,339 and 3,738 dacoities with 443 and 733 convictions. I shall not weary the Council with further figures, but that is the state of things.

His practical suggestion was:

Just as you stamped out the Thugs by a special department, if need be, create a special department and stamp out this crime. If a province is so beggarly as not to be able to find money for it, take the money from the other provinces, if necessary, in order to be able to finance that province; but in the name of common sense do not deprive the people of other provinces of their rights and liberties, or at any rate do not subject them to the risk of losing their rights and liberties simply because you find one administration unable to cope with crime of a particular character.

"Well, therefore, my first position is that the statements upon which the Rowlatt Committee has based its recommendations that the forces of law and order have been found not to be equal to the occasion and that convictions have not been able to repress crime are only partially true, and that if we are to follow up the logic of the proposals, we shall have to discard judicial administration in the case of all grave crimes also in order to be able to attain the ends we have in view.

Higher Pay for the I. M. S.

A Reuter's telegram reads thus:—

LONDON, FEB. 12.

The Secretary of State for India informed a deputation from the British Medical Association that improvements in pay for permanent officers of the Indian Medical Service, both military and civil, approximating to thirty-three per cent on the present rates of military pay, had been approved of from December 1st last. 'The object of this measure was to attract European candidates of the highest qualifications. Mr. Montagu said he was of opinion that it was desirable that medical men should enjoy as fully as possible opportunities for private practice. No further restriction in this connection was contemplated. The deputation expressed satisfaction, and promised cordial co-operation in securing recruits.

Money can always be found for increasing the pay and emoluments of British officials. But for the spread of education, improvement of sanitation, &c., we must pay fresh taxes.

Every British-manned service is going to have its salaries so increased that there is sure to be no monies left for adequate expenditure on education, sanitation, &c., without fresh taxation!

Case of Babu Jyotish Chandra Ghosh.

The reader remembers the case of Babu Jyotish Chandra Ghosh, M. A., State prisoner, who has been lying in a state of stupor since 1917 in the Lunatic Asylum at Berhampore. His mother petitioned the Bengal Government praying that her son might be brought to Calcutta, placed under proper medical treatment, and she and other members of her family allowed to live with him. She received the following reply from Government on February 1st:—

Srimati Dakshayani Dassi is informed that Government are now in a position to make special arrangements for the accommodation of her son, State Prisoner Jyotish Chandra Ghosh and herself within the Berhampore Lunatic Asylum. The quarters provided would consist of 2 rooms, 3 outhouses and a courtyard fitted with a watertap and latrine, all surrounded by a high wall and affording privacy.

2. Srimati Dakshayani Dassi is invited to say whether she is prepared to accept this offer and if so which if any, of her immediate relatives or domestics she would wish to accompany her. It should be understood that if the offer is accepted, the rules of the Asylum must be strictly complied with, and also that no visitors of any kind from outside can be received within the Asylum except under orders of the Superintendent or of Government, and in accordance with such conditions as may be imposed. Her son will continue to receive from the authorities of the Asylum the same medical attention as he is at present receiving.

The official reply is heartless, and unnecessarily so. The prisoner has been lying in a senseless condition and is incapable of any mischief. Government would lose nothing by even setting him unconditionally free. Under the circumstances why ask the poor mother also to reduce herself to the condition of an imprisoned lunatic for her son's sake. She has again petitioned Government, praying

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Titled or Title-hunter ?

MR. TINDRAKUMAR SEN.

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(a) that he may be brought down to Calcutta with proper arrangements as to nursing and feeding, and where to my mind he may be properly treated and nowhere else;

and (b) to place him under the necessary supervision of the Government but in a condition in which he may feel that he is in familiar environment under the constant attendance and care of his near and dear relatives and not under the present restraint.

It is a very reasonable prayer and ought to be granted.

We understand that at a public meeting held on Feb. 16 in the Hooghly town hall, under the chairmanship of the Hon. Rai Bahadur Mahendrachandra Mitra, M.A., B.L., the following resolution was carried:

"That this meeting places on record its deep sense of regret at the manner in which the Government have treated the unfortunate Jyotishchandra Ghose state prisoner lying in a state of absolute stupor and insanity in the Berhampore Lunatic Asylum for about two years, and for the sake of justice and humanity urges upon the Government to accede to the prayer of his mother for his transfer to Calcutta for medical treatment.

It was moved by Babu Jatindranath Banerji, a respectable merchant of the place, and seconded by Babu Mihir Lal Das, a local senior pleader.

It would be an act of justice and humanity if some member of the Bengal legislative council moved some such resolution as the following:—

"That in consideration of the long period for which Babu Jyotish Chandra Ghose has been lying in a state of absolute stupor and insanity and of the shattered state of his health and mind this council requests the Government to recommend to the Government of India that he be released from detention, or allowed to live with his mother with necessary arrangements as to feeding and nursing under Government supervision."

We also think that, with reference to the provisions of Regulation 3 of 1818, questions like the following ought to be asked by some Hon. Member of Council:—

(i) Have the Govt. received regularly "periodical reports on the conduct, health, and the comfort" of Babu Jyotish Chandra Ghosh, under sec. 3 of Reg. III of 1818, "from the officer in whose custody" he has been placed?

(ii) If so, will the Govt. be pleased to state whether the grounds of the order for his detention came under revision from time to time," particularly during the period of insanity and stupor?

(iii) If so, will the Govt. be pleased to state if the grounds of continuing in force the order for his detention after he became insane and stuporous were made known in writing to the state prisoner, or to his mother, or to any of his relatives, so that any of them might bring to the notice of the Govt. all circumstances relating to those grounds?"

In the above draft of questions, the words within inverted commas are taken from Regulation 3 of 1818.

Mr. Aurobindo Ghose on Mr. Patel's Bill.

Mr. Ranchordas Lotwalla, the managing director of the *Hindustan*, has received the following letter from Mr. Aurobindo Ghose containing his opinion on Mr. Patel's bill for validating Hindu intercaste marriages:

In answer to your request for a statement of my opinion on the intermarriage question, I can only say that every thing will have my full approval which helps to liberate and strengthen the life of the individual in the frame of a vigorous society and restore the freedom and energy which India had in her heroic times of greatness and expansion. Many of our present social forms were shaped, many of our customs originated in a time of contraction and decline. They had their utility for self-defence and survival within narrow limits, but are a drag upon our progress in the present hour when we are called upon once again to enter upon a free and courageous self-adaptation and expansion. I believe in an aggressive and expanding, not in a narrowly defensive and self-contracting, Hinduism.

Whether Mr. Patel's bill is the best way to bring about the object intended, is a question on which I can pronounce no decided opinion. I should have preferred a change from within the society rather than one brought about by legislation. But I recognise the difficulty created by the imposition of the rigid and mechanical notions of European Jurisprudence on the old Hidu Law which was that of a society living and developing by an organic evolution. It is no longer easy or perhaps in this case possible to develop a new custom or revert to an old,—for the change proposed amounts to no more than such a reversion. It would appear that the difficulty created by the legislature can only be removed by a resort to legislation. In that case the bill has my approval.

The Budget.

Sir James Meston presents the Finance Statement to-day (1st March) and discussion thereon, in the Imperial Legislative Council, comes off from the 7th to the 12th instant. The Budget for 1919-20, in its final form, will be presented to the Council on the 21st idem. Reserving our comments thereon, till then, it will be in the meantime interesting to know what the word "Budget" signifies and how it came to be first used in Great Britain. "Budget" is derived from the old Irish word "bolge" or "bolc"—a sack; but it has come to its place in the English language in rather a tortuous way. It was adopted into the Latin tongue in the form of "bulga," meaning a leathern bag or wallet. On

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its entry into the French language "bulga" became "bouge," and it is from "bougette," the diminutive of "bouge," that we get the English word "budget." Six hundred years ago "bulga" was used in England to denote a saddle bag. Then the French form replaced the Latin. Lord Berners, about 1530, writes of a "boget" "with leteers hangying at his sadel bow," and Udall, in 1542, of a "pourse or a bougette." In his French-English Dictionary, published in 1650, Randle Cotgrave gives as the meaning of "bougette" "a little coffer or trunke of wood covered with leather," and adds, "Now gentleman calls so both any such trunke and the box or till in their cabinets wherein they keep their money." Later on "budget" came by a natural process to mean not the leather-covered trunk but its contents, and when the Chancellor of the Exchequer took from his leather-covered despatch box the papers relating to his financial proposals he was said to "open his Budget." This usage had become firmly established in 1733, for in a pamphlet entitled "The Budget Opened" Sir Robert Walpole was compared, *apropos* of his forthcoming Excise Bill, to a mountebank opening his wallet of quack medicines and conjuring tricks. "At length", says the writer, "the Mountain is delivered. What is revealed? Nothing but what has been known, confuted and exploded long ago. The Budget is opened, and our St Emperick hath dispensed his packets b his many couriers through all parts of th kingdom." Thus the word "Budget" gain ed its first footing in the political voc bulary in England as a term of abu In the "*Gentleman's Magazine*" in 17 there occurs the following passage ref ring to the financial statement for th year:—"The Administration has cond scended.....to explain the Budget to th meanest capacity," and in the *Anna Register* for 1785 we have—"on the 30th June Mr. Pitt opened the national ac counts for the present year, on what is generally termed 'The Budget."

To Intending Subscribers.

We printed 5,000 copies each of the January and February numbers. As these have been exhausted, and there will not be a second edition, these two numbers will no longer be available. We have printed 5250 copies of the present March number. New subscriptions may begin from March or any subsequent number. The March number, too, is expected to be exhausted during the month. Owing to the high price of paper we are not making any provision for supplying back numbers of the current year.

Printed and published by Abinash Chandra Sarkar, at the B. M. Press, 211, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.

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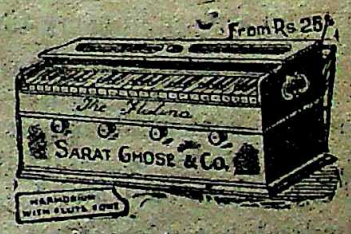

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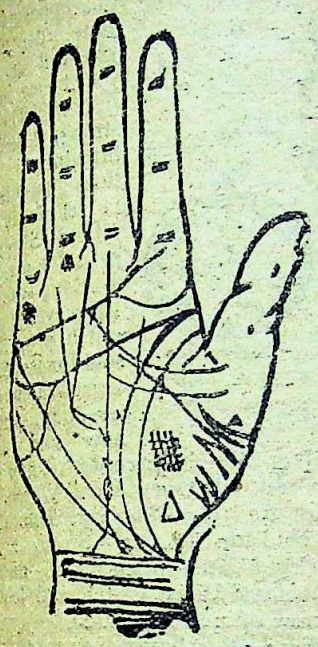

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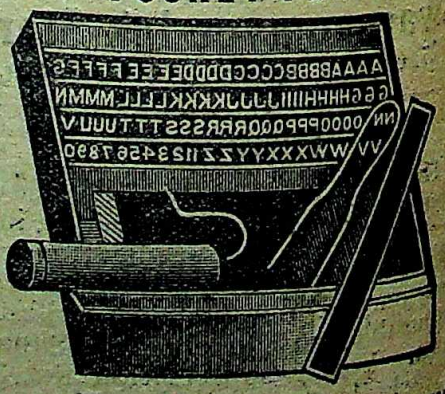

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8. "The Flower that has once blown for ever dies"—by Muhammad Abdur Rahman Chughtai.
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12. In the Rains—by Gaganendranath Tagore.
13. Dance of Siva—by Nandalal Bose.
14. Ganesha Writing the Mahabharata—by the late Surendranath Ganguli.
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5. Behula Dancing at the Court of Indra—by Mrs. Sukhalata Rao.
6. The Swing—From an Old Painting.
7. "My Lamp Goes Out Every Time"—by Charuchandra Roy.
8. Sita and Lakshmana in the Forest—by Sarada Charan Ukil.

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9. The Milkmaids—by Sailendranath Dey.
10. The Passing of Balarama—by the late Upendrakishor Roy.
11. Wild Duck—Old Painting.
12. Bathing During a Lunar Eclipse—by Mukulchandra De.
13. Work and Worship—by Jamini Prakash Ganguli.
14. The Lamp and The Moon—by Muhammad Abdur Rahman Chughtai.
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Opinions on Chatterjee's Picture Albums :—

"New India" says :—

The third of these delightful Picture Albums is now out, and is a worthy companion to the two previous ones. Already it is possible, thanks to Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee's practical zeal for Indian art, to fill a fair-sized picture gallery with a representative collection of Indian pictures for the modest sum of Rs. 6. Like the others, this third album contains sixteen coloured reproductions by different artists. All except one—and the unknown artists of three old paintings—are familiar to possessors of these albums, and they are easily recognisable by their distinctive styles. Explanatory notes are appended.

One of the most original works of art in this number is by Mukul Chandra De, entitled "Bathing During a Lunar Eclipse." The scene is typical of Indian life—three people are engaged in their devotions at the brink of a river. The grouping of the figures is effective, and the colour contrast of soft rich reds against a dark blue background is bold and pleasing. The foot of the woman who is standing is a delightfully delicate touch. The next to capture our fancy is Samarendranath Gupta's "Kajri Dance". The suggestion of graceful movement is well nigh perfect, and the rainy sky makes the draperies of the dancers seem almost luminous. A note of tragedy is struck by Asit Kumar Haldar's clever study of a captive woman in a rude tent lit by a lantern ; the title is "Prize of War."

Abanindranath Tagore's romantic picture of Shah Jahan dreaming of the Taj Mahal is so well-known that comment is superfluous. Gandhari, the wife of the blind King Dhritarashtra, is the subject of Nanda Lal Bose's picture. The artist depicts her as voluntarily blindfolded, to keep her husband company, and looking at the charming figure in the picture, one hopes that the King had the good sense to take her will for the deed. "Behula at the Court of Indra," by Mrs. Sukhalata Rao, is a brilliant sequel to her picture—in the previous number—of the same heroine on the raft. The golden glow which pervades the scene is quite what one would expect in heaven, but this determined young woman's face clearly indicates that she does not mean to stay there, having only come in order to get back her husband. "Sita and Lakshman in the Forest" is a fine example of Saradacharan Ukil's work ; the

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glimpse of purple on Sita's shoulders amply compensates for the sombre hues of the rest of the picture. "Work and Worship" is from an oil painting by Jaminiprokash Ganguli, and is characteristic of his strong treatment of pastoral subjects. The late Surendranath Ganguli's "Kartikeya" is another well-known masterpiece of mythological art, but the colour in this reproduction is more of a yellow than the warm orange of another reproduction we have seen.

A pretty allegory is embodied in "The Lamp and the Moon" by Abdur Rahaman Chughtai, and the equally ethereal beauty of Charuchandra Roy's "My lamp goes out every time" tempts one to look for an allegorical interpretation to this picture also. The three examples of the old school are full of interest; "The Swing" being remarkably advanced for its time, especially the costume of the lady on the swing.

The Home Ruler says :

Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee's Picture album No. 3 maintains the reputation of its predecessors. The collection has the peculiar merit of comprehensiveness.

The Panjabee says :

Every one of these pictures display some qualities of invention and imagination, a purity of design, a taste for harmony and composition, and a subtle blending of colours which deserve a special and separate notice.

The Madras Mail says :

An interesting selection of Modern Indian pictures is issued from the office of the *Modern Review*, Calcutta, as the first part of "Chatterjee's Picture Albums." The most notable, perhaps, is Mr. Abanindranath Tagore's well-composed "Passing of Shah Jehan."

The Hindustan Review says :

Ought to find a large circulation amongst our fellow-countrymen interested in the renaissance of Indian painting. The sixteen facsimile reproductions (on a reduced scale) are well calculated to delight the admirers of the new school. The price, Rs. 2, is ridiculously low for such a splendid collection of beautiful pictures.

The Mahratta says :—

An excellent little album containing some very beautiful specimens of Indian Art. "In Sportive Mood" and 'The Mother' will match any of their similars of foreign design and penmanship.

The Home Ruler says :—

Excellent little album which gives us some very fine specimens of the Indian School of Art. I have no doubt that this album will be a great educative influence in the field of art, and that instead of paying lip homage to our great pictures, our young men will take to really understanding and appreciating their merits.

One of the finest pictures in the whole collection is "So all was Lost."

I would strongly urge the readers of the *Home Ruler* to send their orders for it immediately, as they will be making a very sound investment of their two rupees. It affords an equal amount of instruction and entertainment.

The Hindustan Review says :

We welcome the second series of *Chatterjee's Picture Albums*. It contains reproductions of sixteen excellent paintings by leading Indian Artists of the Calcutta School and is very cheaply priced at two rupees. It deserves a large circulation.

United India and Native States says :

Each picture has a beauty of its own, which is eminently enjoyable, but if we should express preference, we would show a partiality for the 'Homeless Mother.' Much praise is also due to the general effect in "Shrimati the Martyr." "At the temple door" and other pictures. The album will be a source of delight and inspiration to all those who can appreciate idealism in art.

The Commonweal says :

These coloured reproductions of the finest examples of modern as well as ancient Indian paintings are now being published in the form of albums, each containing sixteen pictures, at the wonderfully moderate price of two rupees.

Perhaps the most powerful in its haunting beauty is "The Homeless Mother" by J. P. Ganguly ; the colouring is mellow and subdued, and the figures so blend with the mystery of twilight that a wonderful peace envelops all. The picture reminds us of J. F. Millet at his best.

... splendid work involved in the production of these picture albums. The second album amply confirms the high estimate at first formed.

...Nanda Lal Bose's masterpiece 'Siva's Dance of Destruction." Here is a complete philosophical idea wrapped up in a single work of art.

Abanindra Nath Tagore's "Tear-drop on the Lotus Leaf,"...a delicately-coloured study of a woman....

We have in this beautiful collection of Indian Art-pictures (Albums No. 3) a marvellous unfoldment of the Indian heart in the artistic evolution of present India, so deeply influenced by the secular schools of Indian painting under the Mughal Emperors who flourished in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and also by the noble epics of India in "the Golden Age of Indian literature". The splendid frescoes of Ajanta and the world-renowned sculptures of Ellora and Elephanta have played a significant part in the shaping of the quaint and delicate lines that often occur in these pictures.

The Home Ruler says :

The great educative value of Mr. Chatterjee's enterprise. The opening picture is the great masterpiece, *Siva's Dance of Destruction*, by Mr. Nandalal Bose.

It is not a pleasant business to be obliged to pick and choose in all that is lovely. *Behula on the Raft* by Mrs. Sukhalata Rao....The colour harmonies of the picture are exquisite and the expression of Behula is a masterly study. *Sita in Captivity* by Mr. Saradacharan Ukil gives a lovely rendering of Sita and the environments are perfectly in keeping with the centra

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Sita's deep dejection is depicted with the hand of a master. *The Broken String* by Mr. Samarendranath Gupta. The artist has expressed his meaning very cleverly.

It is a trite platitude that an artist is very sensitive to his environments and in *His Heritage* Mr. Asit-Kumar Haldar depicts with a few bold touches the crushing influence of the existing political and economic conditions. I cannot recall to my mind a sharper delineation of the crushing weight of the present regime than this simple picture which is aptly named "His Heritage" and which vividly shows us "what life has made of man." *The Day's Reward* by Mr. J. P. Gangoly is an answer to those critics who differentiate between the classes and the masses in this country. It is impossible that this picture could be painted by a man who did not fully and sympathetically appreciate the sorrows and joys of a peasant's life.

Mr. Muhammad Abdur Rahman Chughtai has given a first rate rendering of a line from the *Rubaiyat* of Omar Khayyam, "*The flower that has once blown forever dies.*" One of the best pictures in my collection is *At Dawn of Day* by Mr. C. Ray. It is well worthwhile for every one to order a copy and judge for himself.

The Mahratta says :—

Chatterjee's Picture Albums, No 3, Modern Review Office, Calcutta, Rs. 2. This number contains very beautiful pictures : 'Queen Gandhari' 'wild duck,' "work and worship" 'the lamp and the moon' 'the God Kartikeya' and 'by torch-light' are really extremely fascinating. They are certainly a marvel of penmanship.

The Adyar Bulletin (edited by Mrs. Annie Besant) says :—

Very slowly but steadily the Indian Art Movement is progressing... These albums are very well executed and are sold at exceedingly cheap prices. Mr. Chatterjee is the Editor of a remarkably able Journal—the best of its kind—*The Modern Review*, and those of our readers who are interested in India may do well to peruse it.

United India and Native States says :—

One peculiarity of these albums is that the pictures are reproduced by a firm of Indian process-workers, after Indian subjects, drawn by Indian artists, in Indian style and published by an Indian journalist. As the producers of high class colour reproduction in this country, the works of U. Roy & Sons have faithfully reproduced the pictures as their original colours are very well-known. Except the "Siva & Parvati" the blocks of which were prepared in England Messrs U. Roy & Sons are responsible for the whole series of reproductions. Excepting Mr. J. P. Gangoly's "The day's reward" which is spoiled by the preponderance of the pink tint, all the reproductions attain a high artistic level.

...Molaram's masterpiece "Siva & Parvati" (now unhappily lost to India)...high level of excellence in N. L. Bose's original conception of "Siva's dance" and Mr. Tagore's poetic rendering of "Tear drop on the Lotus Leaf." The delicate beauty and the subtle realism of Mr. G. N. Tagore's "In the Rains" is very striking and the difficult greytones have been very admirably reproduced. "The Broken String" by Mr. Samarendra Gupta will unlock the door to many and varied suggestions and moods. Truly has it been said that "pictures are the windows of the Soul" and most of these 16 reproductions in colour will justify that saying and will easily enrich one's mind with many highly spiritual suggestions and beautiful thoughts as one glances through them once, only to begin again to repeat what would be a twin feast to the eye and the mind.

The Hindusthan Review says :

Our esteemed friend, Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, is indefatigable in his efforts to popularize the new school of Indian Art, both through the medium of his *Modern Review*, which he conducts with such consummate ability, and also *Chatterjee's Picture Albums*, the first two of which we have already noticed in terms of appreciation. The third series, under notice, contains sixteen most excellent reproductions of works of famous artists, and should secure as large a circulation as its predecessors.

The Madras Mail, dated the 8th January, 1919 says :—

Chatterjee's Picture Album is a delightful collection of pictures painted by students of the new Bengal revival school and issued by the *Modern Review* Office, Calcutta (Rs. 2). Many of the pictures represent a delicate blend of the ideal and the realistic so characteristic of the school. Ordinary scenes of daily life are touched with the high mystic significance of religious devotion. Some, again, represent with idyllic grace scenes from Indian folklore and legend. Most of these have already appeared in the *Modern Review*, but a handy collection at moderate price is quite welcome.

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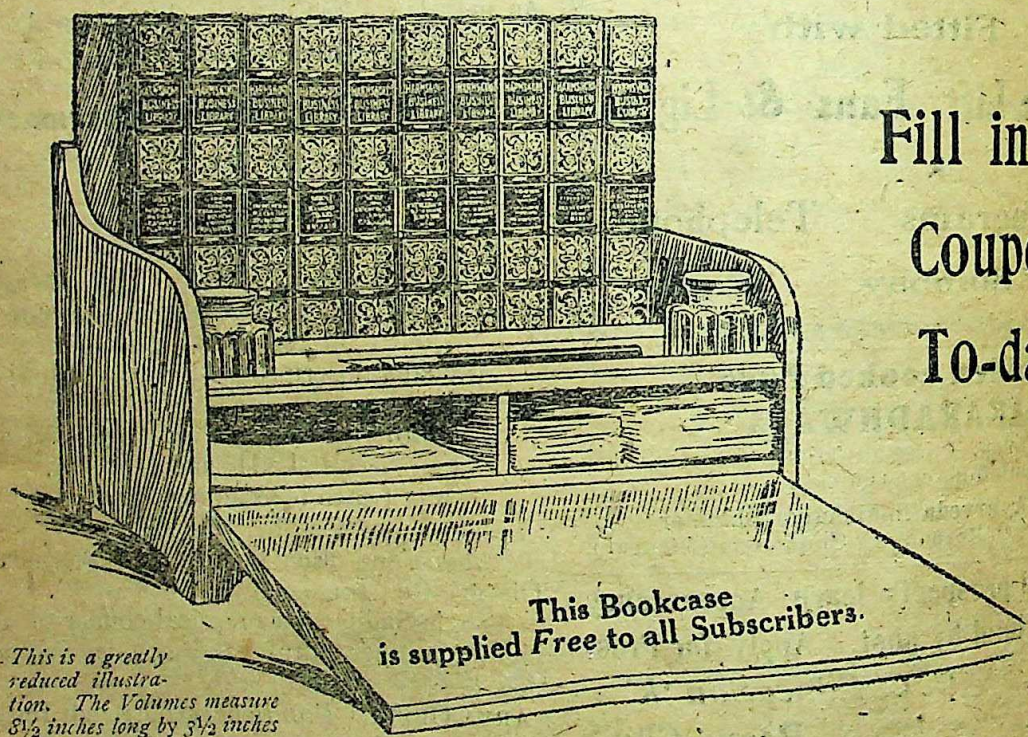

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THE MODERN REVIEW

VOL. XXV
No. 4

APRIL, 1919

WHOLE
No. 148

"NATIONAL EDUCATION"

II

I have before me three pronouncements on "National education"; one by Mrs. Annie Besant, the other by Mr. B. G. Tilak, and the third by Sir Rash Behari Ghose. Of these, Mrs. Besant's is perhaps the only one which embodies ideas on the subject. I say this without any disrespect to the others. I will, therefore, consider that one first.

Says Mrs. Besant:

"Nothing can more swiftly emasculate national life, nothing can more surely weaken national character, than allowing the education of the young to be controlled by foreign influences, to be dominated by foreign ideals. From 1896, onwards, I have ventured to urge on the Indian people that the education which was given to their sons was denationalising and despiritualising. Foreign habits, foreign manners, foreign dress, foreign ways are all enforced in a foreign language, with, in missionary schools, a foreign religion to boot, sterilising the boy's heart, and despiritualising his whole nature. Is it any wonder that the national spirit decayed, until a vigorous effort was made to capture education by Dayanandi Ram, Hansraj (and others mentioned in article II)?

Coming to the constructive side of the problem, Mrs. Besant propounds the question "what must our national education be," and then answers it in the following terms:

"(1) It must be controlled by Indians, shaped by Indians, carried on by Indians. *It must hold up Indian ideals of devotion, wisdom, and morality, and must be permeated by the Indian religious spirit* rather than fed on the letter of the creeds. That spirit is spacious, tolerant, all-embracing, and recognises that man goes to God along many roads and that all the prophets came from him.

"(2) National education must live in an atmosphere of proud and glowing patriotism, and this atmosphere must be kept sweet, fresh, and bracing by the study of Indian literature, Indian history, Indian triumphs in science, in art, in politics, in war, in colonisation, in manufactures, in trade, in commerce. The Arthashastra must be studied as well as the Dharmashastra, science and politics as well as religion.

"(3) National Education must not be separated from the homes of the Nation. The ideals, the interests, the principles, the emotions of the one must be those of the other. For the Nation is built out of families, and the present opposition between the home and the school must cease. The teachers in school and college must work in harmony with the teachers in the home.

"(4) National education must meet the national temperament at every point, and develop the national character. India is not to become a lesser—nor even a greater—England, but to evolve into a mightier India. British ideals are good for Britain, but it is India's ideals that are good for India. We do not want echoes nor monotones; we want a choral melody of nations, mirroring the varied qualities of Nature and of God. Shall Nature show but a single color, and trees and flowers, and mountains, and sky wear but a single hue? Harmonious variety and not monotony is the mark of perfection.

"*Away from all apologies for India, with all deprecatory explanations of India's ways and customs, and traditions.* India is herself, and needs not to be justified; *for verily, God has evolved no greater, no more exquisite nationality than India's among all the broken reflections of His own perfect beauty.*"

The language of this pronouncement is dear to the heart of every Nationalist. It is spirited and stimulating as well as ennobling and encouraging. As a piece of rhetoric, it is exquisite. I have often used similar language, and with good results. I may use it again if occasion demands it. We Indians owe a great debt of gratitude to Mrs. Besant, for her activities in connection with the Theosophical Society, and the Central Hindu College at Benares. Our obligations to her have grown immensely, both in volume and intensity by her lead and interest in the Home Rule movement. Consequently, anything that comes from her must receive our careful and respectful consideration. Yet these facts make it all the more incumbent upon us not to hesi-

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tate to say "we differ", when, after a careful and respectful consideration, we do differ from her. I am certain that she does not want us to follow her blindly. She lays no claim to infallibility.

Indian publicists have a duty to perform. They are planning the future of their nation, which is at the present moment in a state of transition and is undergoing a process of transformation. So much depends on education.

Education is *the* most vital question for us. It is the most important of all our problems. In a way it is *the fundamental problem.* We cannot afford to have loose and confused ideas about education, the aims and ends of education, and the methods of education. Our whole future hinges on it. It behoves us, therefore, to devote all the mental energy, which we possess, to the right understanding and the right solution thereof. It would not do to be carried away by prejudices and mere sentimentality. The decison must be arrived at by deep, careful and critical consideration of the whole question. A hastily arrived at decision, or one that is founded on prejudice and sentimentality, may materially hinder our progress or, at any rate, slow down the rate of progress.

The national mind is just now in a fluid condition. It needs wise and thoughtful guidance. Like wax, it will take such impressions as those whom the people love and respect, and in whose wise leadership they have confidence, decide to give. Tendencies created, prejudices reared, sentiments disseminated, when they go deep into the psychology of the nation, are difficult to uproot. To create national tendencies, sentiments, prejudices, impressions, and preferments in haste, under the idea that they can be corrected, later, when found to be wrong, involves so much waste of energy and opportunity that no wise leader ought to do it lightheartedly. This essay is only a plea for careful, critical consideration, as well as broad, thoughtful planning. There is no intention to indulge in petty or destructive criticism, nor to pose as an oracle.

III

Firstly, we should come to a clear understanding of what our national ideals are. Do we want to be an integral part of the "civilized world", making our contribution to its progress, by thought and action, or do we want to be an isolated national unit, happy in our retirement and isolation? Of course, we want political liberty, economic independence, social solidarity and religious freedom; but for what ends? Are these things ends in themselves or only means to some other and higher end? If so, what is that end?

Some will say that salvation is the ultimate end we desire. But what is meant by "salvation"? Is it the *Nirvána* of Buddhism, the merging of the individual soul in the supreme soul of the *vedantist*, the temporary bliss of the Arya Samáj, the *mukti* of the Christian, or the paradise of the orthodox Moslem? Or are these after all only delusions? The real salvation lies in freedom from misery, poverty, disease, ignorance and slavery of every kind, in this life, now and here for ourselves, and hereafter for our successors. There are religions which enjoin on their followers the duty of suffering all the pangs of misery, poverty, disease, ignorance and slavery, in order to have the certainty of bliss and happiness hereafter in the life to come. In fact, this is more or less the tendency of all religions which have been systematised.

From the earnestness, which all classes of Indians are displaying in fighting out misery, poverty, disease, ignorance and slavery, it appears that they have made up their minds on one question at least, whatever be the ultimate salvation, *mukti* or *niját* or *nirvána*. Our people do not want misery, poverty, disease, ignorance and slavery either for themselves or for their children. Hindus (*Santanists, Arya Samajists, Brahmo Samajists, Vedantists* and others), Moslems, Christians, all are agreed on this point. Everyone is trying to explain his own dogma or creed, in such a way as to make a pursuit of happiness in this world by the righteous acquisition of wealth and health and knowledge, the desirable end. The natural bent of the human mind is also in the same direction. But priests, prophets and reformers are not dead, nor do they show any signs of death. They are just hiding their heads and biding their time. With the least encouragement and stimulus they come out into the open and start their poisonous propaganda.

Vairagya, a life of renunciation and poverty, is still the ostensible goal of every

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religion. *Sannyasis, Dervishes* and Monks, are still our ideals among men. Even the most rational and liberal-minded reformer respects and reveres them. Men of religion we call them, and hence our instinctive, impulsive, deep-rooted sentiment in their favour. What is worse is that some modern educated men, who are neither priests nor monks, and who in most cases do not themselves lead a life of asceticism, are holding up the same ideal for their younger countrymen.

Every religion contains some beautiful and sublime principles which save its followers from utter annihilation in the struggle for life, be it individual or social, but the bulk of every religion's teaching and its literature as ordinarily understood, lays emphasis on the *negation* of life, as distinguished from its assertion and intensification.

Higher Hindu religion teaches that salvation lies in *gnan* (knowledge),—not mere knowledge, but realised knowledge. It insists that those who aspire to this kind of knowledge, must live a full life, albeit a controlled life, before they can acquire that kind of *gnan*. They must do their full duty to society and learn all that has to be learnt by social amenities, relations and sensations. Then they can renounce certain phases of life, in favour of certain others. A vow of poverty did not in ancient times involve an exaltation of poverty over wealth, but only freedom from the obligations of property at a certain stage of one's life. In fact the most ancient literature of the Hindus makes no mention except by far-fetched implication of *Sannyasis*. All the great *Rishis* and *Munis* of the past had property, as well as families. They preferred to live away from crowds only for purposes of research, for *Yoga Samadhi*, and concentration of mind on the problems of life. That condition was not an end in itself, but a social means for a social end.

It was not a desire of *Mukti* alone that led them to do it, but the very social and admirable desire of helping humanity by a rational solution of the problems of life. Look how this ideal was degraded in later times, until we came to exalt a life of mere *Tyag* (renunciation) as such, and to place it at the top of life's edifice, as a goal, an ideal and a lighthouse. It is true the whole nation never practised it, but that was because it was impossible to do so. As many people as wished to adopt it, did adopt it, until we find that to-day a good part of the nation having abandoned all productive economic work, engages itself in preaching the virtues of *Sadhuism*, and in making the people believe that next to becoming a *Sadhu* himself, the best thing for a man to do to avoid damnation is to feed and maintain *Sadhus*.

I am afraid what I have said of Hinduism is also more or less true of Mahammadanism and Christianity. So deep-rooted is the sentiment, that even iconoclastic reforming agencies like the Arya Samaj, the Brahmo Samaj and the Vivekananda Mission among the Hindus so often drift in the same direction. Their hymns and songs and prayers are still brimful of that spirit. At the time when English education began to be imparted in India, this fatal tendency towards the negation of life, was a substantial part of our national character. We may defend our respective religions against the charge of having actively taught this negation as an ideal but we cannot with any honesty deny the fact of the prevalence of this spirit to an alarming extent among our people. Nor can we conceal, that more or less the whole of our literature breathes this tendency. We may call it an addition of degenerate times, but there it is. No one reading that literature can evade the subtle influence of this tendency which pervades it. Our Epics are the most human documents we possess. Yet, even they are full of that spirit.

Now it must be owned that the present awakening, the protest against this tendency, owes its birth to foreign education, however godless it may have been. Sometimes I feel thankful for its being godless. But for this education there may have been no awakening or, to be more accurate, the awakening might have been indefinitely delayed. To my mind the first need of India is the absolute destruction of this tendency. This tendency is the fundamental basis of all our national weakness. Christianity, too, has that tendency and if the Christian nations had stuck to true Christianity, they would have made no progress at all. It is not Christianity that has produced the modern improvements in life. Progress in Europe has been made in spite of Christianity. The most important work before us, then, is to change the general psychology of

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our people in this respect; to create in them an interest, a zest in real life.

The general prevailing idea of life in India is that of a necessary evil. That life itself is a misery, and a misfortune from which it is desirable to escape is so deeply written on the souls of our people, that it is not easy to efface it. What India needs is an earnest, widely spread, persistent effort to teach and preach the gospel of life. That life is real, precious, earnest, invaluable, to be prized, preserved, prolonged and enjoyed, is not so obvious to our people as it should be. Not that the Indians do not value living; not that they have no respect for life as such, nay in fact some of them care for mere life, so much as to preserve inferior lives even at the sacrifice or the detriment of human life. The vast bulk of them prefer mere living to honourable living.

The ancient Hindus seem to have had a clear idea of the amount of energy that had been expended by the race in the evolution of man. The idea is so deep-rooted that every Hindu rustic will tell you what a privilege it is to be born a human being. So far he is all right. The trouble begins when he starts to consider the aim of life. As to that, he is being told, day in and day out, that supreme merit lies in killing desire, in escaping from the life of senses so as to escape from the pain of rebirth. This necessarily leads him to shun life, to belittle it, and eventually to escape from it, if he can. I admit that this is a perversion of the original doctrine, and that there is not sufficient sanction for it in the ancient scripture, but then that is the prevailing belief which finds ample support and justification from the language of the sacred books. The first aim of a national system of education should be to destroy this belief. This cannot be achieved by a promulgation and perpetuation of that literature in its present form, which is overfull of this false view of life's aim. Personally I have a great affection for the Sanskrit language and the literature contained in it, but in my judgment any attempt to make it a medium of general education and uplift is bound to fail and deserves to fail.

Its value for the purposes of historic research is obvious. Its aid to enrich the vocabulary of our vernaculars is indispensible. Its cultivation for purposes of scholarship may be assured, but its use for the practical purposes of life to the ordinary citizen is more than problematic.

Arabic and Persian are more advantageously placed in this respect than Sanskrit. Both of them are living languages still spoken by whole populations of men, though, of course, their modern forms are considerably different from the ancient ones. Sanskrit occupies the same position in India, which Greek and Latin occupy in Europe. Sensible Europe is dropping the study of the latter, except for the limited few who aspire to a career of literature, and India will have to do the same if she wants her children to employ their time and energy in the solution of the practical problems of life.

The attempt to live in the past is not only futile but even foolish; what we need to take care of is the future. If India of the future is to live a full, healthy and vigorous life commensurate with the importance which belongs to it, by virtue of its human and other resources, it must come into more close touch with the rest of the world. If it is to occupy its rightful place among the nations of the globe, it must make the most profitable and the most effective use of its intellectual, mental and general human potentialities.

Sanskrit is a perfect language, having a great record of valuable literature, and so are Latin and Greek. They are all sisters. Just as Europe and America are discovering that for the ordinary boy, not aiming to devote his life to literary or historical research, the study of Greek and Latin may be profitably displaced by the study of the other modern languages, so will the Hindus have to do.

That, intelligent Hindus already realize that, is proved by their conduct. My personal experience (of the last 36 years in connection with the D. A. V. College) justify my saying that of all those who founded the D. A. V. College, and afterwards nursed it with energy and devotion, there were and are only a few who ever wanted their own children to follow the courses of Sanskrit which they prescribed for others. Of these, perhaps there are still fewer, whose sons are using their knowledge of Sanskrit for any effective purpose. Some of them have given up all study of Sanskrit and consider the time spent in acquiring it as lost. Of all those pious donors, who make endowments for

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popularising the study of Sanskrit or for imparting religious instruction in creeds and forms, there are very few who make their own sons and nephews devote much of their time to either.

Personally I yield to none in my respect for the ancient Aryans. I am as proud as any one else of their achievements. They advanced human knowledge to an extent that has made it possible for the moderns to advance. I am proud of their wisdom, their spirituality, their ethics and their literary achievements, but I cannot shut my eyes to the fact that in knowledge the world has since then advanced much further. And if knowledge is wisdom, then we must presume also that the world is wiser to-day than it was 3,000 years ago.

That advanced knowledge and its resultant wisdom is at present embodied in foreign languages. Every year, every month, nay, every day in the year, it is making further progress. So much so, that a book dealing with sciences becomes almost out of date within a year, unless a new edition is produced with up-to-date improvements. No one who does not want to fall behind, can afford to neglect these sciences, which can only be studied effectively for a number of years, at least, in these foreign languages.

Besides, it should not be forgotten that modern scientific inventions, including the use of steam and electricity for transportation purposes have destroyed the barriers of space and distance. No nation, however ideal in its desires and ambitions, however spiritually inclined in its standards and values of life, can live a life of isolation, even if she desired to do so. Intercourse with other nations for purposes of trade and commerce is no longer optional. It is compulsory. If India's trade and commerce is to be carried on by Indians, and not by foreigners, and if the Indian people are to profit therefrom, it is necessary that our traders and commercial men should know as many modern languages as may be possible for them to acquire first in school, and then out of it. The bulk of the nation must be engaged in agriculture, or manufacture or business. For all these purposes a knowledge of the modern languages is almost a necessity. Under these circumstances to compel boys to devote a greater part of their school time preparatory to entering life, in studying a complicated difficult ancient language like Sanskrit is such a flagrant misuse of energy that it is bound to harm the general efficiency of the nation if we persist in that course. So, it is high time that the nation should make up its mind that like other luxuries the study of Sanskrit is for the few and not for the many. Sanskrit must be studied by the few for the purpose of research, and culture and for helping the nation in enriching the vocabulary of the vernaculars. For the many, the study of foreign modern languages must be insisted on, accompanied by a good knowledge of the modern languages of India. I intend to say something more on this subject later. At present I am making these remarks onlyto clear the ground for the consideration of what would be the aim and scope of any national system of education for India.

Descending from national literature to national methods of education, I must say at once that it will be a folly to revive the latter. They are out of date, and antiquated. To adopt them will be a step backward and not forward.

The present school system is atrocious, and there is no doubt that the ancient system was in certain respects (mark in certain respects only) much better. The system actually followed at the time of the introduction of British rule, had lost the best features of the more ancient one. We are mighty glad, that the system then prevalent was rejected in favour of the Western school system. The emasculation which has resulted from the latter, would have been greater and much worse, if the former had received the sanction of the State and been adopted.

The subject is so vast and complicated, that it is impossible to discuss it at any length here, but one cannot make himself fully intelligible without making some more observations on the point.

The ancient system which emphasised the personal relationship of the *Guru* and the *Chela*, was good in certain respects and harmful in others. The personal relationship supplied the human element which is now missing. This was a guarantee of greater attention being paid to the formation of habits which compose character. On the other hand it had a *tendeney* of enslaving the pupil's mind. The aim of education should be to qualify

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the educated to think and act for himself with a due sense of responsibility toward society. Did the *Gurukula* system achieve this ? In my judgment, it could not. The very oath administered to the *Brahmchari* and the benediction administered by the *Guru*, if properly analysed, will show that the ideal was to reproduce the *Guru* in the person of the *Chela*. The aim of every parent and every teacher should be to enable their children and pupils, to be greater and better persons, than mere copies of themselves. I shall be glad to be corrected if I am mistaken in this belief. The discipline enforced was too strict ; too mechanical and too empirical. The religion taught was too formal, rigid and narrow. A disproportionate amount of time was devoted to the memorizing of rules of grammar and texts. It seems that the relations between the teacher and pupil were possibily freer in the time of the *Upanishads* than in the period or the codes. The system inculcated in the codes is a system of iron and fire.

It was not peculiar to India. The Arabs, the Greeks, and the Latins also had similar systems.

The fact that in spite of these drawbacks, the Hindus, the Greeks, the Romans, the Arabs and the Catholic Christian institutions of medieval Europe produced so many eminent scholars, philosophers and jurists is in no way proof of their excellence. It only establishes the capacity of the human mind to transcend its environments and to rise above the limitations imposed on it by authority, be the authority that of the parent, the *Guru*, or the State.

The *Gurukula* academy at Hardwar has attempted to remove some of these defects, but I am not quite sure that the segregation insisted on in that institution, was ever so complete in the ancient times as–it is represented to be. The name implies, that the pupil lived with his *Guru* as an adopted member of the latter's family. In every way he was treated as a child of the family. In that case, the number that each *Guru* could take must have been extremely limited. There must have been larger *Ashrams* and *Parishads* too, where a number of *Gurus* co-operated in teaching and training large numbers of pupils, but whether these *Ashramas* and *Parishads* insisted on the pupils being so completely cut away from society in general is problematic. At any rate the pupils had daily opportunities to see and talk to women, when they went for *Bhiksha* (alms).

I am extremely doubtful if the system of education advocated in the Codes, was ever followed universally. I have reason to think, that it was mainly devised for the children of the Brahmins. However, be that as it may, I have no doubt that it is impossible to be re-introduced as a part of the general scheme of education in India of to-day. I am also positive that it is detrimental to the sort of character we want to develop, nay we must develop, in our boys and girls, if we are to keep pace with the rest of the world, in their march onward. Our boys and girls must not be brought up in hot-houses. They should be brought up in the midst of the society of which they are to be members. They should form habits and learn manners which will enable them to rise to every emergency. They should learn to rise above temptations and not shun them. The world is a "temptation." It is a place to enjoy, so long as by doing so, one does not injure oneself and others. So long as one is loyal to the society in which his lot has been cast and towards which he has social obligations, one commits no sin, by taking to the pleasures of life in a moderate degree.

Boys and girls must learn their social obligations, when in their teens. To segregate them at such a time is to deprive them of the greatest and the best opportunity of their lives. The idea of having schools and colleges and Universities in localities far away from the bustle of city life and from the temptations incidental to it, is an old idea which is being abandoned by the best educational thinkers of the world. The new idea is to let the boys and girls be surrounded by the conditions of life in which they have to move and which they have to meet in after life. To let boys and girls grow in isolation, ignorant of the conditions of actual life, innocent of the social amenities of life, with no experience of the sudden demands and emergencies of group life is to deprive them of the most valuable element in their education. The aim of education is to fit men and women for the battle of life. We do not want to convert them into anchorites and ascetics.

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The boys and girls of to-day are the citizens of to-morrow. From among them must come our statesmen, administrators, generals, inventors, captains of industry and manufacturers, as much as, our philosophers and thinkers and teachers. Even sound thinking to be useful for practical purposes of life must be based on a full knowledge of the different phases of social life. All life is social. We are beginning to realize, that the best social thinkers of the world have been those who were brought up in the full blaze of the social conditions of the time and who had personal experience of how men in general lived and how they acted and reacted on each other.

In my judgment, it is not a sound idea to make an anchorite of a boy or a girl. Boys and girls should have every opportunity of seeing life, moving in life, experiencing the shocks and reactions of life. Boys brought up in isolation and girls brought up in *Purdah* make very poor men and women. Often they have been seen succumbing to the first temptation they came across. They wreck their lives from want of experience and want of nerve. I am speaking from actual experience. Not that men educated in ordinary schools and colleges are always better; but that at least the former have not shown any superiority in handling situations which arise of being thrown into social conditions to which they were strangers before. My experience justifies me in saying that the former go to greater extremes, in laxity of character and looseness of behaviour than the former. They lack the power of adjustment. It is my desire to impress upon my countrymen with all the earnestness I possess, and with all the emphasis I can lay, the absolute desirability of giving up the antiquated idea of bringing up boys and girls in an atmosphere of isolation. Boys and girls should be treated more as comrades, rather than dependents and inferiors and slaves. We should extend to them our fullest confidence and encourage absolute frankness in them. Instead of keeping the sexes away we should bring them together. In my judgment greater harm is done by keeping them apart than by bringing them together. I know I am treading on delicate ground. Prejudice and sentiment accumulated by centuries of restricted life is all against it. The thing will come by degrees. But come it must and come it will.

It will be so much waste of energy not to profit by the experience of other peoples. Our ideas of morality and decency must undergo change. Our boys and girls must grow in an atmosphere of frankness, freedom and mutual confidence. Away with suspicion and distrust. It breeds hypocrisy, sycophancy and disease. The future teachers and *Gurus* of India must learn to set aside the tone of command and authority to which they have hitherto been accustomed. The boys and girls are *not* clay in their hands to be moulded into patterns of their choice. That was a stupid idea, if ever it existed. They are living beings, products of nature, heredity, and environments. They throb with the same impulses and desires and ideas as we do. These impulses and desires require sane guidance. They cannot be regulated by mere authority, or mainly by authority, without inflicting awful injury on their manhood and womanhood. We command them to do things, of the righteousness and value of which they have not been convinced. The result is a habit of slavish submission to authority. I recognize that we cannot perhaps eliminate the element of command altogether from the education and bringing up of boys and girls. They must, *sometimes*, be protected from themselves. But the command should be the last step, taken with reluctance and out of a sense of unavoidableness which comes by having otherwise failed to arouse an intelligent understanding in the child.

Parents and teachers must learn to respect the child and to have a feeling of reverence for it. No Japanese ever strikes a child, yet the Japanese children are models of reasonableness. The Japanese maintain an attitude of respect towards their children. They treat the children as their equals and always address them as such. They never criticise them. The use of the rod is absolutely unknown in Japanese homes. Harsh language towards children or an expression of anger is very rare. The Japanese code of life is very strict in certain respects. It exacts strict obedience and strict discipline from every citizen. Japanese soldiers have earned a name for their high sense of duty and for strict discipline, but that comes more out of a traditional love for the country and

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its sovereign, than by enforcing authority and penalties in childhood. In short the system that stresses the authority of the teacher or the parent, which is based on a suspicion of human nature and human tendencies, which is distrustful of childhood and youth, which is openly out for control and discipline and subordination, which favours empirical methods of pedagogy, which has no respect for the instincts of the boy and the girl is not an ideal system to produce self-reliant, aggressive (in order to be progressive), men and women that new India wants. I come to the conclusion, therefore, that any widespread revival of the ancient or medieval systems of education is unthinkable. It will take us centuries backward and I am certain that the country will not adopt it. Mrs. Besant of course does not advocate it. But I know that there are groups of people in India who are in love with that system. They are sometimes carried away by a partial praise of certain features of their system, by eminent foreigners and educationists. A system may be "fascinating", without being sound. It may be highly interesting as an experiment. It may be good for Governmental purposes, yet harmful from the citizens' point of view. It may be good for producing certain types but harmful if adopted for the nation as a whole. I would beg of my countrymen not to be carried off their feet, by the praises which the foreigner, sometimes, bestows on our literature and on our system. Some of them do so, out of sheer disgust with their own systems of life. They do not wait to make proper comparisons, but rush from one extreme to another; others only mean to pay a generous compliment. Some perhaps mean mischief. We should not be affected either by their praise or by their condemnation. We are in a critical period of our life, and it behoves us to weigh things in their true perspective, before laying down policies and making plans for constructive upbuilding of the nation. What is required is a sober study of the situation before making plans.

LAJPAT RAI.

THE REAL POEMS

Surely all this world is a fair garden,
With poems springing up as plentiful
As leaves in summer, or stars in winter time.
For when I overhear poor people's tales,
Or children chatting, or schoolboys' eager shouts,
It seems to me they who forget themselves
Talk poetry.

But if I told them so
They would but laugh ; for poetry, they think,
Is a great mystery.

And so it is,
And good it is that all the world is full
Of this mysterious beauty life creates
Unknowingly, as flowers that bloom and pass
Beyond their prime ungathered ; good it is
That common things should be this mystery.

E. E. SPEIGHT.

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THE EYES OF THE BLIND

YESTERDAY, at Shantiniketan Asram, we received a welcome visit from four young Russian pilgrims, who had come to see the poet and the poet's school. Three of these had, quite recently, successfully attempted a long journey from Petrograd and Moscow, through Persia and Mesopotamia, to the Persian Gulf. They had met with great hardships on the way and described the state of Russia as very bad indeed, but not so full of horrors as the papers made out. One of these three had been secretary to Mr. Kerensky, who, for a time, had been the leader of the Rusian Revolution. His wife was accompanying him,—a pale, silent lady, who seemed to have passed through great suffering. But the one who interested us most of all was a blind Russian, whom the three travellers had met in Calcutta, on his way from Burma. He was quite young, with a childlike face and wavy, flowing, flaxen hair. From his infancy he had been quite blind, but he seemed blithe and gay, the brightes tof all the company. As we walked round, he showed a wonderful instinct for free movement and he rarely stumbled. He was most keenly interested in everything that I described, and, in the evening, he listened most eagerly of all to the poet, when the latter talked with all his guests, and he asked the most intelligent questions. On leaving Bolpur, late in the night, the blind Russian put into my hand at the station, a paper which he had written and asked me to make what use of it I chose. As it appeared to me to be a document of great human interest, I felt certain that I might offer it with acceptance, to the readers of the "Modern Review." The paper runs as follows:

"What does blindness mean to a blind man? In what way does it affect his psychical faculties? These questions are always before society, and many able writers have attempted to answer them. I knew a good worker for the Blind in Russia. She gave all her life to the work and, with bitter feeling, she wrote in an article on the 'Psychology of the Blind,' that they are more selfish and more cruel than the sighted.

"Some writers speak of the immorality of the blind as one of their characteristic features. In western Europe complaints are always made of the weakness and helplessness of the blind. In order to eradicate this evil, swimming, cycling, skating, rowing and other sports are taught at many schools in the West. All this, of course, should make the blind physically strong, but very often the workers go much further. In the compounds of many schools, the paths are arranged in such a way, that the blind may easily know where there is a turning, where there are steps, where there is an entrance and so on. A sighted person is sent with the blind when travelling on a railway or by tramcar. In a new and well-known home for blind soldiers in London, it appears that mat paths are arranged, even indoors, so that the blind may walk freely from one room to another. I should not wonder, if, after living in such a well accommodated dwelling, the blind were unable to walk alone not only in the streets of London, but even in their own compound.

"But if the blind of Western Europe are helpless, we cannot say the same of those in the East. The Japanese blind person, from his childhood, has to earn his living by *massage*. He goes about here and there among the people in the pursuit of his profession. The greater number of the blind are obliged to attend ordinary schools, in the same way as sighted students do, and they walk in the streets of Tokyo as freely as in their compounds.

"If the Russian blind are selfish and immoral, we cannot say the same of the English blind. Moreover, if it is true to say that the blind of Europe look dull, it would be quite wrong to say this of the

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blind in the East. There are writers who think that blindness, by putting a man in a peculiar position towards the outside world, strengthens his psychical faculties, developes the senses more intensely, and enables him to create for himself new and original worlds full of beauty and splendour. I remember a story of a blind man in Switzerland. From his childhood, he used to hear about the beauties of the Alps, their fantastic valleys full of wonderful flowers and glorious lakes surrounded by majestic rocks. He enjoyed all these things as much as the sighted did. At length one of his friends, a doctor, restored his sight by means of an operation. The first thing which the man wanted to see was the mountains and their beautiful scenery; but, as he gazed he grew sad and finally, throwing himself on the ground, he cried out, "Give me back my mountains! Give me back my valleys!" The reality was nothing in comparison with that which he had imagined.

"What, then, does blindness actually mean to the blind man himself? Does it mean that we are put in a dark place, where we know nothing of the things around us, or which way to go? Or does it mean that we are placed in a dream-land, without any limits to our imagination? Does blindness, by isolating a man from the outside world, make him somewhat like an idiot, as is commonly supposed? Or, on the contrary, does blindness, by the very fact that it separates him from his surroundings, thereby strengthen the inner side of the blind man's nature? And does his imagination consequently attain a miraculous power and flexibility?

"I do not consider that personally I have enough experience to answer these questions. But whatever blindness may mean to the blind man, in whatever way it may affect his capabilities, we must emphatically maintain that education, or instruction of some kind, is more essential for the blind than for the sighted. This fact cannot be denied by any one; it is self-evident. But how many people fail to realise this! How many Governments fail to recognize the necessity of education for the blind! Is it not a pity and shame that this should be the case in our enlightened Twentieth Century?

"Now I shall speak a little about myself. I left Russia more than 3 years ago, in order to study a few subjects in the East, one of these being the state of the blind in Asia. I stayed in Japan for two years, and then I went to Siam, with the intention of starting work for the blind there. I stayed in Siam for 6 months, but I was unable to do anything for the blind in that country, the chief reason perhaps being, that a richer and more energetic and capable man than myself was needed for this work. The Siamese Government, however, as well as the Christian missionaries, promised to think over the matter carefully, when they had more time.

"From Siam I came to Burma. The first thing which struck me, in the Moulmein Blind School, was the poverty of the students. There are thirty-three boys, of whom about ten are orphans and about ten have only one parent: the remainder belong to the very poorest class; hence none of the boys receive any assistance whatever from their homes, but depend entirely upon the School for food and clothing. If they were even sighted children, they would have the right to ask society to help them. Nevertheless the whole work of the Blind School is carried on by a few noble persons, who are left to their own devices. Society is quite indifferent to their work. Society, it seems, forgets the blind. Even women, who take such a great interest in the blind of Europe, forget their existence here in Burma. Perhaps it is not the business of Society to enquire how many fatherless or motherless children there are in the School, or how many boys have nobody in the world to help them. But this attitude does not do credit to European Society in Burma and it is a great shame that the Burmese people themselves should leave their blind to the care of a few persons. If the Buddhist people have no confidence in the School let them take up the matter themselves. There are thousands of Pongyi schools all over the country supported by the people. Could not a few schools for the blind be arranged on the same lines as these? I mean that schools might be instituted, where the blind would be under the control of good sighted Pongyi teachers, who would instruct them in the Buddhist Scriptures, the method of treating various diseases, and other useful occupations. The Burmese people should supply them with food, clothing and other necessaries of life.

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in the same way that they do for sighted Pongyis. If this were done, there is no doubt that blind Pongyis would be as useful to Society as the sighted ones. There is a considerable number of blind Christian Preachers in the West; and I do not see any reason why the Buddhist people should not also have their blind Preachers. The first thing to be done is to accept the Braille system, so that the blind may be able to read and write for themselves.

"Another thing, which I would like to suggest, is that a Colony for the blind should be instituted. This could easily be done in Burma. My idea is that a piece of land should be set apart for the blind, and they should be taught to cultivate paddy fields, vegetable gardens, cocoanut trees, rubber trees, sugarcane and fruits of various kinds. They could also keep cattle and fowls. They could learn how to row, how to catch fish, how to make or repair boats and nets. They might learn how to preserve fruits, vegetables, fish. Blind girls should learn weaving, spinning, sewing and knitting, as well as cooking, washing clothes, rearing of domestic animals and other household duties. There is no doubt that such a Colony, under the control of sighted teachers, would flourish, if it were well-managed. In a few years, it would gain the confidence of the Government and the sympathy and love of all people. Such a Colony would be a brilliant example also for the West. Every year millions of pounds are spent for the blind in Western countries and as a result the blind are helpless; they are continually asking for assistance. This helplessness is due not to the blind themselves, but to the blind leaders of the blind who hitherto have not realised their fatal mistake. But I will not speak of them here. In the Colony which I have suggested, the sciences and arts would also be taught to the blind, their bodily and spiritual Hygiene would receive proper attention, and the blind man would become a useful citizen. Who knows but that he might take a great part in arousing the jungle people to rid themselves of their old prejudices and their enormous superstitions? Who will dare to say that the blind man may not become a leading light in the dark night of the forest, a blessed guiding star on the path of jungle people, leading them from the darkness of their ignorance to the true lights of civilisation?

"How much could be accomplished, and yet how little is actually done! And all this because Society is quite indifferent to the matter. But the less attention Society pays to the blind, the greater are the admiration and gratitude due to those who, in spite of being over-burdened with other work, endeavour to promote their education. I hope that, in the future, more interest will be taken in the blind, and that before long, not the blind of Burma only, but the blind of neighbouring countries, such as the Malay States, Malay Archipelego, Siam and Annam, so that these will also enjoy the privilege of education and become useful to their fellow-countrymen. I hope that the blind will no longer be regarded as people who are punished for their sins, in a former existence, or for the sins of their parents. I hope that the blind will be recognised as people, by whom, as Christ said of a blindman, the 'works of God may be made manifest'.'

With this quotation from St. John's Gospel the paper ends. It is signed "V. EROSHENKO, *Russian blind man.*"

The opinions of the young Russian, when I read them, gave me much to think about. The time has surely come for a united Indian effort,—claiming in the name of common humanity the sympathy and support of all sects and creeds,—which may help to work out, on the best and soundest lines, the problem of giving eyes to the blind. Each province, through its own education department and through voluntary effort, (liberally aided by the authorities) should try to cover the whole ground of blind child-life. Mr. V. Eroshenko's words should be carefully remembered,—"*We must emphatically maintain that education is more essential for the blind man than for the sighted.*"

Speaking generally, the faculty of touch, in India and the Far East, is so much more delicate than in Europe, that it may be possible to do without many of the aids and props which European Institutes for

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the Blind have used, at the cost (as Mr. Eroshenko asserts) of making the blind more blind than before. It will be quite feasible to avoid many of the mistakes of the training of the past.

It should be possible also, in time, to do away with that disgraceful exploitation of blind people which now goes on in many cities,—the blind being used, as mere tools, by the sighted in order to excite the pity of the charitable and bring money to themselves. This is frequently done by parents who have blind children and it is to be feared that sometimes the children's blindness remains unhealed because of the cupidity of the parents. The cases of individual blind beggars are well known to the police, and if a sympathetic inspecting officer were appointed, who would work in conjunction with a voluntary citizen's Committee, it might be possible to rescue at an early age many blind boys and girls from a life of sordid beggary.

I do not wish, however, in this brief article, to do more than ventilate the whole subject for the careful consideration of the *Modern Review* readers, in the light of the statements made by my Russian blind friend, Mr. V. Eroshenko.

Shantiniketan. C. F. ANDREWS.

AUGUSTE BARTH

BY PROFESSOR A. FOUCHER, TRANSLATED WITH THE AUTHOR'S PERMISSION BY PANDIT RAM CHANDRA KAK, B.A., M.R.A.S.

FEW lives have been more calm and more simple than that of the solitary scholar, who, spending his last years without any company except that of his old housekeeper, conjured for us the living counterpart of the pensive "Philosopher" of Rembrandt. Perhaps even after having passed his whole life bending over his books, he would never have written any—our opinion is based on the authority of his own statement—if an unique but terrible catastrophe had not overthrown with a single stroke all the habits of his life. We refer to the Franco-German War of 1870-1871 which, in tearing him away from the joy of living in his native town of Strasbourg, revealed to him his gifts of a critic and an author and ended by making him the universal and uncontested arbiter of Indian studies. Without this profound convulsion, his intellect and knowledge would, at the best, have been of use to himself and to those friends of his infancy, whom he met at the 'brasserie'* and whom his deafness did not discourage from conversation with him. How many talents, which would have left their mark on the world, has our old provincial life of France, through an overwise absence of ambition combined with the nonchalance of easy circumstances, kept entirely within its own confines!

We have been allowed to have a look in the family register which was begun by his father and which he continued carefully keeping up-to-date, noting down, with the invitation-cards attached, the births, marriages and deaths, which he happened to hear of, in all the branches of his family. There we read that Marie Etienne Auguste Barth was born at Strasbourg on the 22nd of March 1834, in the Bader Cafe-house, at the corner of the Rue de l' Ancre; that he was the son of Etienne Barth and of Marie Wilhelmine Stoeber; that he was baptised on the 15th June in the church of St. Thomas by the pastor Brunwald and that his godfather was Jean-Michel Stoeber, his maternal grandfather, and his godmother was Anne-Marie Strohl, his maternal grandmother. His father was a Catholic and his mother a Protestant: brought up in the religion of his mother, he always evinced the highest respect for that of his

Extrait du *Bulletin l'e la Commission Archeologique ded Indo-Chine, 1914-1916.*

* A 'brasserie' is a public beerhouse, where people meet, drink beer and spend their time in chitchat.

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father. No one was ever more exempt from intolerance and more hostile to all forms of persecution. It was on the occasion of a public letter, which came straight from his conscience, and in which, while declaring himself a Protestant, he raised his voice against the shutting up of some convents in Brittany, that we learnt to which Christian persuasion he belonged; and it was only after his death that an old Alsacian friend of his revealed to us the fact that in politics he adhered to the most traditional ideas. We, certainly, knew that in conversation he was not always tender to the Republican Government of France; but such was the innate liberalism of this faithful reader of the "Debats" that we have been able to visit him constantly during nearly thirty years without his having ever felt in our long conversations the need of making or asking for a profession of political faith.

Of his education, which he obtained first at the Protestant Gymnasium and then at the "*Faculte des Lettres*" of Strasbourg, we find only the results recorded: "Bachelor of Arts, the 15th July 1852; Bachelor of Sciences, the 3rd August 1853; Master of Arts, the 29th July 1856 and Professor of Logic and Rhetoric in the College at Bouxwiller, the 13th May 1857. As such he obtained leave of absence for the college term of 1861-62, which he passed at Paris, *rue Jacob*, No. 25. This leave he extended for the term of 1862-63, and again, passed three months there, for preparing his theses for Litt. D. He was admitted a member of the Asiatic Society of Paris on the 12th December 1862. . . ." Two years later, "A Study on the Bhagavadgita", very accurate in matter and highly finished in style, was published by the *Revue Germanique et Francaise* (1864) and revealed that he had definitely found his way "towards this light which sprang up from a remote corner of Asia to throw light on the origins of the West." What was it that led his steps to Sanskrit and moulded the man who eventually became the patriarch of Indian studies? This question, which was throbbing on our lips for a long time, was so interesting that we could not but take the liberty, one day, of putting it to him. Doubtless, our readers will be glad to hear the notes which we jotted down, the same day, on the conclusion of this improvised "interview".

"What did I do, during the time that elapsed between the conclusion of my studies is 1856 and the commencement of my collaboration with the *Revue Critique* in 1872? Nothing more simple to explain. You must only keep in mind that I have the temperament of a poodle, always docile and ready to follow him who cares to lead me. After obtaining my degree, I had not the least inclination to devote myself to teaching; but I allowed myself to be wheedled by the then rector, M. Delgasso, my old professor of Latin Literature at the Faculty, and found myself suddenly posted to the college of Bouxwiller, where I stayed five years. I was in charge of the two upper classes of logic and rhetoric (and in the first year I had an extra class also, the one next below). I taught a little of everything, philosophy, Greek, Latin, literature, etc., but as a compensation for this, I was excused from all tutelage over the classes, which was not the case with my colleagues.....These latter were not very interesting. They did their duty honestly and knew their textbooks well, but were not possessed of any general conture. All their leisure hours were spent in card parties or in playing billiards. This could not satisfy me. I deemed it necessary to take up a study to which I could devote my leisure time. I was for a moment thinking of taking up Mathematics, but on second thoughts I decided for Sanskrit, simply out of curiosity, because it was new. Of course, there could be no question of carving out a career for myself in it; and as for the Academy, I no more thought of setting my foot in it than of visiting the North Pole. Moreover, it was the last thing that would ever have occurred to me and when Breal proposed it for me I was thunderstruck.

"Thus I took up Sanskrit: it was then more difficult to learn than it is now. In the absence of textbooks now available, the only course left was to struggle on as best as one might, especially in a hole like Bouxwiller. In the Faculty of Strasburg, there was a good man, M. Bergmann by name, who was a professor of "foreign literature" and who knew a little Sanskrit, but it was of no use to him except in enabling him to indulge in etymological speculations; not much help could be expected from him. However, if this study then presented difficulties which have today disappeared, it possessed, on the other hand, an attraction which it has since lost; it was limited in scope and one could hope to grasp it in its entirety. Now-a-days, it has become much too vast; it is an ocean which the stomach of Agastya alone could swallow.

"Years, laborious and pleasant! How resolutely I struggled on! Moreover, the case with me was not so bad then, as it is now; I found time for everything. First of all, I had to take the classes (twenty five to thirty pupils in all) and to correct their copies. Then, three times in a week, I met a student of theology who had been sent to the college as an usher, and who really possessed some knowledge; he, however, did not turn out well. We read together all Aristophanes and three-fourths of Plato. Furthermore, one evening in the week and not without the complement of a big pot of beer, the turn came of a teacher in the High school, my Friend Z....., whom I coached for the B. Sc., and who has since died, a professor, in Brest. Together we studied English and read the whole of Shakespeare upto the sonnets. And, a book read, a book learnt; no taking down of any notes. In addition to this we made long excursions on Thursdays and Sundays which enabled us, into the bargain, to have the pleasure of making drawings....."

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We may refer in this connexion to the unobtrusive personal remembrance which crept into the pathetic notice, dedicated in 1873, by Auguste Barth to the memory of Eugene Ensfelder, one of his fellow students, who was two years his junior. The latter was a born artist but his family insisted on making him a clergyman. In 1870 he became the Vicar of Bouxwiller, where he found his friend already established. He had not renounced his art, which was to become his sole occupation, and he spent his leisure time in executing drawings direct from Alsacian life. "These rural studies," wrote Auguste Barth,* "led him naturally to landscape drawing which, as a true townsman, he had, hitherto, totally neglected. I have had the good fortune to be his humble companion in this new apprenticeship. Many Thursdays were thus employed in trudging on hill and plain, from Lichtenberg to Saverne. We left early in the morning and did not return till late in the night; I, bringing back with me, some frightful daubs and he, some beautifnl and judicious studies." The writer is, indeed, too modest; he was far from being without artistic talent and till lately, as long as his sight permitted him, he continued in his holidays to paint landscapes.

Presumably his growing deafness induced him to leave the University and take this "renewable" leave which was to be extended indefinitely. Better equipped, thanks to the libraries, first at Paris, and then again at Strasbourg, which he had no idea of ever leaving, he continued the study of Sanskrit for the mere pleasure of mastering it, without any idea of making a show before the public of what he had learnt. The article in the *Revue Germanique*, which we have just mentioned, had been "drawn out of him," he said, by a family friend. These studious leisure hours mixed with intervals spent at the "brasserie" and varied by some journeys, glided away peaceably in the midst of his relatives. His father, formerly a tradesman's clerk, became in 1897 cashier of the "*Canal du Rhone au Rhin*" and, submitting his resignation in 1867 at the age of sixty, finally retired from business. Nothing seemed likely to disturb the easy life of a family so well united. But the time of the great ordeals approached. On the 3rd November 1869 his mother's long illness culminated in her death. The following year took place the war and the year after, the exile.

The siege of Strasbourg quite naturally found him there, in his native town, for the defence of which he readily took up arms. He once told us, how on the days the besieged made a sortie, his father waited for him on the threshold of his door to have a glimpse of him from a longer distance, in case he ever came back. In an encounter of patrols on one of the isles of the Rhine, he killed in single combat a Pomeranien fusilier, who had first fired at him and who, he wrote to us on the 7th of August 1914, "had never weighed heavily upon his conscience." As early as the month of August 1871, Etienne Barth left Strasbourg with his two sons and all three, unwilling to submit to the German occupation, went to settle together at Geneva. Their father had two old friends there, but the elder son found time hang somewhat heavily upon his hands. There was then at Geneva a reading room, which still exists and where we know his memory is faithfully preserved up to the present day. It was there that he had the occasion of reading the *Revue Critique*, founded four years before the war. One day when he had just completed the perusal of *Bhamini-vilasa* of A. Bergaigne, it occurred to him to note down his thoughts on it and the account, which was the outcome of this idea, he forwarded to the *Revue* which published it on the 4th May 1872. Such was the commencement of a collaboration which was to be so fruitful in its results. Geneva was, however, nothing but a stage on the route to Paris; but here, it is much better to let Auguste Barth speak for himself.

"Meanwhile, my father, my brother and myself went on a journey to England and returned via Paris. On leaving the P. L. M. station my father suddenly addressed me saiyng, "After all we might as well be here as at Geneva." Always obedient, I assented and thought no more of it. But my father kept on nursing his idea. And so, on the death of one of his old Geneva friends and soon after, of my brother Edmond, we came to settle ourselves in Paris. For a long time we searched for a lodging. My father insisted on having a house "not more than two stories high." He was still very vigorous and active, and I believed it was only a hobby as old people occasionally have. We used to run up the ascent of Mt. Saleve and at Geneva we lived in the top storey of a big house which commanded a superb view. But my father had taken a violent dislike to the staircase. I understand his reasons better now. We eventually installed ourselves at No. 6 of the

* *Revue d' Alsace*, April—June, pp. 155-56.

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rue du Vieux-Colombier and I would still be there, if the books which kept on accumulating, had not chased me away."

It was at the commencement of July 1877 that they were, thus, fixed up at Paris. Against this date, we read in his family register, "My father lived there two and a half years longer, showing signs of weakness but without any of those infirmities which usually accompany old age. In the rigorous winter of 1879, he contracted pleuresy which, much to my sorrow, carried him off, after two weeks of illness, on Tuesday, the 20th January 1880, at half past six in the morning, two days before his 73rd birthday." Auguste Barth was left alone; he continued to live so to the end, more perhaps through the will of destiny than by any desire of his own. "Vae soli!" (woe to loneliness) he exclaimed again and again in his old age.

The rest of his life story should properly speaking be sought for in his bibliography. It is above all illustrated by the contributions which he kept on furnishing to the *Revue Critique*, *Melusine*, the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* and later to the *Journal des Savants*, the *Comptes rendus de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Balles-lettres*, the *Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient*. These numerous articles bore witness to such an extent of impartiality, erudition and insight as to speedily estabiish his paramount authority. They are, moreover, written in a language which was as vigorous as it was sober. But, when we have said that their style is excellent and their list considerable, we find we have nothing else to add. He who had read and criticised many books did not properly speaking, write a single one. Even his *Religions de l'Inde* was no more than an article in an encyclopædia and his *Inrcriptions Sanscrites du Cambodge* only a collection of essays. The circumstance is curious; and it is perhaps still more curious to hear him argue on his own case. The funeral panegyric of the dead often affords a pretext for the living to examine their own conscience or even to plead for their own shortcomings. If we refer to the obituary notice that Auguste Barth dedicated to the memory of Gustave Garrez (*Revue Critique*, the 28th January 1889), we cannot but observe that he has there replied beforehand to the reproach which he knew very well would be levelled at him with equal force. Immediately after giving the list of the few works published by his friend, either with his signature or anonymously, he at once adds, not without a suggestion of self-examination:—"All these papers, as is quite evident, have been written as reviews of the works of others. Several are of large dimensions almost as big as memoirs; some of them are papers that Garrez alone, in all Europe was, perhaps, capable of writing; all of them are replete with the justest and the freshest views exhibiting the most profound knowledge without any show of pedantry. And, how, one feels that all this is drawn out of full wells; and that on each point the author has done no more than pushed forward the heads of the columns, which he could, in case of need, support with large reserves! All the same, they were nothing but single articles, only modest reviews. Abroad, however, there was no mistake about their worth. From the very beginning, Garrez was given a place in the front rank, amongst the masters, and his authority was in several matters largely recognised. But things did not appear quite in the same light amongst us, for we feel much more than we think, a superstitious awe for a book, especially if it is a big one; as if one could not be profound, original and useful except in a volume and under a special cover. We must, here, confess that Garrez was not appreciated, amongst us, at his high value and that only by the masses who are out of the consideration in such a matter, but even by the learned public.

"He was not appreciated and, plainly speaking, he was not even recognised except by his friends and a small number of specialists, particularly the faithful adherents of our Societe Asiatique to which he was for a long time so devoutly attached. There, at least, justice was always redered to him thoroughly and well."

Death, more merciful to Auguste Barth, stayed its hand until his fame emerged from the small circle of the initiates; but the universal reputation that he enjoyed, he never owed, to use his own expression, to anything but to the "simple articles," when it entirely rested with him to yield to the pressing entreaties of the editors who were only too eager to publish any book from his pen. But to him, as he speaks of Garrez, truth alone was of prime

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importance and not the advertisement of the fact that he was the first to discover it. As for writing a book simply to prove that he was capable of doing so, it was the very last idea that would ever have entered his head.

Here, we must specially refer to his magisterial *Histoire des Religions de l' Inde* written for the *Encyclopedie des Science Religieuses* (1879) and continued by his famous *Bulletins des Religions de l'Inde* (1880-1902) which threw such a flood of light on the problems connected with the religions of ancient India. He also took a considerable part in the foundation of the Sanskrit Epigraphy of Indo-China. To him we owe the first fasciculus of the *Inscriptions Sanscrites de Campa et du Cambodge* (1885) and it was, again, he who after the death, by accident, of A. Bergaigne, assured, with the assistance of Messrs. Emile Senart and Sylvain Levi, the publication of the *Inscriptions Sanscrites de Campa et du Cambodge* (1893). He took upon himself the task of deciphering the Sanskrit and Pali inscriptions collected in Siam by Lucien Fournereau (*Le Siam ancien*, t. I, 1895) and to complete the second volume, left unfinished of the same work (1908). When the archaeological commission of Indo-China undertook its first great publication, that of the photographs brought back from the Bayon d'Angkor-Thom by the mission of H. Dufour and Ch. Carpeaux, it was again, he who was entrusted with its direction. Finally he hailed with joy, the establishment in 1898 by M. P. Doumer, of l' Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient. Not content to collaborate with Messrs. Bréal and Senart in drawing up the chart of its foundation, he traced, in a letter to its first director M. L. Finot, a programme of work which was at the same time both ideal and practical. For, of all of qualities of his intellect that which perhaps is the most astounding, is the extraordinary penetration with which this sedentary scholar could imagine, at a distance and without having actually seen them, the minutest details of the Asiatic life. On this point, the testimony of all competent persons is unanimous: "One day," writes M. P. Oltramare, "in a conversation which I had with Mr. Aurel Stein, the illustrious traveller told me that, in his opinion, no one had the right to speak of things Indian who had never set his foot in India. I thought of invalidating this judgment by citing the example of Barth: 'M. Barth,' he rejoined, 'but this is just the exception which confirms the rule.' "

Meanwhile the titles and honours which he never courted, came to seek Auguste Barth in his studious retreat. Member of the *Société Asiatique* since 1862, of the *Sociètè de Linguistique* since 1873, he was successively nominated and elected: honorary member of the Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen of Batavia, on the 8th June 1886; titulary member of l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres on the 3rd February 1893; Grand Officer of the Royal Order of the Cambodge on the 10th March 1894; honorary member of the Royal Asiatic Society of London on the 7th May 1895; member of the committee of the *Journal des Savants* on the 19th December 1895; Chevalier of the Legion of Honour on the 31st December 1895; foreign member of the Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-, Land-, en Volken-Kunde van Nederlandsch-Indie, associate member of *l'Académie Royale des Sciences* of Amsterdam (section of literature and historical sciences) on the 13th April 1896; honorary member of the American Oriental Society on the 14th August 1898; Commander of the Order of the Dragon of Annam, on the 10th February 1899; corresponding member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences of Petrograd on the 29th December 1902; member of the *Commission archaeologique de l' Indó-Chine* on the 18th January 1908; doctor *honoris causa* of the University of Louvain on the 10th May 1909. When his eightieth birthday drew near, his friends could not think of a better way of serving at one and the same time, the well-merited renown of the scholar as well as the interests of science except by bringing together in one comprehensive publication, his works which were scattered about in many reviews. At their instance, he consented to draw up the list of his works himself, but on the condition of making drastic supressions. In spite of these dreadful loppings off the works of Auguste Barth do not fill less than five volumes in octavo.* In the course of a very

* *Quarante ans d'indianisme. Œuvres de Auguste* Barth, recueilles a l' occasion de son quatre-vingtieme anniversaire, Paris. E. Leroux, 1914.....The first four

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simple and very touching ceremony the first and second volumes containing the reprint of the *Religions de l' Inde* and the *Bulletins de Religions de l' Inde* were in the name of the subscribers presented to him at his house by M. E. Senart on the 22nd March 1914.

In a noble and affecting speech his "old comrade" brought to the scholar and to the man the tribute of admiration of his confreres throughout the world and gently pointed out how the chronological order of this collection, while furnishing the best picture of the scientific activity of its author, retraced the whole history of Indianism during nearly half a century. Very much touched, Auguste Barth replied with his usual "bonhomie" and modesty, standing on the very spot where, two years later, the last prayers were to be pronounced before his coffin.

It is there, in his spacious working room, on the first storey of No. 10, *rue Garanciere*, where he received visitors from all quarters of the world, that our imaginations continue to conjure up the broad shouldered grand old man, wearing the moustache and beard on the chin after the fashion of the second Empire, who was always ready, with great good humour, to allow himself to be disturbed from his constant reading. It was also from there that he maintained a considerable correspondence with his numerous friends and with the greater number of his confreres in Indianism. It is devoutly to be wished that this correspondence were collected and some extracts, at least, of it published; for he wrote his private letters with the same alert pen that he wrote his articles with, and we find him there, as in his familiar conversations, always full of inspiration and competency, handling every subject without a shadow of pedantry but with an incisive reasoning power which is the heritage of the best traditions of French intellect. Each summer, regularly, he passed his vacations in the little port of Audierne, the only shelter in the whole expanse of the wild sandy shores between the rocks of Penmarc'h and the granite cliffs to the Raz de Sein, which is accessible to boats. He always occupied the same little fisherman's cottage, at the end of the jetty, not far from the light house. He wore a sailor's cap and passed the greater part of his sojourn there, on the beach, lounging, reading, painting and bathing. He was in his youth an excellent swimmer and remained so in his old age. Side by side with the entries regarding his University degrees, we have found noted carefully, in his own handwriting, that he had been awarded a medal by the Humane Society on the 29th December 1855, and again a diploma on the 7th May 1856; and he himself has shown us the distant buoy in the roads of Audierne which was the ordinary goal he aimed to reach each time he took his bath. Of these swimming excursions he—always a methodical man—carefully noted the number in pencil, year after year, on the walls of his cabin. The country people, comparatively ignorant, could not easily guess what "the old hermit of the jetty" as he was pleased to call himself, might be by profession. As he had been decorated on the centenary of the French Academy, they wrongly supposed him to have retired from some mysterious office in the navy. But their simple souls were not mistaken in their estimate of the kindness of his heart and the beauty of his character, and he was as universally loved and respected amongst the fishermen of the Breton Coast as amongst his colleagues of the Palais Mazarin.

Meanwhile the years passed and, little by little, dug many gaps around him. He saw disappear, one after another, his friends of infancy. When the last companion of his youth had passed away he sighed to think that he was left alone to recollect, how joyous and gay, some sixty or sixtyfive years earlier, had been such and such a particular round of marbles or of top, this or that swimming party adrift on the waters of the Rhine. In vain his eyes searched around him for some one with whom to rake up these old memories: "People often speak," he said, "of the egotism of old age; but is not the major part of this egotism due to loneliness?" The younger generations of Indianists, intimidated by his prestige and perhaps kept at an arm's length by his extreme deafness, did not know him well or knew him scarcely at all. After Michel Bral who

volumes are out. The fifth contains, after the index, a complete bibliography which will serve at the same time as the general table of contents to all the five volumes. The first volume has as a frontispiece a portrait of the author, which is worth seeing and as preface, a letter of Michel Breal and a speech of M. Senart which are worth reading.

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was two years older than him and who died a few months earlier and after Messrs. Senart and Sylvain Lévi, we have been nearly the last—Finot for whom he had a special predilection and ourselves—to profit by his intellectual intercourse. In his case, however, the mental powers were preserved intact to the last, though he whimsically complained of "having no more memory left than a rabbit and no more brain than a chicken." But already his hitherto excellent health was giving him cause for complaint and in 1905 it was at such a low ebb that on bidding him farewell before our departure for Indo-China, we did not expect to see him again. He appeared to recover, but—a sign of the changed times—his scientific output, hitherto so regularly plentiful, began henceforth to slacken until it definitely ceased in 1911.

His constitution, however, was so strong that he would, undoubtedly, have been preserved to us if the war—his second Franco-German war—had not broken out. It took him by surprise as it did us all though perhaps a little less than it did most of us. As early as July, he had, as usual, gone back to Audierne. When, on the 14th August, he came to know of the entry of our troops in Mulhouse he wrote to us: "What a momentous occurrence this! How quickly hearts must have beat in Alsace! The bones of my father must have stirred in his grave, and for myself, I never before regretted so much that I am not some 40 or 50 years younger that I might be over there, in the ranks with my knapsack on my back....." Let it not for an instant be supposed that he abandoned himself to a blind optimism: his critical sense is always wakeful and he immediately adds, "But to ensure that the moral effect may be lasting it is necessary that the operation also should be lasting. It should be a really strategic move, striking across the passes of the High-Vosges mountains, menacing the rear of the Germans in Lorraine and obstructing their communications with southern Germany. Otherwise, it would be only a repetition on a grander scale of the attack of Saarbruck in 1870." But if his intellect sees clearly, his heart is fluttering with excitement to the breaking point. "The imbolisation," he adds, "is being carried on without any fuss or ado. The parents weep and acquiesce when their sons leave them for the front; but the latter prepare themselves joyously to face all dangers. When I see this or read of this, it makes my blood literally boil to feel that I am so useless and incapable even for mounting guard somewhere or serving in an ambulance which I could enter only as an invalid and not as an attendant. This thought makes my bones ache and perceptibly tells on my health." These outbursts of his were rare. Such was the reticent diffidence of his feelings that, even on so exciting a day as this, he felt, in concluding his letter, the need of apologising, "Pardon me, my dear friend, for this long epistle. I have nobody here but you to whom I can unburden myself." After all these terrible sensations of the first months the trying prolongation of the war eventually exhausted the remnants of his strength. During the summer of 1915 he gave up for the first time in his life his cherished country holiday at Audierne. The disease he incessantly suffered from went on constantly increasing. He had already been obliged to have himself carried, several times before, to the private hospital of St. Jean-de-Dieu. It was there that he breathed his last on the 15th April 1916 at about five o'clock in the afternoon. Two days before he had requested us to make enquiries about the timetable of the trains to Brittany. His body rests in a vault in the cemetery of Pere-Lachaise till—in obedience to his will which we found written on the first leaf of his address book—it may be carried over to Strasbourg for final burial in the family sepulchre. May it be, as was his ardent desire, that it may repose there in French soil.

No one should seek in this notice anything but the truthful narrative of a witness who knew Auguste Barth well during the last thirty years of his life but who does not flatter himself that he knew all about him. This will be our excuse for being obliged to have mixed up some personal reminiscences with the informations which we have endeavoured to collect for the sake of the future historians of Indianism. As to some consideration of his role as a scientist and his moral portrait as a man, the question cannot be taken up here. The judgment of masters is not the business of pupils; and moreover, we lack at the present moment the breadth of margin and the distance of horizon which is necessary for making a just estimate and conveying a definite appre-

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cation of the work as well as the workman. We loved him for his little faults as for his great qualities; for his occasional fits of obstinacy as for his habitual breadth of wisdom; for his causticity of wit as for his benevolence; for his carping criticisms of the Government as for his profound attachment to his country. Above all, we admired, unreservedly, his marvellous lucidity of intellect which in all matters went straight to the core; his universal mastery of knowledge which was an inexhaustible fountainhead open to all other seekers: his height of disinterestedness and impartiality where the independence of his modest fortune had placed him from the first and where the thorough honesty of his nature maintained him to the last. Such were the most marked features of his physiognomy so complex and so richly modelled; these are also apparently those which the forgetful future will remember: But how many delightful traits and delicate tints, how many details of light and shade are destined to be lost when the few memoirs wherein he still survives will have in their turn disappeared. M. Senart has admirably expressed it in his farewell address—gushing straight from his heart—which he delivered on behalf of the *Societé Asiatique* in the meeting held on the 12th May 1916. There we can read, formulated by the voice of a peer, the judgment here missing.

"For a long time, doubtless, in surveying this precious gallery of the scattered essays of Barth, the new generation of workers will find something of that strengthening joy which we inhale in the serene atmosphere of a science so vast and so precise, so solid and so alert. But we alas! who knew him and loved him, we shall carry with us the greatest part of his secret. We, alone, shall have been able to measure how much the nobleness of an antique character, the amplitude of an intellect equal to the accomplishment of all tasks, the soundness of an incorruptible judgment, the active and prompt sensibility of a heart of gold, combined with the qualities of a scholar in achieving a figure truly rare. It has vanished and in vanishing has bequeathed to us a melancholy which nothing will console."

THE WEDDING DRESS

"*Rangadidi!*"

"What is it Ranu?"

"Don't you know that to-day is Sushy's birthday? So they are going to hold a fancy dress party at their place. I intend to go dressed as the goddess Lakshmi. But I have not got a red sari. So mother has sent me to you. She said that you had got lots of beautiful saris of Benares silk."

"My dear, we are old-fashioned people, our things would not be to your taste, you are very modern and have taken to going to the Mem-Sahib's school."

"There now Rangadi, how you talk! To be sure! What if you are old-fashioned? Is not Lakshmi even more old-fashioned than yourself? Now please do open your trunk and let me see what you have got."

I had to sit up at the urgency of my little granddaughter's manner. I unlocked my trunk and took out nearly twenty or twenty-five saris. Waves of red, blue, green and pink rolled along the floor of my room, with glittering golden and silver flowers and leaves, but none found favour with the critical little girl. As soon as I took out one, she turned up her nose and exclaimed, "This won't do Rangadidi. Lakshmi won't look right in it."

I gave it up in despair and said, "Then darling, I am afraid I shall not be able to suit you. You must try elsewhere."

My little darling stood there with a sulky expression on her pretty face and showed not the faintest sign of moving. Suddenly she exclaimed, "But Rangadi, what do you keep in that box of white stone, there by the side of the big iron safe? Something like gold is glittering between the fretwork."

That marble box! I had quite forgotten it. It must be about forty years since that day, when I first put my foot within the threshold of this room, dressed in the red silk of a bride with tinkling anklets on and annointed with sandal paste. That little box stood then

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in that very place. Its colour was then like the fresh sea-foam, that crests the waves of the blue ocean: now it has taken on a yellowish tinge with the passage of time. I have gone on seeing it nearly every day of my life, but somehow it has escaped out of my memory.

I turned to Ranu and said, "Ranu, that was a fortunate reminder of yours. You might get the very thing you wanted in this marble box. It contains my wedding dress. I put it there the day I first made my appearance in this house and I have not touched it ever since. So long as youraunt Kalyani was alive, she used to take it out frequently, shake and fold it and make no end of it. But after her death nobody paid any attention to it any more. I will take it out for you, If the worms have leftanything."

The box was secured by a small old-fashioned brass lock. I picked out its key after a good search among my large bunch of keys. I was doubtful whether the lock would yield to this rusty little key, but my fears proved to be false. I pulled up the lid.

Ranu cried outaloud in her delight, "Oh what a beauty! Rangadi, I have never seen the like of you! What do you mean by neglecting such a fine thing? It is a mercy that the worms have spared it. I see only two or three small holes. But it is still quite wearable. But how is it, that the box smells so beautifully of camphor?"

"Your aunt Kalyani used to keep chains of camphor beads in it."

"But what kind of an ornament is this, Rangadi? It looks like a chain of golden jasmines. Such a thing, too, you have left uncared for in this old box? You do neglect your things, I must say that. I have a good mind to run away with it, but I know mother would give me a good slap if I took away such a costly thing. Do you know, ever since I lost that ugly old broach of mine, mother does not let me touch a single thing. So Lakshmi will have to be content with tinsel ornaments this evening. But I must hurry, else I should be late for the party."

My granddaughter danced off the room, with the red sari. I remained seated on the floor, in front of the open box. Somehow I felt a great disinclination to get up.

Do not scorn it because it is an old woman's life history. I too was young once. And do you know, my beautiful lady readers, that I too had a time, when peoples' eyes clung only to me, even if I stood among a thousand pretty girls?

(2)

I was born in an ancient aristocratic family. Looked at from the outside, we wanted nothing. We had unbounded wealth, a great ancestral house, retainers and servants innumerable. I was born after four brothers, so the usual want of notice and care, which a girl gets as her birth portion, never fell to my lot. For long time I enjoyed all the wealth of affection which an only baby among a family of grown ups had a right to expect. When my little nephews and nieces made their appearances, I assumed the role of aunt with due dignity and importance. My grandmother had named me Vidyut (Lightning). Many people give the name 'Lotus-eyed' to their blind children, but everybody with one accord declared that I had fully justified my name. You may be sure that I was quite conscious of the fact. I was as proud as anything of my brilliant complexion and beautiful face. My mother had a large mirror in her bedroom, and whenever I found her absent from her room, I went and stood before that mirror, admiring myself. I used to lean back my head and make the mass of my dark wavy hair touch the ground or dress it in as many fashions as I possibly could. Sometimes I held up my beautiful arms, white as alabaster and rounded as the stalk of a lotus to the golden morning light and gaze at them with eyes of wonder. From my very childhood I refused to put on any colours except red or dark blue—I was quite aware of the fact that these two colours enhanced the beauty of my fine complexion. My grandfather was alive then. He used to be greatly amused at my pride and say, "My dear, it will be a hard job to find out a suitable bride-groom for you, great beauty that you are. To my knowledge, there is only one person worthy of that honour, that being, my own humble self."

Though the scion of an old conservative family, my father cherished many modern theories and ideas. But as my grandfather was alive, he was unable to carry most of his theories into practice.

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A great agitation was then going on in Bengal about the education of women. My father sided with the modern party, who stood in favour of it, but not daring to send any girls of his family to the new girls' school, he himself began to teach me and my two sisters-in-law. But the last mentioned young ladies favoured card playing and gossipping much more than they did their studies. They had to make a show of studying so as not to fail in proper respect to their father-in-law, but they could never keep to it for more than half an hour. There never was any want of excuses—either their babies began to cry or some household duty required their prompt attention. But I took to my studies from the beginning. I finished all the books my father had brought into the inner appartments; then began to make inroads at night upon my father's library which was situated in the outer apartments.

It was the custom of our family to marry the girls very early. My sisters-in-law too had been married in their childhood. But the old order changed in my case. As I was the only daughter of our house, neither my mother, nor my grandmother could live without me a single day. If anybody asked any questions about my age, they always gave me out to be three or four years younger than I really was and never failed to remark, "We give our girls in marriage early, not because we must, but because we will. Nobody would dare to object if we did otherwise. We are a great Kulin family, many daughters of our house had remained unmarried their whole lives and nobody had anything to say."

So I was growing up, without any thought of my marriage. My grandmother sometimes reminded others that it was high time to think of my marriage, but she received but scant hearing. I used to hear that a suitable bridegroom was being sought for, but nobody seemed to be very energetic about it. As the people around us were mostly our servants, they never said anything to our faces, and if they said anything behind our backs, nobody brought it to our notice.

My eldest brother's marriage had taken place even before my birth; my second brother too had been married when I was quite small. My third brother was considerably younger than the elder ones, and now his marriage was about to be solemnised. My grandfather wished it to be a very grand affair, as he was doubtful whether he would live to see any other festive ceremony of the family.

The bride-elect was the daughter of a poor house, but as she was reported to be supremely beautiful, my grandfather consented to the match. After the bride had been formally seen and chosen, he came to me and said with a smile, "My dear, you think that your beauty stands unrivalled, so you do not condescend even to look at this old fellow. As I am quite tired of your imperiousness, I am bringing home a greater beauty than even you."

I laughed at his words, but somehow I felt a little uneasy in my mind. Was she really more beautiful? Well, let her come, then I shall be able to judge.

The wedding itself was to be a very simple affair, as the bride's father was a poor man. But the preparations that were being made for the reception of the bride in our house were meant to make up for all want of magnificence in the wedding. A great feast was to be given in our house; then all the family together with an enormous number of friends, relations and guests, was to go out to a villa, situated on the banks of the Ganges, and spend a festive week there. Ample provisions had been made for entertaining the guests with dance, music and theatrical performances.

The day of the home-coming of the bride arrived. The festal clamour in our house was great enough to be almost deafening. A band had struck up near the outer gate, and all the children had assembled there to listen to the music. My mother and my eldest sister-in-law were busy taking counsel together over the proper management of the various rites and ceremonies. Nobody seemed to have any time to spare and those who really did the least, went about with the most anxious faces.

But what was I doing all this time? You would laugh, if you knew. I was in my own room, taking out all the pretty saris I had and trying on every one of them to find out which suited me most. I was determined not to own defeat to another woman. At last I decided upon

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a silk, whose colour was that of the clear autumnal sky and it was embroidered all over with golden stars. I let down my hair, which reached down to my ankles and kept it from blowing over my face, with a chain of sapphires tied across my brow. I did not put on many jewels as I was quite confident that my beauty needed but few aids. It took me a long time to finish dressing. Then coming out of the room, I mingled with all the girls and young women assembled near the entrance to the inner appartments.

Suddenly the sound of loud music broke upon our ears. The procession must be quite near. What a deafening uproar! The huge procession came on slowly and stopped before the outer gate. The silver palanquin, which bore the newly wedded pair, entered the inner court. I pushed my way to the front of my companions, as I was determined to have a good look at the bride. My mother advanced to receive the bride. I still see her in my mental vision, as she then appeared. She looked like the veritable queen of Kailasa, Parvatee herself, with the child Lakshmi in her arms. The girl bride was indeed beautiful! Her face seemed to be moulded out of fresh churned butter, her eyes were those of a startled fawn.

I was gazing at the bride in open-mouthed wonder and had forgotten even to be envious. One of my numerous cousins, named Kamalini, had been standing by me. All of a sudden, she remarked aloud "Well, I admit that the bride's face is beautiful, but as to complexion, she cannot hold a candle to our Vidyut. How grandfather exaggerates!"

Why, so it was! I came back to myself with a jerk. However pretty the face of the bride might be, I stood far superior to her in brilliance of complexion and wealth of hair. I now joined in the festive ceremonies with a tranquil mind. As I bowed down to the new bride, she looked at me with her big eyes full of wonder.

The old people of that district still talk about the magnificence of my third brother's wedding. It was truly unsurpassed there. After the great feast in the ancestral house, we started for the riverside villa in great state. A number of bullock carts started with the luggage, for my brother and his friends elephants were procured, and last of all the ladies came in their closed carriages. A crowd of servants brought up the rear.

It was already dark, when we reached our destination. We were unable to have any of the good outdoor walks, we had planned beforehand, as my mother insisted upon our having supper and retiring early. I and Kamalini shared one room, my sisters-in-law occupied the adjacent rooms.

Quite early in the next morning, I was suddenly roused by a good shake from my second sister-in-law. As I opened my eyes, she cried out, "Now dear, do get up. Have you come here to sleep and eat? I heard that the garden had been much added to, many new beds have been planted and many fountains and marble seats have been made. Let us go and have a look at them."

Kamalini, who was already sitting up in her bed, now put in, while rubbing her still sleep-laden eyes: "But do you intend to start in the night? Why not go during the day? The garden won't run away you know."

My sister-in-law gave me a good tug as she replied, "My dear madam, do you think the men would vacate the garden in the daytime for your good pleasure, and go and sit out in the fields? Not if I know them. If you want to see the garden, you must come now, while they are still asleep."

Kamalini gave way, and we got out for our walk. It was still chilly, so I wrapt myself in a green shawl and went out.

The garden was a very large one, and in no way resembled the small enclosure heavily laden with flowering plants in earthen jars, which we used to call a garden in our town house. This garden extended far and wide and I felt a bit afraid at first when I stepped into it. A wealth of flower appeared on every side, the pearly dew drops of the early dawn still fresh upon them. As we passed under the avenue of trees, our hairs faces and mantles became profusely sprinkled as from the wet skirts of the wood nymphs, who had just left their baths.

We had not advanced far, when Kamalini suddenly threw herself down upon a bank of green grass by the side of a fountain of coloured water and said in a decided manner, "I cannot walk any more, you may go on, but I shall return

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to the house from this place, after I have rested a bit."

Our pleadings were in vain, so we two left her and moved on.

A small hillock of jet-black stones stood near by. It was covered all over with flowering creepers and shrubs, and a tiny stream of sparkling water had sprung out of its heart and was flowing down its side. It had formed into a little rivulet at the base of the hillock and had at last merged itself into a miniature lake, all aglow with a host of red lotuses.

We went and stood by the side of the hillock. My sister-in-law sat down upon a rustic bench which stood close by and said, "Kamalini was right after all. We should have gone back with her. My feet are aching all over and I am very tired. But look there sister, what glorious lotuses! Of all flowers, I think, they are the most beautiful."

I had run into the habit of expressing an opinion upon every earthly subject, so I at once put in, "Whatever you may say sister, I think jesamine the most beautiful. The lotus is, of course, superior in outward beauty; but as to sweetness of smell it must give way to the jesamine."

"Oh indeed! so outward beauty is no match for the inward one? That is something new from you. Up to now you were the greatest advocate for outward beauty, but now it seems. . . ."

My sister-in-law left off in the middle of a sentence, and looking round at her I saw her veil her face with the end of her sari and rise from her seat as in a hurry. Astonished at her behaviour I turned my eyes to the spot, whence the surprise seemed to have come. Oh dear, some one had been sitting on the other side of the hillock, now he had risen up at the sound of our voices.

As I was the daughter of the house, I was quite unaccustomed to veil myself, as my sister-in-law at once did. And to tell the truth, even if I had been, it would never have entered my mind then. The moment, which stands as the One Moment of my life, was not to be wasted in that manner.

So long the word beauty denoted to me but my own beauty, but now I looked at the beauty of another. What a wonderful face it was! To me it seemed to be even more beautiful than the face of the Greek statue which stood in the garden. To you it would be surprising that an ordinary Bengalee youth can possess such beauty. But remember that it was the first time that I looked at a man with the eyes of a woman. The rosy colour of the maiden's own heart lends the man a beauty, which no man ever really possessed. So long I had been the petted and spoilt child of a wealthy house, and the men I had looked upon were but my brothers, uncles and other relations. But now had come the first Young Unknown, and as I gazed at him my childhood seemed to drop from me and was lost for ever.

He looked at me with no less wonder than I suppose I did. I thought of it later on, but not then. It was but for a moment, that we looked at each other. An almost imperceptible pressure of the hand from my sister-in-law, made me recover myself and I turned away with a start. He too at the same moment vanished behind the dark deodar avenue. Just then the eastern sky heralded the approach of the sun with its rosy blush. There was also another sunrise, in the sky of my young life, and I returned home steeped in the glory of its wonderful effulgence.

Entering my room, I went and stood before the mirror, almost unconscious of what I was doing. Vague and indistinct thoughts kept rushing into my mind, but I was unable to put them into shape. Suddenly a voice cried from behind me, "My dear young lady, you need not study your appearance so anxiously. It was stunning enough for that poor fellow. He is sure to fall down in a swoon after he reaches his room."

With a start I drew back from the mirror. Was it really for that purpose, which my sister-in-law so clearly defined, that I had been standing before it? I cannot wholly deny it.

The great rejoicings and festivities of our house were unable to claim my attention. I did not fail to notice that Kamalini and my second sister-in-law were having a good laugh at my expense, but in spite of many efforts I was quite unable to compose myself and appear like everyone else. It is certain that none except those two above-mentioned ladies had any attention to spare for my unusual

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behaviour, but I continually dreaded exposure before everybody.

A great feast had been arranged for that evening. The friends of my newly married brother sat down to it with him, along a long corridor in front of the kitchen. The elders took themselves away, so that the mirth of the young people might be unrestrained. Suddenly they proposed that the new bride must serve some food to them, otherwise they would decline to touch anything. Were the family preceptor and priest alone to have that privilege and were the friends of the bridegroom of no importance whatever? My mother and grandmother laughed at their clamour and said, "Very well, let the new bride serve a bit. It is quite proper for a new bride to appear before menfolk."

The bride was brought in, she was glitterin all over with jewels and silks. A large silver ladle was handed to her, which she at once dropped in her nervousness. She was all a-tremble. My mother became anxious and said, "It would never do to send her alone before so many people. She will drop down of sheer nervousness, somebody must go along with her."

But who was to go? All the daughters-in-law of the house drew back, veiling themselves copiously. Kamalini, on being requested, cried out in dismay, "Oh dear, I could not do that for anything!"

Nobody moved. The clamour among the guests became uproarious. My grandmother jestingly said to mother, "Why not send me along with the new bride? The two brides of Bengal may very well serve together."

My mother laughed and answered, "That would be the best arrangement, if it only could be done. But we are getting late." Suddenly her eyes fell upon me and she called to me, "Come here dear, you go with the bride. Take firm hold of her, do not let her fall down."

"And take firm hold of yourself too, dear, see that you do not fall down yourself!" whispered Kamalini from behind.

I had been feeling nervous, but I pulled myself together in anger at her sarcasm and went out with the bride. The young men were seated in a long row, talking and laughing aloud. A sudden silence fell upon them as we appeared. The new bride served with the silver ladle and I moved along with her. My legs were trembling with nervousness, and my face seemed to be on fire. But yet, in the midst of that overwhelming sense of shyness, I could not help looking up once. Another person, too, just looked up at that very moment.

My mother signed to us to come back as soon as we had passed along the whole row once.

The joyous festive week went on, but it had very little attention from me. Kamalini and my sister-in-law went on making jokes for a day or two, then they forgot everything about it.

A great musical performance was held on the last day of the week. A famous band of professional singers had been engaged for that purpose. The ladies took their seats behind silken curtains while the friends of my brother sat down in front of them, so as to keep a bit apart from the older folk.

The ladies went on feeding their babies and taking stock of one another's dresses and ornaments as they listened to the singing. I too did not pay undivided attention to the music, but neither to the small talk around me.

A great shout of approval went up as a song came to an end. My grandfather threw his own shawl on the singer and others followed suit with many rich gifts.

Such unexpected good luck made the man greedy. He turned round to the ladies in an expectant attitude with joined palms. My mother gave me two golden 'mohurs' and requested me to throw it out to him. I tied the two coins in my silk handkerchief, so that they might not get lost in the crowd and putting out my hand from behind the curtains, I threw it out in the direction of the singer.

But as good or bad luck would have it, the handkerchief, instead of falling before the singer, fell down among the crowd of young men, who had been sitting in front of us. One of them picked it up and untying the coins presented it to the singer. But somehow the handkerchief remained in his own hands. Need I tell you, who it was? People grieve over lost property, but the joy I felt at losing that handkerchief, still remains unparalleled in my life. How long I had been gazing at that appropriator of other

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goods, I cannot now tell, but I came back to myself as the singing began again.

The party broke up the next day. The guests and relations departed to their homes, and we too came back to our usual residence.

But one marriage seemed to have reminded the whole family about the urgency of another. Everybody became quite energetic all of a sudden to arrange a good match for me. Professional matchmakers went in and out all the day long. As I had arranged a match for myself, I felt disgusted at their presence. I did not know anything about that secret bridegroom of mine, who he was, where he lived or what he did, but somehow a conviction had sprung up in my heart, that to him and to none but him would I be given in marriage. My knowledge amounted to this alone, that his name was Manindra, and this much too I had to wrest from Kamalini at the expense of a whole day's teasing.

One evening, I was seated before the window of my room and a single star was shining above the large neem tree, which stood in front. Suddenly my sister-in-law rushed laughing into the room and cried out, "I have brought a piece of great good news. What are you going to give me as a reward? You need not remain staring at the skies any longer, a time is coming when the earth will have sufficient attraction for you."

I understood quite well what she meant, but as she was many years my senior, I did not give any answer to her repartee and she went off laughing. A feeling of mingled joy and fear arose in my heart, causing a tremor in my whole body.

A scene of immense bustle and noise began once more. Jewellers, goldsmiths, carpenters and clothes merchants poured into our house from all quarters. Mother one day remarked while talking to the ladies of the house, "This is my only daughter. I will send her to her father-in-law's house with such a trousseau, that the mother-in-law however clever she be would have a hard job of it, trying to find out defects."

Day after day passed on and the auspicious day approached. But did not I have any fear or doubt? To whom was I going to trust myself? But as the first streak of light in the sky dispels a world of darkness, so a single line, which came to my ears from the next room, drove away all my doubts and fears. An aunt of mine was talking to my mother. Suddenly she asked, "But sister, have they seen the bride?" My mother laughed and said, "No sister, we won't have to show the bride formally. The bridegroom himself has seen her and chosen her, while he was here as a guest in the wedding party of Bimal." Need I tell you any more, why my mind was free from any doubts?

A silk merchant came to our house to take orders for my wedding dress. My mother called all my sisters-in-law to talk over things with, "We are old-fashioned folks, our tastes might not suit young people." The young ladies gathered round the man in great enthusiasm. I too was hauled along by them to be a member of their committee. After a great deal of talking, my eldest sister-in-law decided upon a deep crimson silk, covered all over with gold embroidery which flashed as streaks of lightning. It was specially to their liking as it matched my name. I too liked the thing immensely, and escaping to my room, sat down hugging the thought to my bosom that the grievance I had of appearing in an ordinary dress before a certain person was likely to be soon remedied.

On the day of the "maiden's feast" in our house, a large number of presents arrived from the bridegroom's house. My sister-in-law while praising their taste and liberality remarked aside to me, "You are lucky my dear, your husband's family does not seem to be any poorer than your father's family."

A large number of friends and relations soon arrived and I was scarcely left to myself even for a moment. Then, too, I had to go about every day as I was constantly being invited by others.

The day arrived at last. A woman never loses the memory of her wedding day however old she might be; neither have I.

From the morning I had been sitting on a seat of sandal wood, which was covered all over with leaves and flowers of '*alpana*.'* Of that numerous gathering I alone was silent that day. Now and then one of my sisters-in-law or cousins would peep in, and go off smiling. Nearly all the relations we had in every part of

* Ceremonial drawings on auspicious occasions, on the floor, wooden seats, &c.

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the world, had arrived, but fresh ones still poured in. At the sound of approaching footsteps I looked up and saw my mother entering accompanied by an old lady. Mother came near and said, "Vidyut, this is my aunt, bow down to her." I did as I was bid; the old lady blessed me fervently, then turning to my mother, asked her, "The bride is truly called Vidyut, my dear, but how is the bridegroom? I hope they will be a well-matched pair?" I laughed in my heart how should that old lady know how supremely handsome the bridegroom was?

My mother answered, "What does outward beauty matter, dear aunt? My son-in-law Prasanna is not much to look at, but I tell you my daughter is lucky to get such a husband."

Prasanna! And not much to look at! What is this? The daylight suddenly became pitch dark in my eyes and the furniture of the room began to swirl round and round. The old lady shrieked out in alarm. I suppose I must have looked rather strange. My mother threw her arms about me and said, "She has been fasting all the day, she is feeling weak I think; come along with me dear and lie down, you need not sit here any longer." She went away after putting me to bed.

The joyous clamour around me sounded in my ears like the shrieks of the damned. I wished to cry out, but no tears came, instead something heavy as iron settled down upon my heart. It was a drama, worth seeing. The flash of lightning was seen admired by all but who knew where the thunderbolt struck? Truly, a woman's heart is hard, otherwise how did I bear, what I had to bear? A Hindu woman has at times to suffer in silence torments that would beat records of hell.

It was already evening, when a crowd of young girls burst into the room, and pulled me up from the bed. The bride must begin her toilette now. They went on dressing and adorning me to their hearts' content, while I sat like a statue. After chattering and toiling for nearly two hours, they finished their work. My eldest sister-in-law dragged me before a large mirror and cried out, "Now have a good look, see whether you like your own appearance, never mind about another's likings."

I looked up at my own image, reflected in the mirror. Yes, I was fittingly adorned. I seemed to be wrapt about in flames, and flames too raged in my heart. My dress shone and sparkled as if steeped in liquid fire, my wristlets, and necklet of diamond shot sparks of fire. I wished that the fiery borders of my silken cloth would truly become a flame and wrap me in its fatal embrace. I moved away from before the mirror. "Don't fall in love with your own image," mocked Kamalini. Fine indeed was my image! A great pang shot through my heart, as I remembered with what joyous hopes I had looked forward to this bridal toilette.

The bridegroom arrived. The women's rites, the reception of the bridgegroom, all danced before my eyes like so many shadowy pictures. At the time of the "Auspicious Look," a large red silken cloth was thrown over our head. All requested us to look at each other and impelled by a sudden curiosity I looked up. A dark face was before me and eyes full of entreaty and love looked into mine. I dropped my eyes at once.

The marriage was over at last. We then took our seats in a large room, lighted up with great hanging lamps and chandeliers and crowded to the full with girls and women. Their laughter and jokes knew no bounds. A flood of joyousness seemed to have swept over the assembly. The friends of the bridegroom were waiting outside and constantly sending to ask permission to come in and have a look at their friend's bride. At last they got the required permission. The ladies for the most part drew back with veiled faces behind the giant bedstead and a few escaped out of the room and peeped through the windows. A large number of young men burst into the room with joyous shouts. They had their fill of jests and jokes, then began slowly to retire one by one, as the wedding supper was about to commence. When nearly all had departed, some one suddenly pushed into the room and came and stood before us. I looked up. I felt as if I would drop down from my seat in a swoon and my hands and feet turned cold as ice. Somehow I recovered myself. My third brother came forward and addressing my husband said, "Prasanna, Manindra has come to see you." My husband looked at the visitor with a

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smile of welcome. Manindra came nearer and taking out of his pocket a parcel wrapped in flimsy blue paper, said, "Friend, I have brought a little present for your wife. I did not put it down with the other presents, as it would be quite lost in that magnificent array." Saying this he took off the wrapping and taking out a chain of gold put it into my trembling hands. It was a garland of jesamines, some cunning workman had copied nature very faithfully in gold. My husband answered back laughingly, but I did not hear what he said. I looked up once more. He too, spoke his farewell in a long look, then disappeared in the rapidly thinning crowd. The traveller, who had first stepped into my young life in the rosy blushing dawn, now went out of it for ever in the red glare of festive lamps and through a noisy festal crowd.

The ladies again thronged into the room. Kamalini took the golden chain off my hands and put it round my neck, remarking, "It is certainly of Cuttack workmanship. Our goldsmiths are not up to such work."

It was already midnight, when we at last found ourselves alone. My husband tried to make me speak but in vain, and at last laid himself down to sleep. The hanging lamps went out one by one flickering and spluttering. I sat still on my bed throughout that long night. Sleep refused to come to the aid of my tortured heart.

The next day I left the home of my childhood and stepped out with a stranger for a strange home. The most auspicious and joyous day in a woman's life, ended for me in a flood of tears.

A warm welcome was waiting for me in the new home. But I seemed to have become an unfeeling automaton, I moved about as others made me move, and heard without answer the thousand remarks and questions which flew about me. The gladness and joy which I witnessed in others, served only to petrify my heart more and more.

The bustle and noise subsided a little in the evening. Two or three girls of the house then conducted me to my bedroom and kindly left me there to rest. As soon as they were out of the room, I tore off my wedding finery and putting out the single lamp which was burning in a corner, I flung myself down on the bare cold floor of the room.

How long I had been lying there I have no idea, but somebody's sudden entrance into my room made me sit up. It was a young girl of about eighteen, dressed in the white garb of a widow. Her face was beautiful, though she was dark in complexion. Her loose curly hair blew about her face, her eyes looked like veritable springs of sadness. It seemed as if this young maiden had just stepped out of the arms of the goddess of evening with her calm and sad beauty.

She bowed down to me and then sat down by me. She took my hand in hers and said, "I am one of your numerous nieces, my dear aunt. I am named Kalyani. You did not see me till now, because I have lost the right to show my face at auspicious events. Your husband sent me to you thinking you must be feeling lonely. But why are you sitting in the dark and on the floor. Please get up and sit on the bed."

The laughter and light all around had been only increasing the burning pain in my heart; the sad face of this girl somewhat comforted me. The tears now came; I wept and wept and could not restrain myself at all.

Kalyani put her arms about me and began to comfort me. "Don't cry dear," she said; "the pangs of separation from one's parents are keen indeed, but you will get accustomed to it. Women have to suffer far harder things. I, too, thought once that I shall not be able to rise up from the earth any more, but see I am going about now like everybody else." Then suddenly she stood up and cried, "But let such things go. We must not talk about them on this auspicious day. Let me arrange your room. Why have you put out the light?"

Kalyani lighted the lamp again and moved about the room putting everything in its place. Suddenly she came upon my wedding sari, thrown upon the floor. She picked it up and cried, "Why have you flung it here dear? Well, I will put it up for you. The old women here say that one must not wear one's wedding dress twice. It is to be kept in a box and when torn, should be thrown into water.

She folded the thing carefully and then pointing out a box of marble to me, said, "Do you see that box over there, by the

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side of the big iron safe? I put it there in the morning. It is my present to you. I have got nothing else. That one was given to me by my husband. Will you keep your wedding dress in it? It will then remain apart from your other things."

I assented. Kalyani put the dress there and went out. After a few minutes, she re-entered with a few chains of camphor beads in her hand. These she arranged about the rich crimson silk. Suddenly I got up and snatching that garland of jesamines from my neck, flung it into the box.

"Why do you put it there?" asked Kalyani in astonishment. "It should go into the jewel box, you will have to take it out frequently."

"No," I said, "let it remain there, I will never take it out again. When I fling the wedding dress into water, this too shall accompany the dress."

Kalyani looked at me for a minute, with her wonderful eyes, then said, "Very well, let it remain there."

(3)

"Rangadi!"

Young Vidyut, with her slender graceful figure and wristlets and necklet of diamond, vanished into air. Oh dear, it was already dark and the lamps have not yet been lighted. I have been dreaming with my eyes open. I have forgotten too about the children's supper. Ranu too has come back from her friend's house.

I got up from the floor and asked with a smile, "Now darling, how many persons lost their senses over the entrancing beauty of Lakshmi?"

"There now Rangadi, you have begun again. Who is to faint at my sight pray? I don't think there is any one idiotic enough for that purpose. Now take back your sari, I have folded it so carefully that not the faintest sign appears of its having been worn. Let us go and put it back in that box.

We went and stood before the box. "See here Rangadi," cried Ranu, while putting back the sari, "the smell of camphor has nearly disappeared. It was but a little while ago, that we opened the box. How fast it went! The camphor beads have gone long ago, the fragrance too now follows in their wake, but see, the box of marble is still the same."

"My darling," I answered, "fragrance stays with us only for a brief while, then it becomes one with the air. But the stone knows no change, it remains for ever."

SEETA DEVI.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

The Problem of the Indian States.

The article recently contributed by Mr. K. M. Panikkar to the 'Modern Review' is a very opportune one and draws the attention of the public towards a very important question. For one reason or another, political bodies like the Congress and the League have treated the States with a sort of studied indifference or neglect; nor has the Press, except when it means to read a sermon to the British Government by trotting out the administrative efficiency of certain States, been more generous.

This is not as it should be. The destinies of British India are indissolubly bound up with those of the States and whatever happens in one part of the country cannot but profoundly affect the other. Hence, if the people of what is at present called British India mean to make any considerable political advancement, they cannot afford to let the States lag behind.

The people of the States are generally extremely anxious for political rapproachment with British India. But they cannot voice their wishes. As has been aptly remarked, there is no Arms Act in the States but at the same time there is no liberty of the Press. As was recently remarked by the Viceroy at the installation of the H. H. The Maharaja of Bharatpore, the fact of their protection by the British Government gives the rulers of these States an immense power over their subjects. This naturally makes them very autocratic and experience shows that so long as a Ruling Prince can manage to retain the good-will of British political officers, he can do pretty much as he likes. Thus the subjects of a State, if they mean to make their voices heard have to deal not only with their own immediate ruler but the British Government as well. This why Indian India presents the appearance of a politically inert mass. There is plenty of seething surging life beneath this dead calm. Let the political leaders of British India, experienced in the ways of public life, turn their attention to this as yet

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untapped reservoir of potential energy and they will be doing an immense service to the whole country, Indian and British.

I shall now consider the solution which in Mr. Pannikar's opinion will probably commend itself to the National Executive when British India finally gets Home Rule. Obviously, we cannot afford to retain all the seven hundred and odd States in their present status; at the same time, Mr. Pannikar considers any attempt to follow the Italian policy of political dispossession' impolitic. He, therefore, proposes to mete out differential treatment as regards the bigger and the smaller states. He does not exactly define what he means by the former, nor is such definition easy. Mysore, for instance, notwithstanding its obvious importance, is in some respects far below many States which are inferior to it in area, population, revenue, etc. Since the Rendition of Mysore, the British Government has expressly retained for itself the right of intervention in internal administration which it has equally expressly denied to itself in the treaties which regulate its political relations with most other States. Again States whose treaties were negotiated previous to 1813 have generally a higher status than those whose treaties were negotiated after that date. The former class of treaties approximate somewhat to international rules and the word 'protection' does not enter into them.

But when the final re-adjustment is taken in hand, such distinctions will have to be ignored and all Treaty States—their number is not large—will have to be placed in the same class. Mysore, though properly only a Sunnud State, will go with them. Some of the other Sunnud States, for instance, those whose rulers are at present entitled to a salute of 11 guns or more and consequently styled Their Highnesses, will also form members of the same group. These will have absolute internal autonomy, as Mr. Panikkar suggests, it being understood that sovereignty will in every case be taken to be vested in the people who may, on the principle of self-determination, elect to retain the Ruling Houses as essential parts of their constitutions.

Now we come to the smaller or Non-Treaty States. Mr. Panikkar suggests that they should be 'mediatized.' His use of this term is unfortunate and calculated to cause some confusion. As a matter of fact, the smaller States include among their number Sunnud States, mediatized States, guaranteed chiefships and so on. Technically, a mediatized State is one whose immediate Suzerain is not the British Government but some other State with which all the political relations of the former are carried on through the British Government. For instance, Narsinghgarh in Central India is a mediatized State. It pays a tribute of about Rs. 80,000 to Indore but all political relations between the two States are carried on through British political officers. There are several States of this kind, specially in Central India and Gujerat. Many of them are fairly big and important, so far as area, population and revenue go. The only peaceful and practical solution seems to be to put them in the same class as the former and get the relations of suzerainty and tribute waived aside on terms which, while honourable to the smaller States, should be equitable as well and somehow or other compensate the bigger States for the financial losses they will have to undergo.

Guaranteed estates are simply jagirs whose owners have been guaranteed by the British Government against alienation by the States under which the jagirs are. This is clearly an unjust arrangement. They should all be made over to the States concerned: the healthier public life and public control over State acts introduced by the new arrangements will be guarantee enough against improper alienation and confiscation.

Even when all this is done, there will be left a fairly large number of small Sunnud States, estates, jagirs, which have no direct suzerain but the British Government which guarantees them the exercise of such sovereign powers as it thinks compatible with their Liliputian territories. In essence such territories, which are, for political reasons, treated as foreign dominions are nothing but glorified Zemindaries and the sooner this fact is realized and acted upon, the better it will be for all concerned. The potentates of those minor chiefships should be bought off, if I may say so. Let them retain their hereditary titles and personal property; let them, moreover, be acknowledged as the Zemindar proprietors of their so-called States, but let them be divested of all ruling powers except such honorary ones as the supreme Government may choose to delegate to them in virtue of their social position and local influence.

If this plan were adopted, our problem would be much simplified and, I think, further simplification would come of itself, when once the ball is set rolling. It is quite possible that in the near future, the people of some States with counterminous frontiers and great affinities, religious, racial or historical, may evince a desire to unite under a common government. Under the new scheme of things we are contemplating, they would be quite free to do so. Similarly, the people of certain States might not improbably wish to be joined to what are now British provinces. We may confidently anticipate such adjustments in Rajputana, Central India, Kathiawar and Gujerat, if nowhere else.

But in any case we shall, so far as we can see, be left in the end with a number of large autonomous provinces and larger number of comparatively smaller but fairly important autonomous States. Who is to adjust their mutual relations and carry on business of national importance in the name of the country as a whole?

The most reasonable plan seems to be that the Supreme council, no matter what name it has, should consist of members chosen by a system of direct election from all parts of the country. The details can be worked out very easily. The States will have to contribute towards Imperial or National funds just like the provinces and, naturally, should be in a position to make their weight felt in the council of the country. The Supreme Executive will also then be representative of and responsible to, the country as a whole and have the right, in its dealings with other countries, for instance, the Imperial Government of Great Britain, to speak in the name of the whole country.

Much spade-work will no doubt have to be done before we can arrive at anything like the peaceful solution outlined above. The people of backward States have to be roused from their torpid apathy and those of advanced States taught the principles and practice of constitutional public life; the body of Ruling Princes and Ruling Chiefs has to be convinced that in these days of democratic triumph their best interests lie in falling in with this plan which, while it safe-guards all their dignities, personal properties and social status and gives them an important place in the body-politic, relieves

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them of many responsibilities which it is now humanly impossible for them to undertake. All this will have to be done by leaders of public opinion in British India and done soon.

But the task is not so difficult as it seems. The great public leaders, men like Mahatma Gandhi, for example, have a very strong following in the States, though, perhaps, they themselves are not aware of this fact. Many of them are respected by prince and peasant alike and a few, if this be any criterion of leadership, are apparently as much objects of dislike to certain Princes as they are to certain Government officers. A good deal of work has be unostentatiously done by newspapers, specia vernacular newspapers, and intercourse with Britis India for religious commercial and other no political purposes is another educative agency. that is required is the turning of public attentio towards this question. If this is done, I have doubt a statesmanlike solution satisfactory to parties concerned, will be arrived at in the ne future.

SAMPURNANAND, B.Sc., L.T.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

POTATO CULTIVATION IN WESTERN INDIA.

It is a nice little illustrated brochure issued by the Union Agency in Bombay. This Agency deals in seeds, manures and implements. The brochure contains useful informations about the crop, methods of securing good quality of seeds, their storage difficulties, etc. One gets really puzzled at the long list of the enemies of the crop both in the field as well as in the store-house. Mr. Keatinge, Director of Agriculture, Bombay Presidency, has very truly said in his address (Appendix III): "Even taking the skilled agricultural practice of the cultivators for granted, their well-tilled and carefully levelled fields, their energy and industry in the irrigation and treatment of the crop, there still remain a large number of complex problems for the chemist, mycologist and entomologist to solve before the crop can be grown and marketed with success." The aim of the Agency in starting their potato work is to tackle these problems from various standpoints. Though this special business of the Agency was planned sometime ago the immediate cause of its development was due to an order for a very large quantity of seed potatoes which were needed by Government for cultivation in Mesopotamia at the end of the last year. Government have been very liberal in their help in the shape of financial grant, as well as of expert advice from an authority like Dr. Mann. Mr. Keatinge, the Director of Agriculture, did everything that lay in his power for the furtherance of this work. This work comprises fumigating chambers sorting houses, storage chambers, etc. It has so far cost over Rs. 24,000 and a further sum of Rs. 25,000 have been spent by the firm on organisation and research. A seed testing Laboratory is shortly to be added to the works. Besides tackling the above problems the authorities are also designing improvements in the implements used in Potato cultivation and are experimenting with various manure mixtures with the assistance of Dr. Mann and Government have just provided funds to pay the salary of a chemist to assist the firm for a period with their manure business. It is interesting to know that in course of a few months only 800 tons of seed potatoes and 600 tons of other seeds have passed through this section of the Agency. If such firms spring up in large numbers in a Province its Agricultural Department is greatly relieved of much of its quasi-commercial work and can thus liberate its energy for research and further propaganda work in new tracts.

Mr. Keatinge has paid a high tribute to Mr. A. B. Modak, the energetic proprietor of the firm. Mr. Modak was a student of the Poona Agricultural College and has happily devoted his education to a new sphere. We wish him and his business all success.

DEBENDRANATH MITRA.

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE WANDERING TEACHERS AT THE TIME OF THE BUDDHA, *by Bimalacharan Law*, M.A.

It is a short paper which originally appeared in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. We were glad to read Mr. Law's article on the sub heretic teachers in Buddhist literature, but his present paper is not so good. The subject-matter has been treated vey lightly or superficially and it does not show that the author has studied the subject adequately. We are not satisfied with what he has given us here. It is said that philosophy with the Brahmans was "a mere *Lokayatra* (way of life)" and in support of it Kautilya's Arthashastra p. 6 (Eng. trans.) has been quoted, but it will be evident from both the original text and its translation that the passages referred to have been misunderstood. The only useful portion of the article is the Appendix giving the list of wandering teachers and their topics of discussion. Some light on a few points of the subject may be had from the introduction, pp. (49), (55), to the *Bhikkhu* and *Bhikkhuni Patimokkha* by the present reviewer.

SEARCH OF OLD SARSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS, *by R. Shastri, Baroda Central Library.*

It is an article reprinted from the "*Library Miscellany*" of Baroda. The author is possessed of personal experience of twenty-five years throughout India regarding the subject dealt with in it. It furnishes useful informations and gives good suggestions.

V. BHATTACHARYA.

PRESIDENT WILSON, THE MODERN APOSTLE OF FREEDOM. *Published by Ganesh & Co., Madras. Rupee one.*

This collection of some of Dr. Woodrow Wilson's

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speeches on world's freedom will be appreciated by all lovers of liberty. Dr. Wilson is undoubtedly at present the least nationally selfish statesman in the world. He leads the van of the world's democracy and possesses a moral ascendancy with which no other statesman is blessed. The book is embellished with a portrait of the American president, and contains a foreword by Dr. S. Subrahmaniem and a biographical sketch by Mr. K. Vyasa Rao.

C.

SAMKHYA SYSYEM, *by A. B. Keith, D.C.L., D. Litt., Published by Association Press, Calcutta. Pp. 109. Price—Paper edition As. 8; Cloth edition Re. 1-5.*

This book belongs to "the Heritage of India Series" which is being published under the joint-editorship of The Right Reverend V. S. Azariah, Bishop of Dornakal, and J. N. Farquhar, M.A., D.Litt. (Oxon).

We have been given to understand that this series has been planned by a "group of Christian men." Whenever a non-Christian book is edited and published by a "*group of Christian men*", our countrymen have reasons to believe that it will be characterised by the rarity of Christian charity. But here there is an exception to the general rule. The book under review is sympathetic as well as scholarly. And this is what we expected from the translator of the Taittiriya Samhita and a joint-author of the Vedic Index.

The book is divided into 8 chapters, *viz.*—(i) Samkhya in the Upanishads. (ii) The Samkhya in Buddhism. (iii) The Philosophy of the great epic and the origin of Samkhya. (iv) Samkhya and Yoga. (v) The Sasti tantra. (vi) Greek Philosophy and the Samkhya. (vii) The Samkhya Karika. (viii) The Later Samkhya.

All the chapters are well written and should be carefully studied. It is a valuable production and is recommended to our countrymen.

EARLY INDIAN THOUGHT: *by Dorothea Jane Stephen, S. Th. Published by the Cambridge University Press. Pp. 176.*

According to our learned authoress, "The love of money has been the besetting sin of the Brahmans from time immemorial" (p. 17). *The lady is a keen observer!*

Addressing a rishi, she says,—"Alas, poor chanter of hymns! Like all Indians he is confused by his own metaphors" (p. 30). *The lady is compassionate!*

Commenting on the mantra—"Indra said, I am Prana, meditate on me as the conscious Self, as Life, as Immortality", she remarks,—"we cannot help wondering what has come over our old friend Indra, whose merry days by Soma-vats seem here to have become strangely remote" (pp. 46-47). *The lady is witty!*

Commenting on the quarrels among the senses described in the Upanishads, she writes—"We can scarcely suppose that we are not meant to be amused at the dilemma of the quarrelsome senses, their six days' discomfort and the final catastrophy when they find themselves on the point of suffocation" (p. 49). *How perfect her understanding!*

She continues :—

"This is a sample of playfulness that meets us continually in the Upanishads and in all Indian writings." *How vast her reading!*

She goes on :—

"It is not the attitude of men engaged in a search the end of which is life or death to them; a seeker after truth may be playful, and generally is so, over side issues; he may be humorous with a somewhat bitter irony over the main issue and wonderful perversity of things." *How beautifully she moraliseth!*

Then she concludes,—"But this vein of gentle mockery at the heart of religious speculation is a peculiarly Indian characteristic" (p. 48). *How charitable!*

It is a pity that the Cambridge University Press should have undertaken the publication of such trash.

SHRI RUPKALA, *by A. B. N. Sinha. Published by Khadgavilas Press, Bankipur. Pp. 191. Price Library edition. Re. 1-8; People's edition Re. 1.*

'It is a short sketch of His Holiness Shri Valshnavaratna Swami Shri Sitaram Sharan Bhagwan Prasadji Rupkala of Ayodhya", written by his disciple Mr. Sinha.

The book contains 11 chapters, viz.—(1) A devout family. (2) The Vidyarthi. (3) The Householder. (4) The Bhakta. (5) The Author. (6) The Miracles. (7) The Virakt. (8) A day at Rupkala Kunj. (9) Shri Janki Navami. (10) A wonderful personality. (11) Some personal Reminiscenses and an appendix containing Mr. Justice Jwala Prasad's tribute.

A saintly life.

JOURNAL OF THE INDIAN INSTITUTE OF PHILOSOPHY, AMALNER. *Vol. i, No. 3. July 1918. Pp. 141-205. Annual Subscription Rs. 4; Price per copy Re. 1.*

This journal is published by an Editorial Committee of which the President is Mr. S. K. Maitra, M.A. and members are Pandit Sripada Sastri, Mr. G. R. Malkani, M.A., and Mr. N. C. Ghosh.

This number contains the following articles—1. Nietzche and Tolstoi concerning Morality and Religion by A. G. Widgery. (2) The Rhythmic Romanticism of Keyserling and the Poetic Romanticism of Dilthey by S. K. Mitra. (3) Mysticism by G. R. Malkani. (4) Some parallels between Plato and Sankara by N. C. Ghosh. (5) Advaitism and Nihilism by A. R. Malkani. (6) Thoughts preceding and leading up to Plato by N.C. Ghosh besides reviews, notes; and one vernacular essay by Pandit Sripada Sastri.

We wish the review a long and useful life.

THE INDIAN PHILOSOPHICAL REVIEW, *edited by Professors A. G. Widgery and R. D. Ranade. Published for the Indian Philosophical Association, by A. G. Widgery, the College, Baroda. Vol. ii. No. 3. January 1919. Pp. 193-288.*

This issue contains—(1) Sankhya Philosophy by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, (2) James Ward's Pluralistic Theism by Professor S. Radha Krishnan, (3) Hindu Eugenics II. by N. D. Mehta. (4) History of Conservation of values by A. G. Widgery. (5) Conception of the Mahdi by Fazl Shah Gilani followed by critical notices and short reviews.

It contains useful articles and should be patronised. The annual subscription is Rs. 6 (10*s.* 6*d.*) and single copy Re. 1-8 (2*s.* 6*d.*).

MAHESH CH. GHOSH.

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SANSKRIT-HINDI.

RIGMANTRAVYAKHYA *by Bhagavad-datta. Model Press, Anarkali, Lahore. Pp. 3+44. Price Annas 5.*

Svami Dayananda Sarasvati, the illustrious founder of the Aryasamaj, could not complete his commentary on Rigveda, it being written by him only up to the 61st *Sukta* of the *Mandala* VII. Some of those remaining Mantras of the Rigveda have been explained here in Hindi by the author strictly following the Swamiji and collecting the material chiefly from his commentaries upon both the Rig and Yajurveda. We fully appreciate it but think that it will interest none but the Arya-Samajists.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

SANSKRIT.

SANNYASANIRNAYA *Of Vallabhacharya with Eight Commentaries and Gujrati Translation, edited by Mulchandra T. Telivala, B. A., LL.B., and Dhirajlal V. Sankalia, B. A., LL.B., Vakils, High-Court, Bombay, Khakhar Building, C. P. Tank, Girgaon, Bombay Pp. 8+88+32. Price One Rupee.*

Of the sixteen sacred books of Vallabhacharya, *Sevaphalam* and *Nirodhalakshanam* edited by the present editors have already been noticed by us in this Review. The book lying on our table forms the fourteenth volume of the great teacher's works referred to. The circumstances under which *sannyasa* (renunciation) may be taken by the aspirant are discussed here, as the very title of the book implies. We heartly thank Messrs. Telivala and Sankalia for this publication which should be read by all who are really interested in the *Bhaktimarga*.

PANDAVAVIJAYAM *by Hemachandra Ray, Kavibhushana, M.A., Professor of Sanskrit, Edward College, Pabna (Bengal). Price—Re. 1.*

As regards knowledge of Sanskrit the graduates of the Calcutta University are generally, we believe, inferior to those of the Bombay or Madras University. In this state of things it is very gratifying to see a *kavya* like the present one from the pen of a graduate of that university. It appears from what we see in it that in writing Sanskrit or in composing *kavya* in it, Prof. Ray has perhaps no equal among his fellow graduates. The book under notice is a *Mahakavya* of twelve cantos according to the rules laid down by the Sanskrit rhetoricians. The subject-matter may be known by the title, i. e., *Pandava-Charitam*, the Adventures of the Pandavas. Prof. Ray is the author also of other five *kavyas*. We admire him.

SHRIKRISHNABHAKTI *by Ganderao Hanumantrao Talapadatoor, Kamanakatta, House no. 300, Dharwar. Pp. 85. Price—Re. 1-4.*

There is a book named 'Nine-fold Devotion' (नवविधा भक्ति) by Lakshmana Ramachandra. The characteristic of devotion as given therein is, according to Pandit Ganderao, not sufficient and that led him to write the present treatise in refutation of the former. Our author is an acute dualist follower of the Madhva doctrine and from that point of view he has advanced his argument as usual, there being nothing new. The book is written unsystematically and the language is defective as regards grammar.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

GUJARATI.

(1) PRANAYA LILA (प्रणयलीला) *by Balkavi published by Lakshmishankar Mahashanker Joshi, proprietor of the Lakshman Sahitya Granthalay, Bombay, printed at the Shujapura Luhana Steam Printing Press, Baroda. Paper cover pp. 41. Price—As. 8. (1918).* (2) RAZALTO RAJHANS (रझलतो राजहंस), *by Do. Do. Paper cover pp. 184. Price—1-12. (1918).*

These are two novelettes of the most ordinary kind, stuffed with impossible and emotional incidents, sure to delight the masses, if they care to buy them at these exorbitant prices.

SWAMI RAMTIRTHA NA SADUPDESHA (स्वामी रामतीर्थ ना सदुपदेश), *translated by Kripashanker Bechar-lal Pandit and two others, published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, printed at the Diamond Jubilee Press, Ahmedabad. Second Edition. Cloth-bound, pp. 462. Price—Rs. 2. (1919).*

This is the second volume of the speeches &c. of Swami Tirtha. The very fact that it has run into a second edition shows the popularity that the publication has attained and the hold it has taken of the people's minds. The translation is well executed.

K. M. J.

A NOTE ON THE HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF BISHNUPUR

(*Concluded*).

THE late Babu Balindranath Singh of Indas, a scion of the Raj family and a finished scholar, enumerates the following causes of the decay and downfall of the Bishnupur Raj: (1) The Maratha raids, (2) the famine of 1770, (3) the imposition of a crushing land-tax by the British Government, (4) family dissensions. These are the

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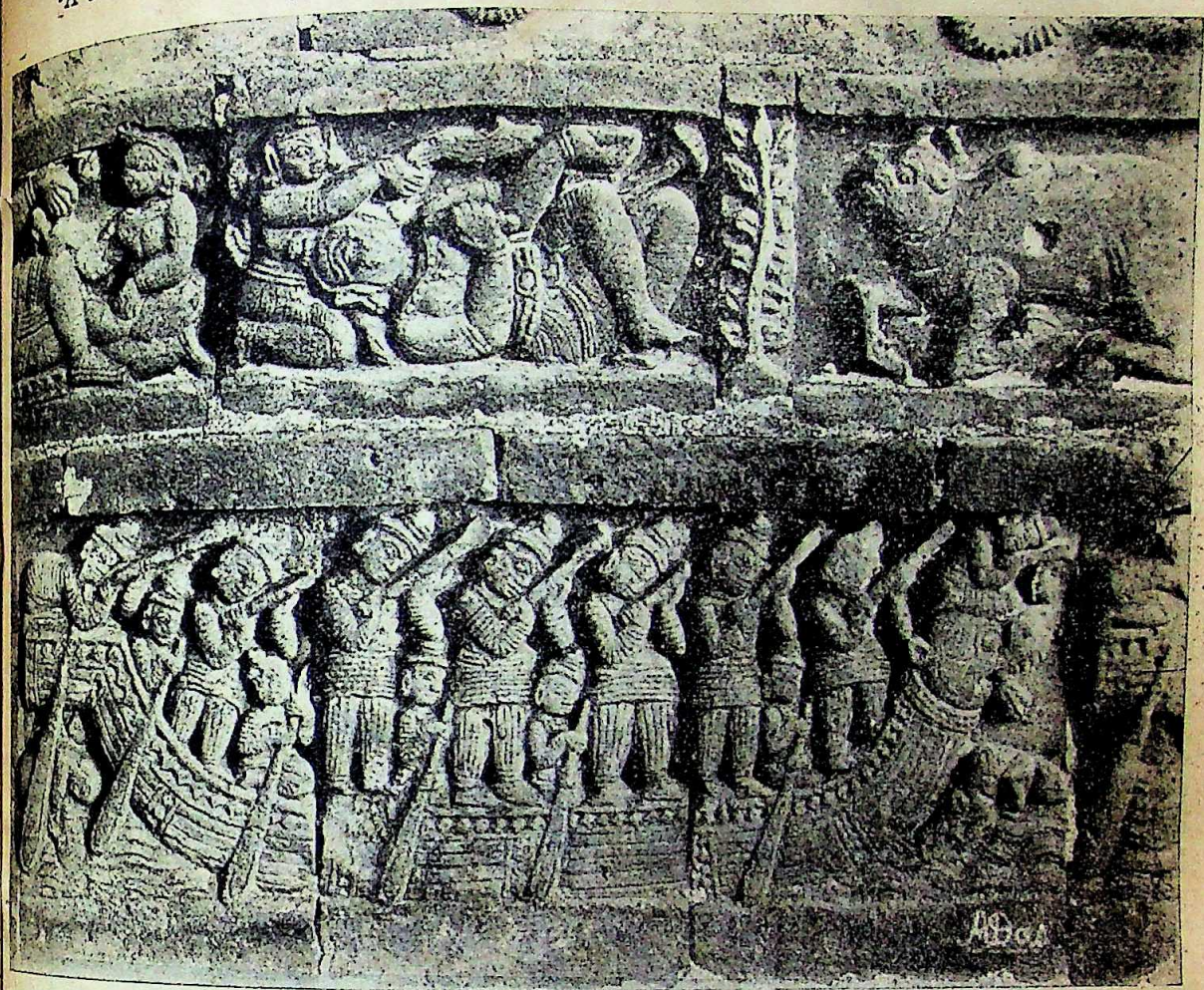

Boat with armed soldiers, Jor Bangla Temple, Bishnupur.

immediate causes of dissolution, but the following are, according to him, the indirect causes which hastened the catastrophe: (5) the adoption of the Vaishnav cult and its corollary, (6) the construction of costly temples, putting a heavy strain on the financial resources of the kingdom. He observes: "The adoption of the Vaishnavite creed, though it marked a brilliant epoch in the history of Mallabhumi, did not fail to exercise an enervating influence upon the royal followers. Of all religions, the Vaishnavite creed is the most incompatible with sword and sceptre, pageantry and pride, bloody strife and fierce justice. There were indeed monarchs great in arms and in piety. But before long symptoms of imbecility which could be attributed only to a religious frame of mind made themselves manifest." He attempts to prove the truth of this observation by citing instances from the royal family of Bishnupur after their conversion to Vaishnavism. This short account of the Bishnupur Raj may be fittingly brought to a close by one or two extracts from the accounts of Abbe Raynal and Governor Holwell, but it is fair to add that Mr. Grant, in his *Analysis of the Finances of Bengal*, written in 1787, doubted "the existence of a state which seemed to realise the fable of the golden age."

The singular situation of this country [Bissenpore] has preserved to the inhabitants their primitive happiness and the gentleness of their character, by securing them from the danger of being conquered, or imbruing their hands in the blood of their fellow creatures..... Liberty and property are sacred in Bissenpore. Robbery, either public or private, is never heard of. As soon as any stranger enters the territory, he comes under the protection of the laws, which provide for his security. He is furnished with guides at free cost, who conduct him from place to place, and are answerable for his person and effects. These maxims of probity are so generally received, that they direct even the operations of Government. Out of between seven and eight millions (about 330,000£ on an average) it annually receives, without injury to agriculture or trade, what is not wanted to supply the unavoidable expenses of the State, is laid out in improvements. The Raja is en-

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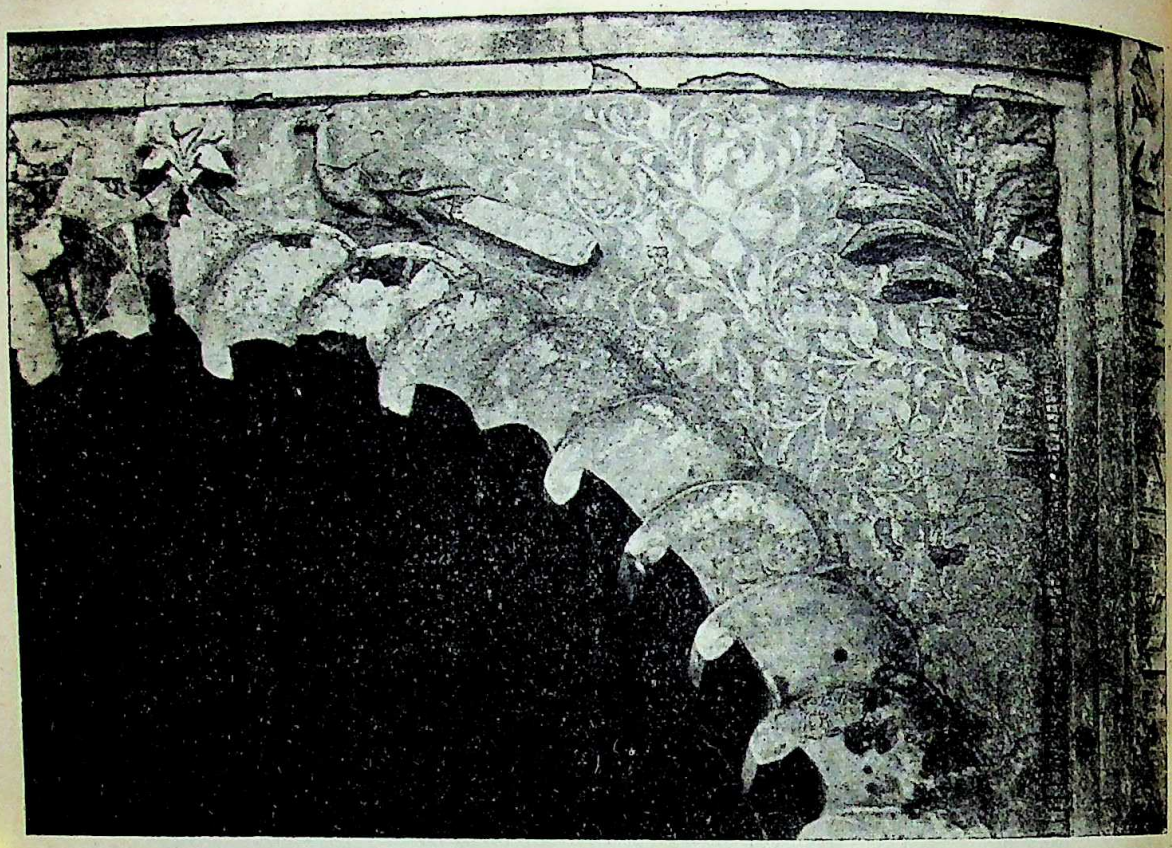
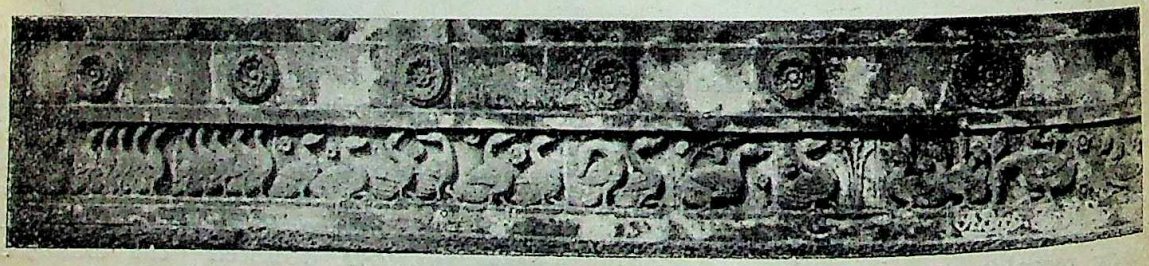


Peacock and Creeper, outer wall, Radha Shyam Temple, Bishnupur.



Duck poses, Madan Mohan Temple, Bishnupur.

abled to engage in these humane employments, as he pays the Moguls only what tribute, and at what times, he thinks proper." (Abbe Raynal, translated from the French by J. Justamond, 1777).

Holwell, in his *Interesting Historical Events*, printed in 765, says much to the same effect, and adds :

".....from the happiness of his situation he [the Raja of Bissunpore] is perhaps the most independent Raja of Indostan.....he can hardly be said to owe any allegiance to the Mogul or Subah, he some years deigns to send to the Subah an acknowledgment by way of *salaamy* (or present) of 15,000 rupees, sometimes 20,000 and some years not anything at all, as he happens to be disposed. But in truth, it would be almost cruelty to molest these happy people, for in this district are the only vestiges of the beauty, purity, piety, regularity, equity and strictness of the ancient Indostan Government.....There are in this precinct, no less than three hundred and sixty considerable Pagodas, or places of public worship, erected by this Rajah, and his ancestors..... Bissunpore, the capital, and chief residence of the Rajah, and which gives a name to the whole district, is also the chief seat of trade ; the produce of the country consists of Sal timbers (a wood equal in quality to the best of our oak), dammer laccas, an inferior sortment of raw silk, and coposs, and grain sufficient only for their consumption ; it is from this district that the East India Companies are chiefly supplied with the article of shell lacca."

The city was strongly fortified by a long connected line of curtains and bastions, measuring seven miles in length, with small circular ravelins connecting many of the curtains. Within this outer line of fortifications lies the citadel, and

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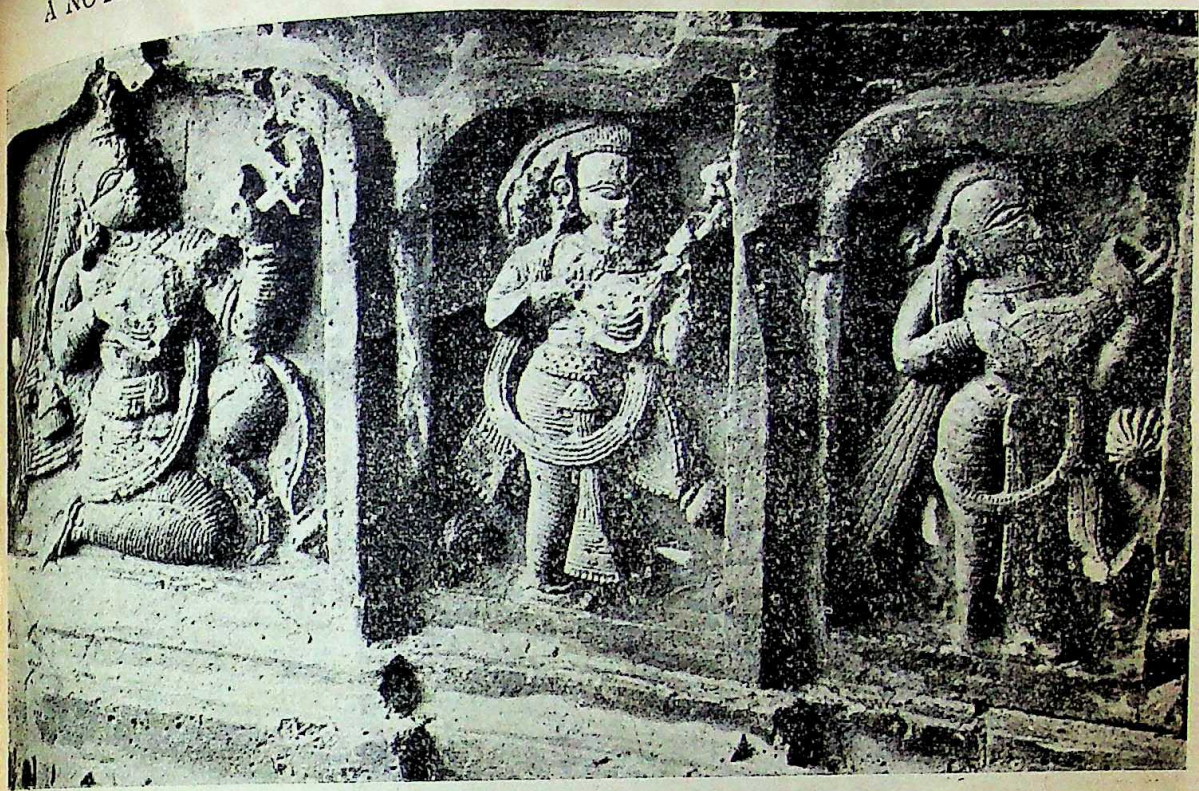

Women playing on Guitars, Madan Mohan Temple, Bishnupur.

within it again, the Raja's residence, an insignificant pile of brick buildings, surrounded by majestic ruins. The following is a list of the twelve dated temples in chronological order :—

Date in Malla Year	Date A. D.	Name of Temple	By whom built
1528	1622	Malleswar ...	Bir (Hambir) Singh, but probably completed by his son who reigned in this year.
1549	1643	Shyam Rai ...	Raghunath Singh, son of Bir ambir.
1561	1655	Jor Bangla ...	Ditto.
1562	1656	Kala Chand ...	Ditto.
1564	1658	Lalji ...	Bir Singh, son of Raghunath.
1571	1665	Madan Gopal ...	Siromani, Queen of the last Raja.
1571	1665	Murali Mohan...	Ditto (called Churamani in the inscription).
1600	1694	Madan Mohan...	Durjan Singh.
1632	1726	Jor Mandir ...	Probably Gopal Singh.
1635	1729	Radha Govinda	Krishna Singh, son of the last Raja.
1643	1737	RadhaMadhava	Churamani, Queen of the last Raja.
1664	1758	Radha Shyam ...	Chaitanya Singh.

According to Dr. Bloch, these temples are the most complete set of specimens of the peculiar Bengali style of temple architecture. The temple consists of a square building with a covered roof, with one tower rising in the centre, either alone or surrounded by other smaller corner towers. According to their number, the temple is called *pancharatna*, *navaratna* (five-towered, nine-towered), &c. The temples face the south, and are decorated on the front with carved brick panels, and the other walls are also similarly decorated on the front with carved brick panels, and the other walls are also similarly decorated in some cases. There are open galleries around, and inside the temples is the sanctuary with the altar of the god. Stairs lead up to the towers of the roof. Four distinct types may be distinguished. The first has a single square tower and is represented by the Malleswar temple. The second has a single tower resting on a square building with the curved Bengali roof; the best examples of this type in brick are Madan Mohan, and in laterite Lalji and Radha Shyam. Of the *pancharatna* type, with five-towers on the same building, the best example in brick is the Shyam Rai temple, and in laterite the Madan Gopal temple. The fourth type is the Jor Bangla (Double Bungalow) type, so named because two buildings shaped

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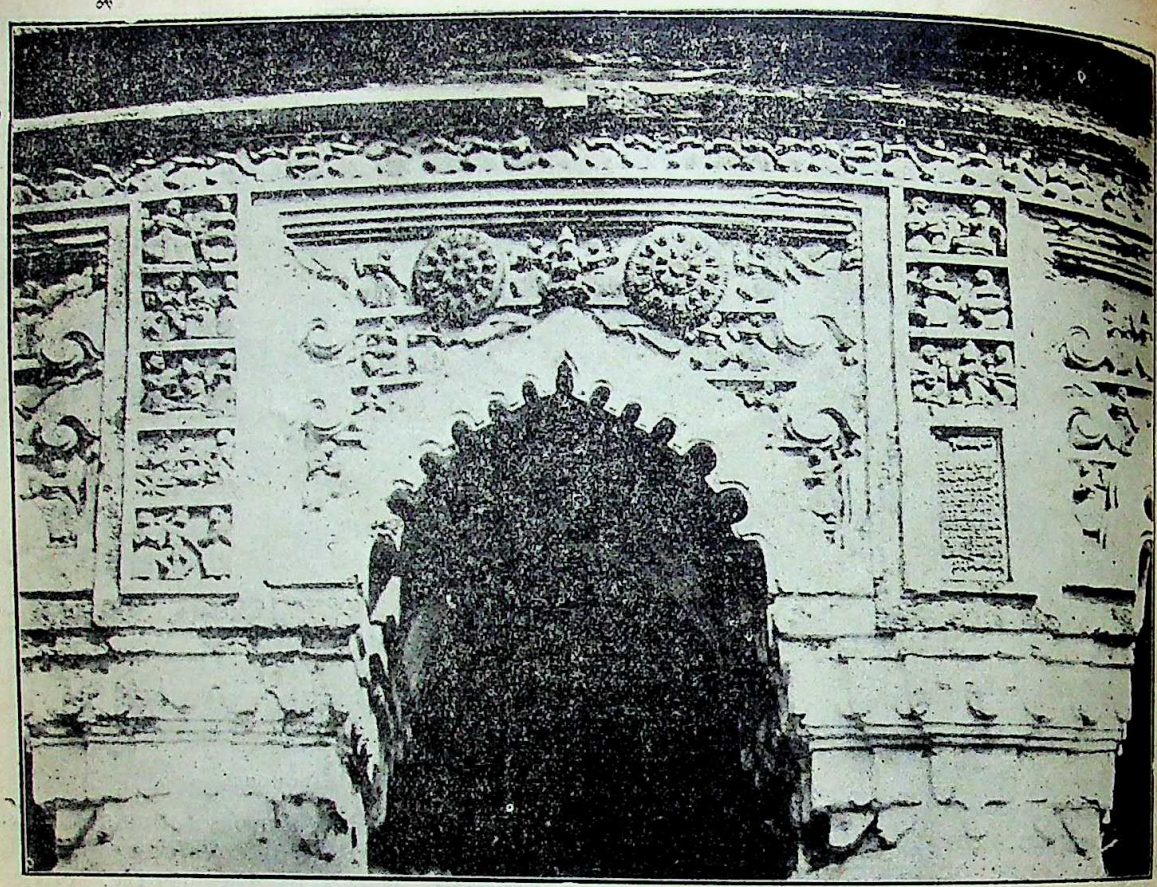

Gateway Sculptures—Radha Madhav Temple, Bishnupur.

like Bengali huts are joined together, surmounted by a small tower. A fine bird's-eye-view of the park-like scenery around, with the lakes and the river Dwarakeswar in the distance, may be had from the roof of this temple. The Shyam Rai is perhaps the oldest specimen of the *pancharatna* type that exists in Bengal. Nowhere outside Bengal has this style of temple architecture been found, and owing to the late date of all the existing specimens, it is difficult to decide whether it existed at all in pre-Muhammadan times. The Shyam Rai and the Jor Bangla have also the finest specimens of carved titles, the walls being richly covered with carvings in brick. Some of the floral designs on the southern front of the temples are exceedingly beautiful, and in the group of temples on the south of the Lal Bandh a few specimens of the Gandhar style of sculpture are to be met with. The Rash Mancha, outside the fort, consists of a square chamber surrounded on each side by three galleries with arched openings and covered by a large pyramidical roof. The tradition is that all the local deities used to be brought here for the celebration of the Rash carnival of the Vaishnavs. There are, or were, Bhog-mandirs or kitchens attached to all the temples where food for the deity was cooked and distributed among all the Brahmins of the town.

The carvings represent religious scenes taken from the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, *e.g.*, episodes from the life of Rama and Krishna and of the eight other Avatars or incarnations of Vishnu, and there are also hunting and wrestling scenes, royal and religious processions, Vaishnav *Sankirtan* parties, warriors, ascetics, women dancing and playing on various musical instruments, Krishna and Radha sailing on pleasure-boats, and all the varied incidents of the social life, sometimes gay, sometimes warlike, more often religious, of a Royal Court in the forestclad outskirts of mediæval Bengal. Animal life in various life-like poses has been well represented in these carvings—elephants and horses gaily caparisoned, bulls, tigers, mokeys

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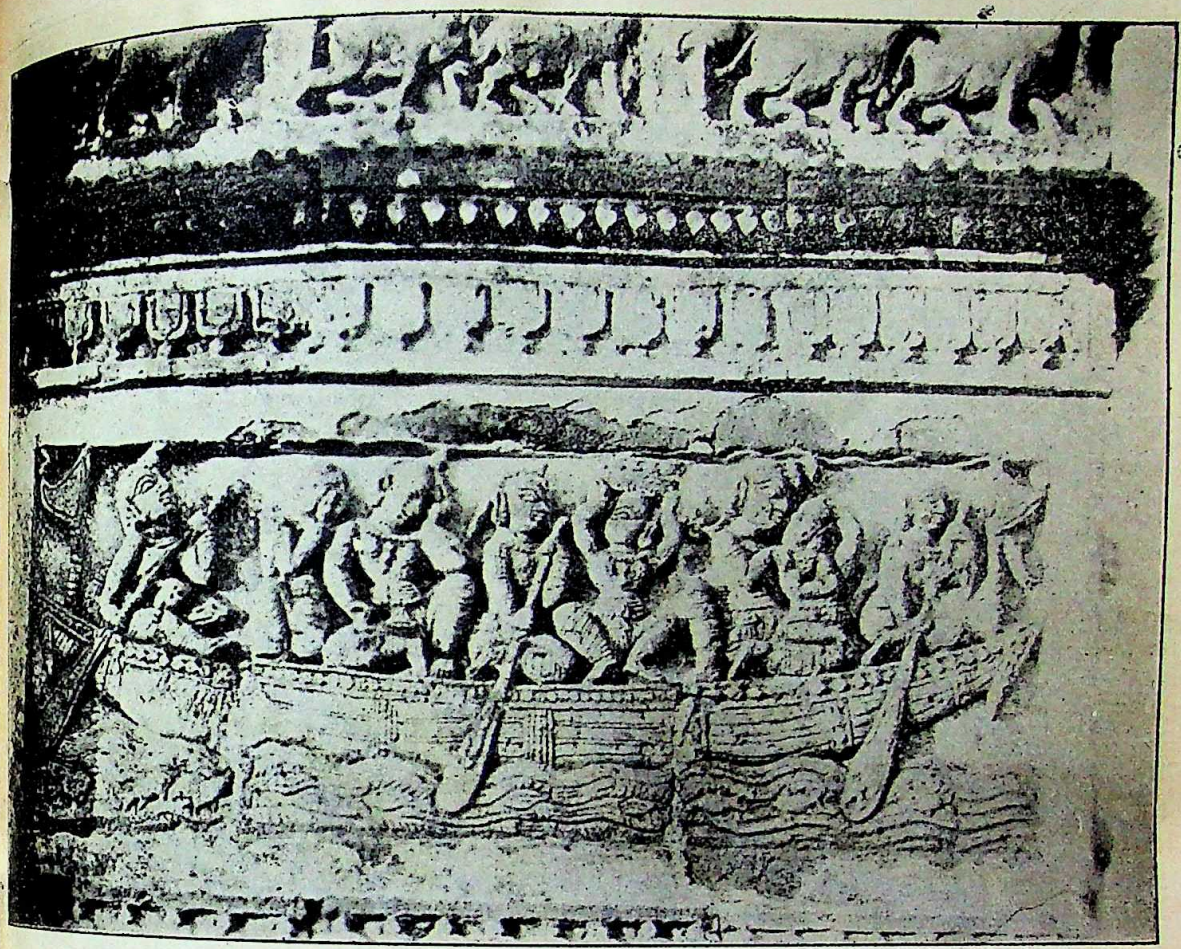

Pleasure-Boat—Jor Bangla, Bishnupur.

wild boars, duck, etc. There are animated scenes portraying animal fights. Chariots drawn by horses and bulls are met with here and there. Battle scenes are not forgotten, and the peculiar armour and weapons used by the soldiers and the trappings of the horses and elephants may be studied on these carved temple walls. The dress worn by men and women, and a variety of other facts of sociological interest, too numerous to mention, will be noted by the observant visitor.

The fort is surrounded by a high earthen wall and has a broad moat round it. The approach is through a fine large gateway built of laterite, with arrowslits on either side of the entrance for archers or gunmen. There are a few pieces of cannon lying on the high rampart just outside the front gate, the muzzle of one being shaped like a tiger's head. They are of wrought iron, about five feet long and varying in thickness from six inches at the muzzle to a foot at the breach. But the most remarkable piece of iron ordnance is the cannon named Dalamardan, popularly called Dalmādal, lying half buried by the side of the Lalbandh lake. It is apparently made of sixty-three hoops or short cylinders of wrought iron welded together, and overlying another cylinder, also of wrought iron, the whole being well welded and worked together. Though exposed to all weathers, it is still free from rust, and has a black polished surface. Its extreme length is 12 feet 5½ inches, the diameter of the bore being 11½ inches at the muzzle, and 11¼ inches throughout the remainder of its length. It is the same cannon which, tradition relates, was fired by the god Madan Mohan when Bhaskar Pandit attacked Bishnupur at the head of the Marathas. There is a Persian inscription, which has been variously interpreted to mean one lakh or three lakhs, which may be taken to stand for either the cost of the cannon, or its murderous capacity.

Some of the Bandhs or picturesque lakes of which seven can be traced, have

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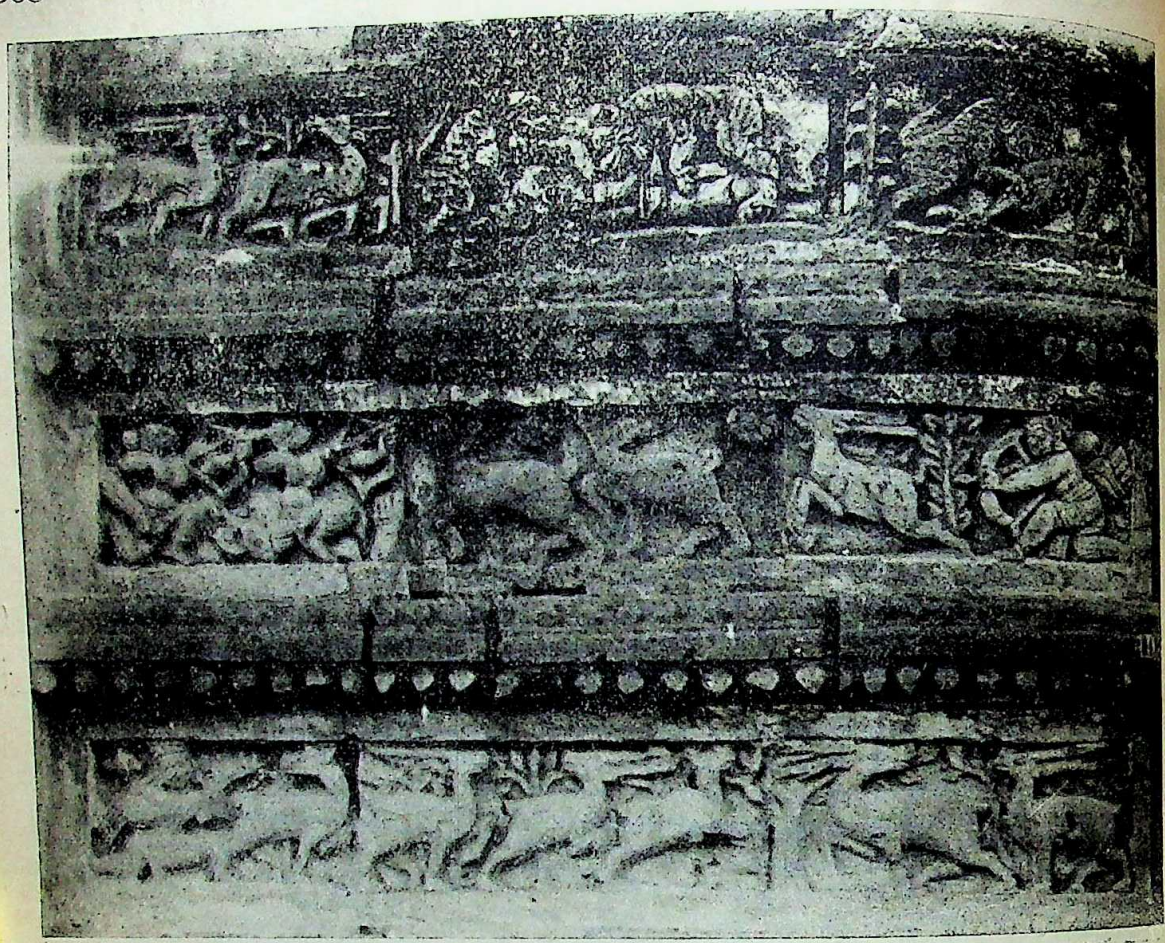

Hunting-scenes, Jor Bangla Temple, Bishnupur.

now silted up, either wholly or in part. They were made by taking advantage of the natural hollows, and building embankments across them to confine the surface drainage. They served to furnish the city and the fort (on one of the walls of which there is a well-preserved square brick built reservoir for the storage of water) with a never-failing supply of good fresh water, and also helped to flood the moats round the fort, adding greatly to the strength of the place. The gardens and pleasure grounds of the Rajas were laid out along the Lal Bandh.

It only remains to add that many of the temples at Bishnupur, including those that are most famous, as well as the Shandeswar temple previously mentioned, have been preserved by the Government under the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act of Lord Curzon,—a piece of legislative enactment which constitutes one of his best titles to fame.

A pall of darkness has now fallen over the city and its ruins, and

"——far and wide
Temple and tower went down, nor left a site
Chaos of ruins! who shall trace the void,
O'er the dim fragments cast a lunar light,
And say, 'Here was, or is,' where all is doubly night?
The double night of ages, and of her,
Nights' daughter, Ignorance, hath wrapt and wrapt,
All around us——"

but under the influence of the modern times this dense veil of ignorance is only more being lifted and the prosperity which left the city with the downfall of the Raj is again showing signs of return. The Railway has connected the town with the capital of the province and the centres of civilisation, and the arts and industries are slowly reviving and we may be permitted to conclude with the hope that more spacious days are in store for the people of Bishnupur in common with every other part of the province.

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Animal Fight (Horse and Elephant), Jor Bangla Temple, Bishnupur.

The last member and representative of the Bishnupur Raj, Kumar Ramchandra Singh, who used to study in the Bankura School with the help of a pension from the British Government, has breathed his last from an attack of influenza, on 25th February last at an age of 17 only. With his death thus ended the line of the Bishnupur Raj family.

BISHNUPURI.

THE 'PERSONAL RULE' OF INDIAN RULERS

I.

"The characteristic features of all of them, (the Native States), including the most advanced, are the personal rule of the Prince and his control over legislation and the administration of justice."

—*Montagu-Chelmsford Report.*

So much and such frequent emphasis is laid on the principle of 'Personal' Government in connection with the Native States of India that an impression appears to be gaining ground that autocracy is a fundamental characteristic of the indigenous state polity of India. Whatever may be said in support of this view, to those who know Hindu life and society as they *are*, not to say anything of the current Hindu traditions and Hindu law, this theory seems to be so opposed to facts, that a Hindu is naturally tempted to ask how this strange anomaly has arisen.

When the British were founding their empire in India, they probably thought the *Rulers* of Native States autocratic. And it does not seem to have occurred to the British Indian Historians to enquire whether the revolutions and counter-revolutions, the downfall of dynasties and principalities, the wars, plots and bloodshed, which characterised the centuries

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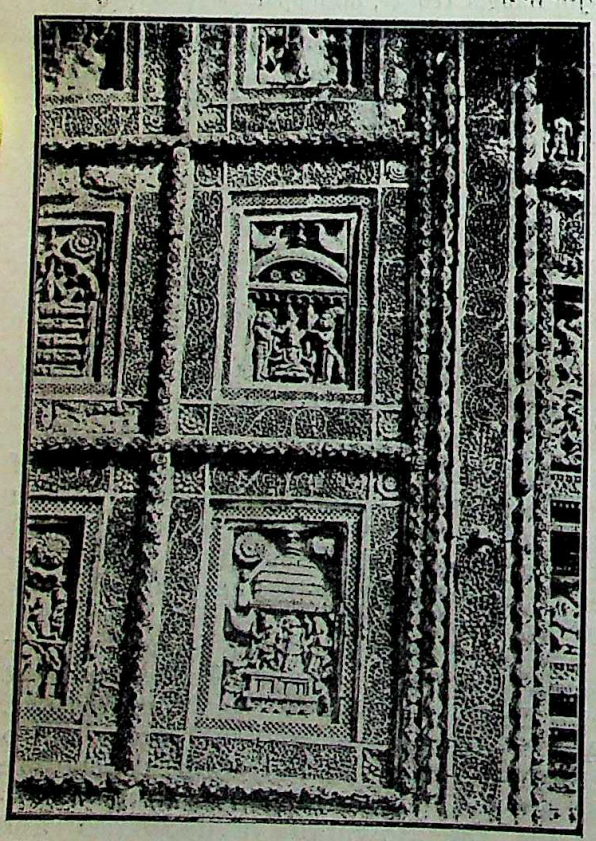
Hunting-scene, Madan Mohan Temple, Bishnupur.

that preceded the assumption of the Indian Government by the British Crown, had any deeper significance than that they were the manifestations of the ambition or rivalry and lust for power of princes and adventurers, which to a great extent they undoubtedly were, and whether these phenomena had any bearing on the changes in the indigenous form of Government. To the then British authorities in whose foot-steps their successors have evidently followed, it must have been a political necessity to confine their dealings and attention to the rulers alone, dissociating them from the people. And the rulers, Hindu or non-Hindu, so divorced from the ruled must have naturally appeared despotic, to the European mind.



Moulded Brick Panels—Madan Mohan.

There appears to be a further reason for this dissociation. It is to be found probably in the dualistic standpoint familiar to the West, where the king and the people are separate factors and where the king is so easily dispensed with or so often put to death by the *people themselves*. The Hindu or the monistic view of polity could not strike the Western. And inasmuch as *apperception* is a law that every human mind obeys in more ways than one, the European could not but read Indian facts in the light of his previous European experience. He, not infrequently, though unconsciously, read European History into Indian. He probably thought that a king in India must be like a king in Europe, exercising almost the same powers, that the king could do no wrong and that he was above the laws of the people. Enquiry as to whether the relation of the king to the people in India was the same as elsewhere does not seem to have been seriously made. He was satisfied if the relations of the European with the Indian king were favourable to the European. What was the *people's* actual political creed in India? For what form of government did the Hindu civilization fit its *people*? These are questions to which comparatively less

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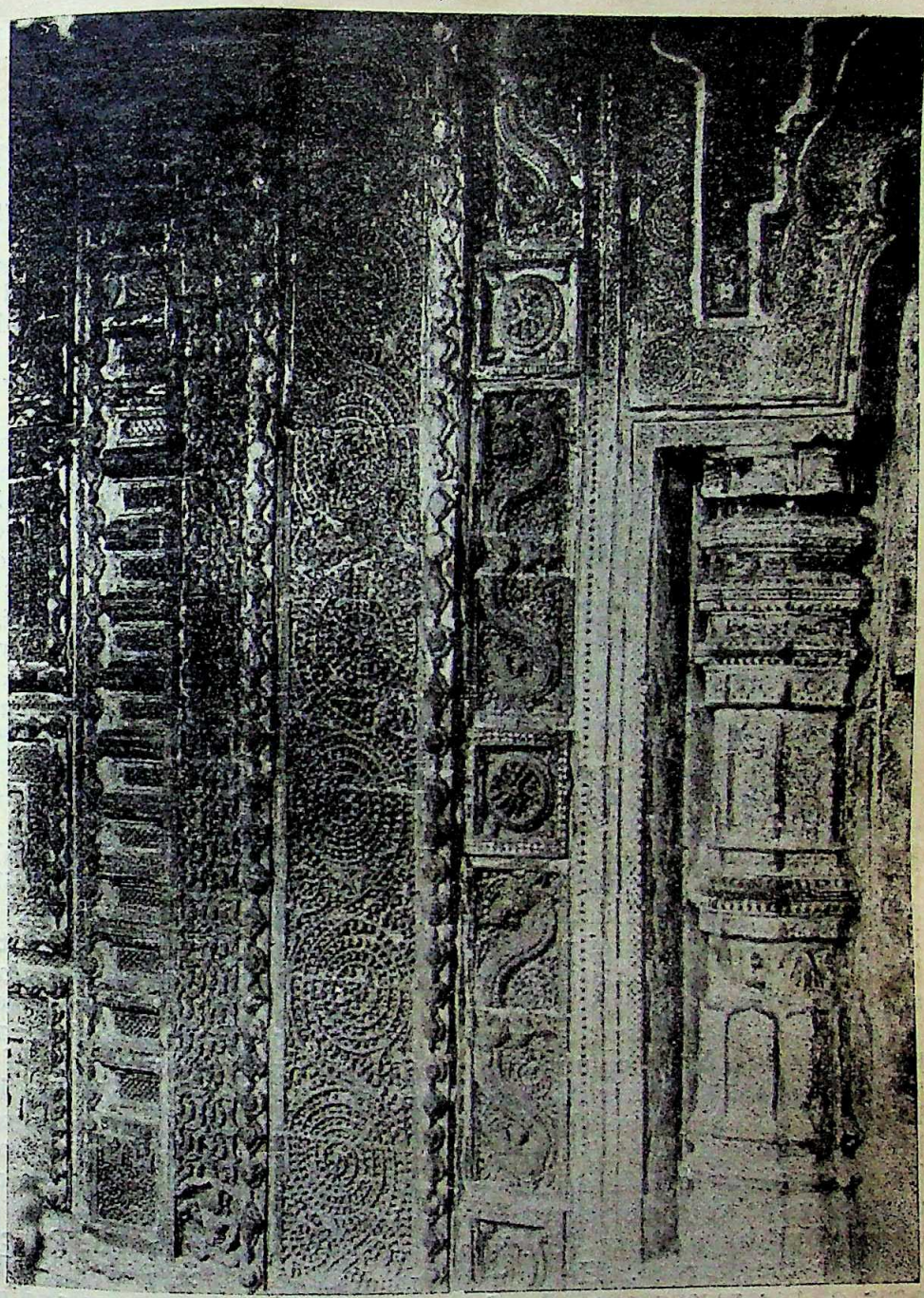

The Pillar Sculptures—Madan Mohan Temple, Bishnupur.

attention appears to have been paid in the then political circumstances.

Whatever may have been the European's reading of the Hindu civilization at the time the Western nations first came in contact with the people of India, no calm and dispassionate critic, even of the West, with any authentic knowledge of India's past now believes that despotism or autocracy was the type of government that the Hindu genius developed. But what is urged is that however enlightened the form of Government in the golden age of the past, it has little value for the *practical* politician. The *practical* politician's business is not with the dead curiosities of *ancient* history, but with the living conditions of the present. He has to look the facts of the present in the face and deal with them as they are. The question therefore is, whether the India found by the European was not or is not autocratic?

Now, in the whole world of Hindu Sanskritic literature, is there a single indigenous word corresponding to 'subject' conveying the idea of 'being thrown under' or 'ruled over' by a despotic or autocratic sovereign? The word 'Praja,' which is the one used for 'people' from the Vedic times to the present day, means "wellborn." It never conveyed the idea of 'subjection.' Slaves are indicated by other terms. But the free people of the State are always the 'Praja.' Again, the king is considered the 'father' of his people. But the father is the father in the Hindu sense, not in the European. In Europe the father's will was law and the son's life and death depended on the father's will. But in India the father was and is a shareholder, though a governing shareholder. In the family commonwealth every son has an equal share. In the Hindu polity, the king and the people are coparceners. In fact the Hindu idea is,

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Ascetics—Radhamadhav Temple.

as has been already said, non-dualistic: the king and his people are *one*. If there is, in this connection, one idea on which almost every Sutrakara and Smritikara has laid special emphasis, it is that the king and the people go shares in their sins and merits.

Again, it has been a hundred times pointed out by competent oriental scholars, that neither the law nor the legislature was under the control of the king. The codes handed down from time immemorial were interpreted and added to not by the king, nor by any individual either, but by a body (*Parishad*) of the wise or the learned. He could not dispose of the revenues of the State as he pleased. He could not levy taxes except in accordance with the laws. The land was but the property of the people. He could only appropriate, without payment, the lands of the heirless and such other citizens. Unlike the European king, the Hindu king, it was said, might do wrong like all other men, and was therefore subject to the law of the land. And the people exercised their right of placing upon the throne a better successor, when necessary. Has all this any place in modern Indian History of the European period?

Let us first look at a type of a Hindu king that has been last influenced by European or Mahomedan civilisation. In Nepal the ruler controls neither the law nor the legislature. And even the minister who exercises all the powers of the king is not, according to the constitution, autocratic. There is a council which he is bound to consult, though the efficiency of the personnel of this body has not always been all that could be desired. Nepal is certainly not the ideal of Hindu polity. But there is enough there to show that in the indigenous form of government the Hindu king is not constitutionally autocratic. And the Hindu as such has hardly in the history of his race repudiated or deviated from the *basic* principles of his civilisation, whatever the local differences in the application of those principles to suit the variations in local conditions, customs and usages.

Then, leaving for a moment the ruler who is detached and dealt with by Europeans, let us turn to the polity of the great body of the people, as it existed not only in the earliest times but also in the days when the British settled in India and as it has persisted all along up to the present time. I shall not describe here the too often quoted 'village autonomy or the panchayat system,' though it shows that the communal spirit is in the blood of the people even in the *lowest strata* of Hindu society. Suffice it to say that no system of 'Panchayat' recognised the 'Personal' rule or authority of anybody, but that it only followed the laws of the land, the customs and usages of caste. Here and there people did not appeal to a higher authority in addition to the Panchayat but that they did only to satisfy themselves that the Panchayat was formed and conducted in accordance with the established customs and usages.

This brings us to the most characteristic feature of Hindu Polity, its caste system, which even at this moment binds alike the prince, who also belongs to a caste, and the peasant, however insignificant his caste, and which has bound them from the earliest times to the present day. *Ignoring for a moment the social aspect* of this institution, let us view it from the standpoint of national polity. Each main caste has had from time immemorial its own Dharma, i. e., its own laws and usages, unlike the social divisions of classes in the West, which have no separate

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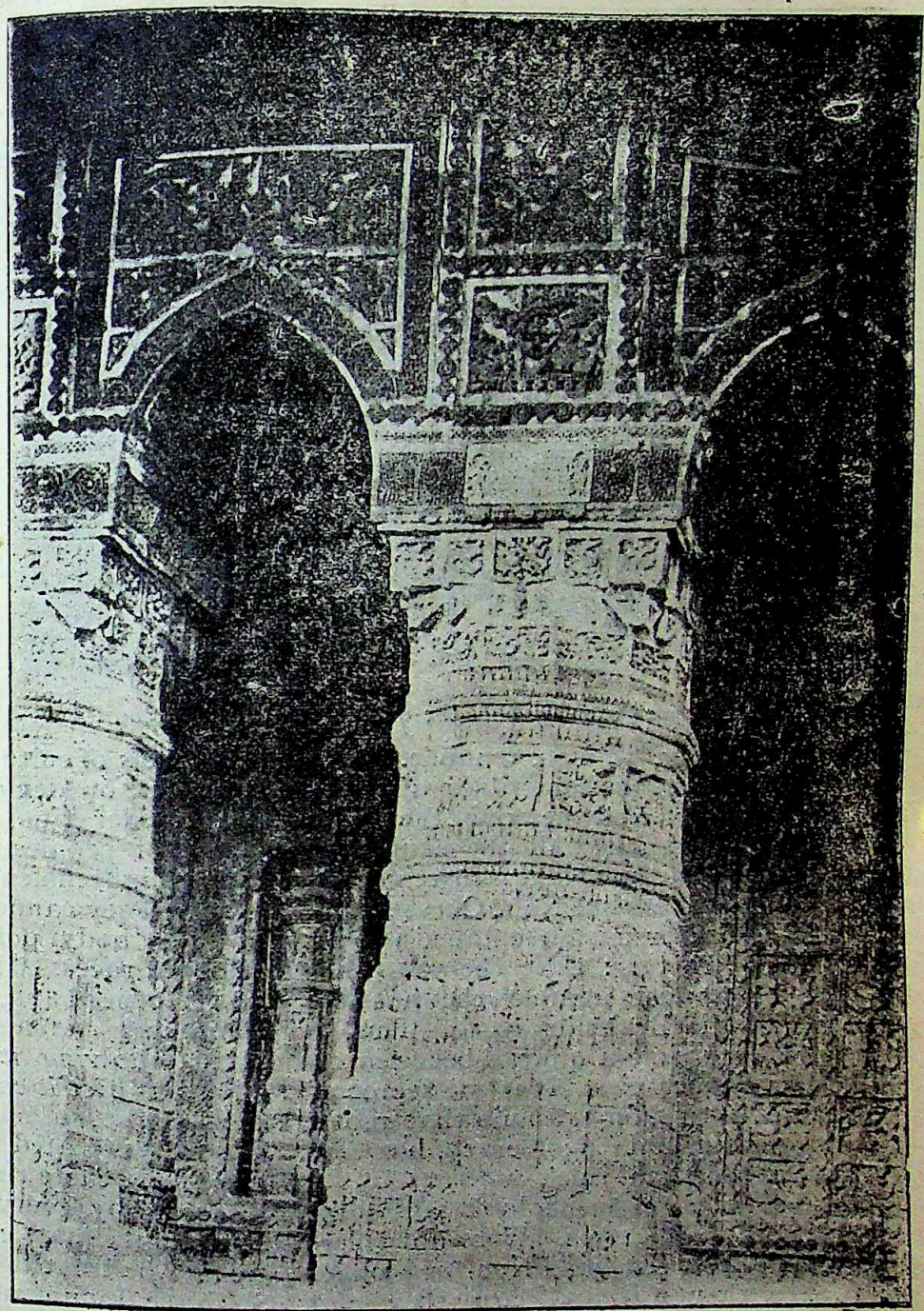

Pillar Sculptures—Jor Bangla, Bishnupur.

special laws, etc. Within the caste there is a characteristic sense of democratic equality. It may be noted that among Brahmins the master of a house on many a ceremonial occasion washes the feet of his very cook, treating him as his superior, which, even to the enlightened and democratic European or American, must still be repugnant. It is the 'Mahajans' or the 'Panchayats' of the caste that are its governors. What preserves the caste is not the 'personal' voice of the ruler, but its own written or unwritten laws and its own public opinion. No ruler in the history of India has ever had a place in the caste code or constitution except as the upholder of the caste laws and usages, particularly those of the *new* castes formed. The caste principle has led to the development of powerful republics. The last and the latest as yet known to History appears to have been, as a recent article in the *Modern Review* pointed out, the Sengar State of the Kshatriyas or Rajputs which was in existence till very recently. Above all, the ruler himself belongs to a caste and dare not overrule even his own caste customs and laws. *The basic idea of the caste is the subordination of the individual to the community, to which doctrine the king himself has had to swear allegiance.* Each caste viewed by itself is nothing not a republic or democracy. Viewed from the standpoint of the relation of one caste to another, the system is but a federation of republics or democracies, all castes being perfectly equal in their right to manage their own internal affairs. The king is the connecting link. It is the king's duty to maintain not only the caste laws but also caste harmony. Whenever differences arise and whenever new laws have to be made, it is laid down in Apastamba, that all the castes concerned, nay even 'women' should be consulted by the king. With the king, caste is a democracy;

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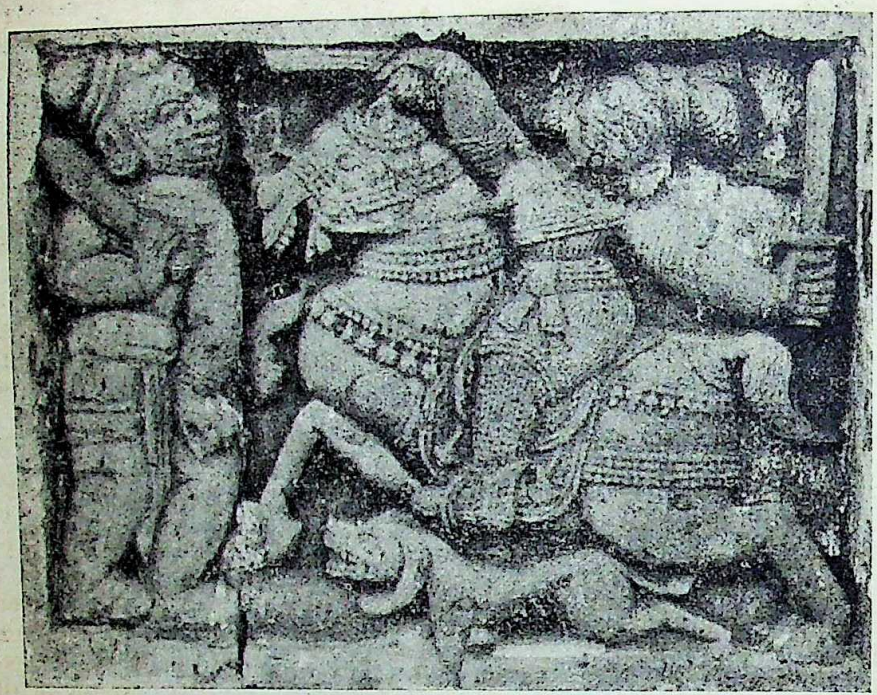

Horse (with rider) in full gallop, Jor Bangla Temple, Bishnupur.

without the king, it is a republic. It is true that one republic sometimes quarrelled with another. And they paid the penalty for such differences. All the same, the spirit of democracy was and is there in each caste. What writers like Nair, Chesney and others of their persuasion contend is only tantamount to this: that the non-Brahmin castes protest against the possible tyranny of the Brahmin caste. This, in other words, is only a quarrel between republics or democracies. It is the democratic instinct in the non-Brahmin that rebels against the Brahmin democracy, but not the love of 'Personal rule'.

Let us for a moment look at some other aspects of castes. Were not rulers like Rama and Krishna, Non-Brahmins? And were they not and are they not 'deified' and worshipped by the Brahmins forgetting all their caste arrogance? While some non-Brahmins may not hesitate to abjure their faith in their own Rama and Krishna, the Brahmin clings to them as though they were of his own flesh and bone. Coming to modern history, the most audacious and the most powerful of Brahmins were the Peshwas. They exercised the powers of the king but they dared not style themselves kings. And why? Because it was opposed to the caste Dharma deeply rooted in the people's heart. Scores of such instances could be cited if only space permitted. And this reveals another important feature of caste. While it permitted any amount of difference or hostility in matters social, it made the people forget it all in their Democratic work of politics. The rulers Rama and Krishna have been as much the Brahmin's men as they are the Non-Brahmins. And wherever the social feeling got the better of the political, the democratic federation of divided naturally fell.

This system, as has just been said, is one of the methods of federating republics of communities of *different kinds and levels* of culture and thought. Western republics or democracies have no idea of such a federation, for theirs are only federations of peoples of culture and intellectual enlightenment of a *harmoneous* character. They cannot tolerate and include in their body politic a republic of the coloured races. The Indian caste polity, on the other hand, readily recognises any community as a sister by treating it as a caste, *allowing it to manage its internal affairs as best it can.* Even the 'depressed' classes who, in matters social, have been generally treated with great harshness have their caste rules, which are likewise *respected* by every other caste. Any new community may come into the body politic and be treated as a part of the whole. So have innumerable new castes formed themselves and forming themselves even to-day. The Parsis came and they were allowed to live as a caste republic. The Mahomedan, the Christian, the European and every fresh community that came into the national body is viewed by the Hindu as a sister democratic community or new caste. In fact, in popular language 'caste' is used to indicate the Mahomedan, the Christian and the European and every other new body of men. Such has been the principle from pre-historic times. The *new* castes, however, not infrequently resorted to their old practice of appealing

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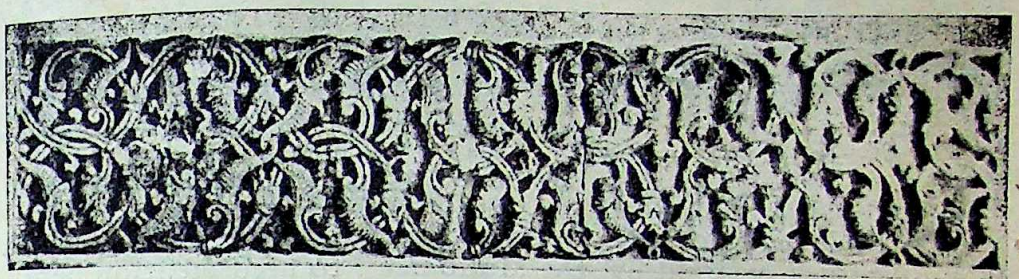
to an individual head. But they also adopted the 'Panchayat' imbibing the democratic spirit of the caste system.

The one principle, and that the greatest, obeyed by everyone who is a Hindu is that the caste rules of another should on no account be interfered with, each caste being bound to respect the autonomy of the other, though this is often misinterpreted as apathy and antipathy. In this sense all castes are perfectly equal. And this theory of equality, it will be remembered, is upheld by an important school of Ethical and Political philosophers of the advanced West, even now.



Arabesque Sculpture, Madanmohan Temple, Bishnupur.

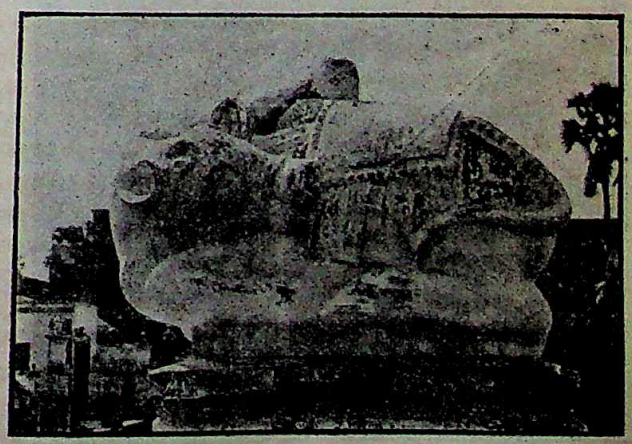
This is not all the difference between Indian Democracy and the Democracy of Europe and America. In those countries the king losely hangs by the people. Removing him is a matter of no great consequence. But in Hindu India the king and the people are one like father and sons. Patricide and Regicide are offences so heinous in the eye of the Hindu that there is perhaps only one instance of the *people* having killed their own king, though there have been cases in which the rulers have been changed by them. The sovereign contributes to the well-being of the commonwealth like every other citizen, though he has a higher status like a father in a Hindu family. Hindu democracy is like the English in that it recognises the king as a part of the constitution. But the Hindu king is more: he is *one* with the people. In a word the Hindu political notion of Democracy is 'non-dualistic' and has a 'spiritual' basis. What is meant by 'spiritual,' we shall presently discuss.

It is not the object of this paper to indicate the vagaries of the caste system, or to justify the wickedness and tyranny perpetrated in the name of caste, in the social world, individuals or bodies. 'Untouchableness,' for instance, is no doubt a sore point. But the political disabilities of the 'untouchables' have to be traced to their poverty and to their want of education, the 'birthright' of every human being, which unfortunately has been denied to them. Mere 'touchability' cannot improve their economic or political condition.

It should not, however, be thought that there exists no recognition of the *equality* of the 'untouchables' with the Brahmin or other castes. At least a thousand years ago Sankara proclaimed in Benares that his greatest teacher came of the lowest of the 'untouchable' classes and *to this day* we find no 'untouchability' attaching to any Hindu in the temple of Visvanath and in the ghats. In Southern India, Ramanuja canonized many a Panchama who are revered as saints by the Brahmins and *to this day* the 'untouchables' are free from this disability for some days in the year in the temple at Melkote. The reforms thus initiated would have rapidly proceeded but for the arrest of their progress during the period of foreign invasions.

II

Now, if Hindu polity was Democratic, was there no autocracy in the country when the British took it in hand? Was it all a misreading of Indian life by the British authorities? No, there were then



Bull (couchant)—Malleswar Temple.

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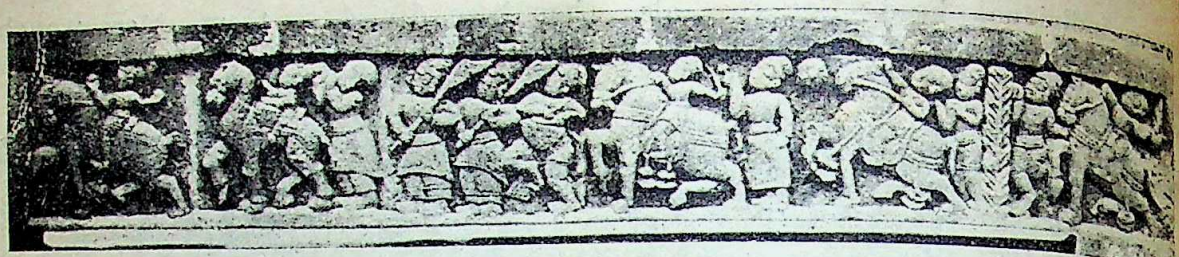
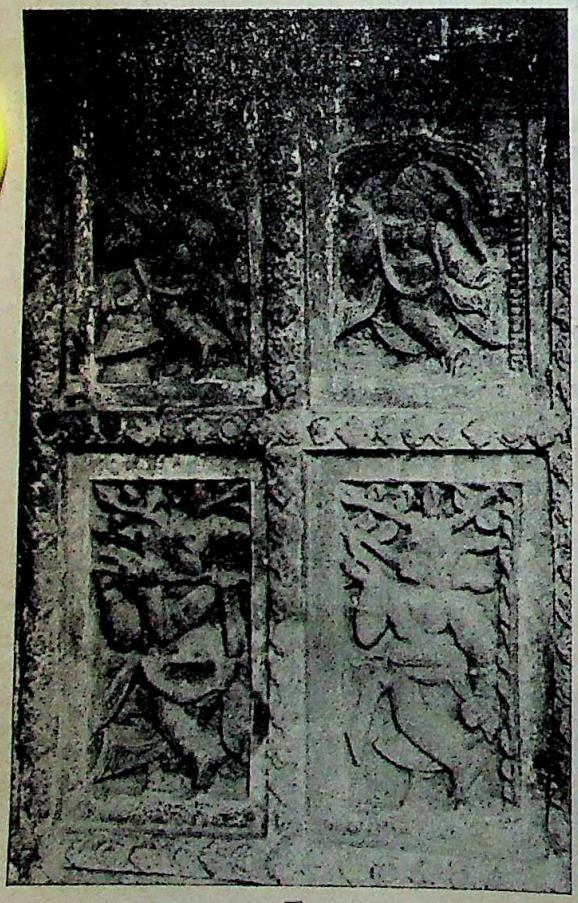


Led Horses, Madanmohan Temple, Bishnupur.

in the land some autocratic rulers. 'Personal Rule' was brought by the Mahomedan conquerors with them. But as a first step they effected a compromise. Most of them allowed the Hindu to keep his democratic Dharma in his caste and in his country autonomy, which remained untouched. Some of the shrewdest rulers like Akbar, attempted a gradual assimilation of and approachment towards the idea of the democracy of the conquered people. But others who tried to subvert the democratic 'Dharma' naturally lost their hold on the people and the country; and the consequences are too wellknown to need mention here.



Radha and Krishna—Shyam Rai Temple.

Next, many of the old Indian States, in the troublous times of foreign invasions adopted an emergency form of government to cope with the immediate situation. And a few new adventurers who carved, amidst the confusion, new kingdoms for themselves unfurled the standard of 'Personal Rule' either in their own interests or with a view to meeting the exigency of an attack on their states. The hard days of war, bloodshed and dread, naturally necessitated the adoption of many makeshifts of which autocracy was one. There can be nothing strange in this procedure if we only remember that during the present war, a nation so highly enlightened and with such great love of freedom as the British, submitted themselves to what in other words was the dictatorship of Mr. Lloyd George, the Prime Minister.

But the most important fact which the British historians have ignored is this. The change affected only the top, the surface. It concerned only the Military and the Diplomatic portions of the constitution. This adaptation to environment only helped to keep the vital substratum, the democratic Dharma underneath safe. Even in the worst days, the people stood by their time-honoured laws, and their old democratic ideals of caste. And what interested the British politicians in the early days was only the Military and the Diplomatic organisation. The people and their actual life were to them items of the least importance. Had they only dived a little deeper, they could not have failed to see the simple reality that the Hindu all along believed and to this day believes that this Dharma in politics can never be rooted out and that it will ever remain and that it is the highest duty of every one to work for its preservation. It is the deep-seated

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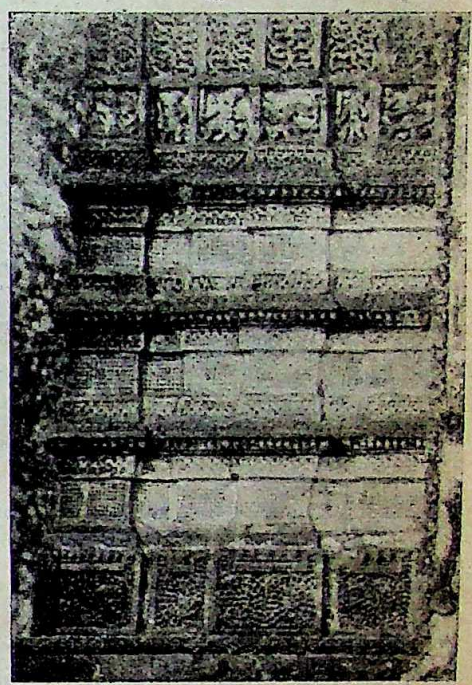
dissatisfaction with the efforts on the part of those rulers of an autocratic character who sought to upset the Dharma that made the Hindu throw off the yoke of this or that king or chief and work up revolutions and counter-revolutions. Autocracy or 'Personal Rule' never struck root in Indian soil though imported, implanted and tended with great care by others. It never agreed with the national genius, *for the caste spirit is there, today even among those converts to other faiths,* like Buddhism, Jainism, Sikhism, Christianity and even Mahomedanism, who have renounced the *social* caste. Even when great force was employed to induce men to give up caste rules, as for instance, when they were made to smell or eat beef in Bengal, they only formed *new* castes. The caste spirit could not be killed.

A Man—Radhamadhav Temple.



Column, Madanmohan Temple.

Keen and far-sighted Hindu rulers who understood their people and their country reverted to the normal at the earliest opportunity in the peaceful times that the great British rule ushered. Mysore has had the glory of having taken the first step. Men are not scarce who would argue that the Mysore Representative Assembly and Legislative Council are modern importations. But it was pointed out, let it be remembered, about thirty-five years ago, when the former was established, that it was only a 'revival' of the ancient popular assembly system. No doubt, it has undergone modifications to suit modern conditions. The 'representative' principle is not the same as the old type. But it is the old principle still. This return to the normal or the native form of Government has made the people so happy and has strengthened the bond of affection between the Praja and the Maharaja so much that his efforts to advance the country have secured for him the most spontaneous co-operation of every caste and creed, for he is father to every one of them, which has helped to make Mysore one of the most progressive states.

In most other Native States, the rulers have not as yet returned to the old type of Government, though for over half a century there has been perfect peace. All the same, there people believe that in the heart of hearts their rulers love the Dharma and that they would help its re-assertion soon.

Some of the rulers who ignorantly clung to the 'Personal Rule' theory have learnt the most bitter lessons in the Mahomedan and subsequent European periods of the past. With one stroke of the pen powers, prerogatives, and provinces have been wrested from them. Had the kings realised that those privileges and territories were their's as well as the people's, would not history have told a different tale? A single example may be quoted here to show how a shrewd Indian prince holds that the entire kingdom is not his, considering himself only a trustee. His line, by means of

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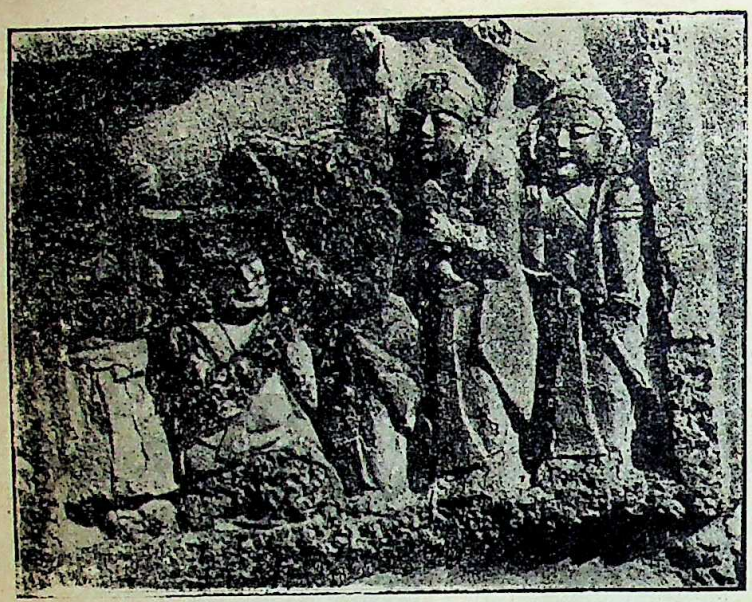

The Death of Brishaketu (mythological piece).
Gandhar style—Jor Mandir, Bishnupur.

this notable expedient, most successfully warded off many a revolution and many a possible usurpation. It will suffice here to mention that that State is no other than Travancore.

If the age of the Vedic Brahmanas and of the Dharma Sutras is anterior to that of the Greek democracies, so far as historical evidence goes, India is clearly the birthplace of Democracy. And India is the one country that has preserved not only the democratic instinct but also the democratic life to this day, in its caste polity. The modern democracies of Europe and America are but children of yesterday by the side of the Indian. And now what shall we say to those who tell us that India has yet to be trained to a democratic Government? Is this not an attempt, if a somewhat rude colloquialism would be pardoned, at teaching the grandmother to suck eggs?

Will the critics of Hindu *political* institutions give us without following the caste plan, a constructive scheme for federating republics of peoples whose levels of thought, life and civilization differ as the poles asunder?

India has sometimes been compared to Russia, and arguments are advanced to show that in the absence of a high percentage of literacy democratic government would be impossible, nay injurious. Perversion of reason could go no further, though there is great truth in the fact that for the working of the *modern* methods of democratic government, literacy is of the utmost value. All the same was literacy higher in Mysore thirty years ago than it is in India at present? Have not the people of this state adopted themselves to the change readily? Have there been any revolutions, as in Russia? The truth is that democracy does not need the help of 'letters' so much as of the 'spirit'. Do the people possess the democratic sense or spirit in them? That is the point. Russia has had no village panchayat, no democratic caste system. Russian kings and people were not the spiritual unity that the Indian kings and their people have been. Where then is the ground for comparison?

It is not argued that the Hindu has developed already the most perfect form of Democracy and that no further improvements are needed to adapt his old polity to present needs. All that is claimed is that the material, *the spirit, the sense*, is there and it has only to be wrought into the shape we require, as in the State of Mysore.

Evidently, then, a mistake was made in reading India by the early Europeans. The kings were detached and dealt with by themselves, a process, which from the Hindu standpoint is similar to decapitating a body and treating the head as the whole man. And in times of confusion and war, this did not matter. With the advent of peaceful times, the truth has again forced itself to the view. The people who form a no mean factor in the constitution are seeking to make themselves heard. And this phenomenon is to some foreign minds, which were accustomed looking only at a part, i.e., the ruler, but not the whole, is an enigma. And this apparent mystery has evoked the most ingenious explanations and fantastic theories from some European writers, even of the level headed Morley school on Indian affairs.

What a Hindu wonders at here is the strange inconsistency of such European critics. The Hindu admires the scientific spirit of the Western and acknowledges

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the greatness of the white man's love of truth and fact in all scientific investigations. But the Hindu cannot understand the European's inability, if not unwillingness, to look at facts and truth in matters political. Instead of allowing his mind to be obsessed by the Greeco-Roman prejudice that because the Hindu is thought a conquered man, he must be a "barbarian," if the critic imbued with true scientific spirit only sifts facts, he will find items worthy of his consideration. And of such items, not the least is the 'spiritual' democracy of India.

The European politician usually dismisses Hindu philosophy and proceeds upon the presumption that all metaphysics is only *speculation* which concerns only dreamers but not those who have to deal with the stern realities of life. It may be mere speculation in Europe, but metaphysical belief in India profoundly influences religion, and religion influences life; life includes political conduct. To understand Hindu society, one has, therefore, to go to Hindu philosophy, which is its foundation. That this is deliberately so planned is evident from the Hindu works on law and constitution which invariably declare the ultimate philosophical beliefs upon which they take their stand. The Dharma Sutras and Smritis aver that the basis of all laws and political institutions is, in the words of Manu, the aim at realizing 'in one's own self Supreme (Universal) self' (XII. 85), i. e., realizing that every one is the divine self. The king is divinity, the people also are divinity. All the same, and all are *one*. This is the conviction of even the Mahomedan Sufi, who in spirit is one with his Hindu brother. And this is the meaning of the Hindu 'spiritual' democracy.

It is not that every Hindu or Moslem has realized the meaning of "All this is Brahman" (*Upanishad*) or of "Wherever you turn there is the face of Allah" (*Koran*). Nor even that everyone knows it. But whether or not, one knows it or believes in it, the fact is there, says the Hindu Philosopher, that the world is moving towards the realization of oneness, which is the goal of all political life, nay of all life. And this is what is known as 'spiritual' force. The wise, the Hindus say, know it, act according to it and direct people to follow it, as is laid down in their great laws. And they have been actually practising it, by adhering to caste polity these several thousand years. There are no doubt dualistic and other interpretations of this principle. But all Hindus cling to the caste organisation and the democratic Dharma underlying it.

It was only yesterday that President Wilson gave to the world his famous dictum of the equality of all men in the memorable words: "The interest of the weakest is as sacred as the interest of the strongest." But whence comes this notion of equality and whence the sacredness? The answer is not found in his words. But the Hindu gave it thousands of years ago. He said that the weakest and the strongest are not different. They are *one*. The injury that one causes to another is an injury to one's own self: the harm done by one nation to another recoils upon itself: it is only a question of time. This idea of 'oneness' or 'non-difference' has been the staple not only of the thought but also of the life of the Hindu from time immemorial.

This is the "Dharma" to which the Hindu has been clinging under all vicissitudes of fortune and which is being misinterpreted in various ways by those who do not understand it. And this belief which recognises the oneness of all creatures, which recognises the same divinity in all and which has recognised the divine teacher in the very lowest 'untouchable', the divine prince in the '*Non*-Brahmin' Rama and Krishna and the divine soul in the Brahmana saint and which therefore holds the interest of the meanest as sacred as the interest of the highest, admits of no division of interests between the king and his people and of no theory of 'Autocracy' or 'Personal Rule.'

X.

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THE PROPOSED LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND RIGHT *VS.* MIGHT

To prevent future wars, and to ensure stable peace of the world, President Wilson is earnestly engaged in establishing a League of Nations. The idea is, of course, not a new one, and it would not have now captured the imagination of the people so much, were it not for the intense and extensive suffering caused by the terrible world war. There is no good or evil in the economy of Nature that is not accompanied or followed by, its corresponding opposite, either manifest or disguised. The greater the evil, the greater is the resulting good.

It is not at all creditable to the much vaunted modern civilisation that an International High Court for settling international disputes has been so long overdue, and that a devastating world war continuously for four and a half years was necessary to convince the civilised West, that war is really too bad to be further tolerated. Before, however, suffering humanity can congratulate itself on the prospect of an enduring peace, let it not be deluded by catch phrases and commonplaces. The idea, for instance, of substituting *Right* for *Might*, is very captivating indeed; but on examination it will be found that this, as understood by the "Great Powers", is "distinction without a difference." There is a hardly any material difference between what are commonly known as *right* and *might*. The methods of *might* are of course primitive, rude and naked, but they have the advantages of being natural, open, direct and quick in decision. The methods of *right*, on the other hand, are conventional and disguised under civilised or legislative garb, but both are essentially the same in substance; and like *force*, *motion* and *heat* are but the different forms of one and the same thing. Just as currency is the convenient and conventional equivalents of crude commodities, so is *Right* the conventional and convenient equivalent of *Might*. *Right* is the stamped coin, issued from the Legislative Mint of which *Might* is the metal. If a mint cannot turn genuine coins out of base metals, how can a League of Nations be expected to manufacture *rights* out of the existing base materials? The evolution of an International Jurisprudence would no more be an indication of improved international morality, than the evolution of the medical science is an indication of improvement on the primitive rustic health. Courts of law have never been known to have done duties of reformatories. Legal institutions can, at their best, minimise only the outward expressions of primitive warfare and other criminal activities; but so long as the brute in man is not killed or extinct, these old evils are sure to survive, thrive and appear in various other forms disguised in scientific and civilised garbs. We are not quite sure, that inspite of our civilisation the proportional sum-total of human criminality and immorality is less to-day than it was in the ancient days. Good and evil, as we call them, are both equally subject to the same universal Law of Evolution. In the natural order of things there is no such thing as *evil* in existence. There is evolution of the so-called evil going on side by side with the evolution of what is known as *good*. Courts of law more often create than cure crimes. The League of Nations may suppress or minimise visible expressions of militarism, but human nature remaining as it is, the League would be powerless to prevent the natural, open and blunt military form of *might* evolving and appearing in civilised refined and unobtrusive disguises of various kinds, such as bribery and corruption in more or less subtle forms.

If *right* is to replace *might*, what would become of the scientific theory of the "survival of the fittest"? The scientists might have laid down—"Survival of the best", but they used the word "fittest" instead of the word *best* for a very good reason; and that is because of the fact that the *best* is not always under present conditions the *fittest* to survive. Right to title to a possession may be either acquired or inherited. In either case it is a tra-

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mitted and latent form of what was originally gained by *might*. How did the European settlers in America, Africa, Australia and Asia establish their respective rights over the helpless aborigines of those continents? Were the methods employed by them morally justifiable? On what moral principle can a *wrong* be converted into *right* after a certain period? Can a person guilty of, say, murder be converted into an innocent man after a certain number of years arbitrarily fixed by human legislators? In international ethics has any, and if so what, time limit been fixed up to now that can convert *might* into *right*? Let us take, for instance, the quarrel over the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine. These two provinces must have been in existence since the creation of the world and they had been lying there long before the present disputants were born and they would remain there long after these disputants vanished from the face of the earth. The warring nations do not realise that none of them have any moral right to be the landlord. Before them countless races in prehistoric days, appeared and occupied these two bits of territory in succession and then disappeared. How then is *Right* to be defined and determined? In a word what ought to be the criterion or test of right? Rulers punish their poor subjects when they fail to pay their rents and taxes, but these rulers never recognise the fact that they themselves are only "*tenants at will*" of the unseen but *Real* Landlord of the Universe. It is not that these rulers do not believe in His existence, as they offer victory prayers, but they do not recognise that rent or obligation in any kind or shape is at all due to Him! Is President Wilson or any of the afflicted nations sure that these dreadful wars are not the Supreme Landlord's punishments for recovery of arrears of rents due to Him? Have these suffering nations and their rulers ever cared to fulfil their obligations due to the Universal Landlord who, though unseen, is manifested in the world organism? Wars are only punishments of defaulting rulers and nations. There are many scriptural and moral precepts such as—"Do unto others as you would that they should do unto you;" "Freedom of everybody limited by like freedom of others."—These are no doubt excellent ethical principles, but these do not go deep enough. As a general rule people will not give up their selfishness or make sacrifices for the sake of others unless and until they are assured that such sacrifices are more paying in the long run, unless and until they are convinced that their true self-interests lie in the interest of their *Real Self*. All individual and national interests should be subordinated to and co-ordinated with, the interests of that Highest Self. If peoples can submit themselves to amputation of any of their injured limbs for the preservation of their whole being, why should not people readily submit to immediate temporary sacrifices for the sake of achieving the highest objective, the *Real Self*? We find this enunciated in the *Mahabharat* thousands of years ago, in a form of expression, still unsurpassed by any even at this enlightened age. Speaking to *Dhritarastra* regarding his ill-fated son Duryodhana, the wise Bidur said :—

"एकं त्यजेत् कुलस्यार्थे ग्रामस्यार्थे कुलं त्यजेत्
ग्रामं जनपदस्यार्थे आत्मार्थे पृथिवीं त्यजेत् ॥

"One (who is mischievous) should be forsaken for the sake of the whole family. One family should be forsaken for the sake of the village. A village should be forsaken for the country, and the whole world should be forsaken for the sake of the *Atman*, the Supreme Self or Soul."

Selfishness had been condemned *ad nauseam* long before President Wilson appeared on the scene. He is neither the first nor the foremost person to have condemned selfishness. If the whole world is giving him so much attention and prominence, it is not because his gospel is a new one, but because he wields more *might* now than he ever did before, and also because, after the disastrous world war peoples are now in a mood to listen to his message inspite of its being very old and commonplace. His conception of *right*, praiseworthy though it is, is not founded on any universally accepted basic principle. *Right* determined by a majority, actuated more or less by self-interest, is only a veiled form of the supremacy of *Might*. That the delegates will invariably be the true representatives of the peoples and that the majority will always be on the right side, are the most common, yet the most unsound assumptions. In spite of evolution of civilisation and moral conceptions, man cannot help being selfish. Selfishness

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is the natural spring of life and as such there is nothing to be condemned. It is an altogether untenable proposition that individuals and nations should give up their selfishness and that wars are the results of such selfishness. The truth is all the other way about. As a matter of fact wars are not the results of national selfishness, as is commonly believed, but on the contrary they are the results of *want of true selfishness*. It is the *ignorance* of the *true self* that is the root of the evil. The real remedy lies in removing this fundamental ignorance *in knowing and realising the true self*. The whole *Vedanta* stands out in bold relief as the one serious endeavour ever made in finding out the true and essentially permanent *self* by analytical dissections of the human being known as "*I*." It is the knowledge and not the knowledge only but the *realisation* of the true *self* that can alone eradicate the false, the impermanent, and the delusive selfishness and implant the conception of the Real Selfishness.

According to the science of Sociology, society is a big animal and its component parts are all harmoniously interrelated for the fulfilment of the whole organism; and that one part cannot live and flourish at the expense of another, is a truth now universally admitted but not adequately realised. The proposed League of Nations, with all its imperfections at the initial stage, will prove really a step forward if all the component members recognise and realise their true self-interests harmoniously with the rest for the eventual evolution and fulfilment of the world organism as a whole. This is the basic principle on recognition of which the success of the League entirely depends. We cannot expect much out of a League as it is going to be constituted. Delegates representing only a false notion of self-interests can hardly be competent to serve the great purpose. On the contrary, there is the fear that there is the possibility of an evil being legalised and perpetuated.

Neither precepts nor laws are necessary to induce capitalists to invest their money in the most profitable concern possible. The greater the profit the greater would be the attraction. When the nations are enlightened enough to realise that they are but the different limbs or organs of one whole world-animal they, would not require any League to enforce sacrifices of their immediate and temporary interests for the sake of the remote but best investment. The whole world is badly in need of the knowledge of the true Self. The pursuit of the impermanent and false interests will only lead them more and more in the wrong direction. "Knowledge" in the highest sense of the term is the only remedy for all the ills, individual and international, humanity is heir to.

There can possibly be no inter-organic rivalry between say the liver, the spleen and other organs; they perform their respective functions mechanically, quite unconscious of their inter-dependence. The evolution of the world-organism—the ideal of the science of sociology—is progressing gradually and will certainly be advanced by the inevitable sequences of this great war. International jealousy and rivalry ought not to have arisen amongst the different nationalities that are supposed to be self-conscious. Rivalry and conflict of interests among nations are caused by competition, which, again, is due to very imperfect adjustment and unintelligent distribution of functions among the component nations. In a perfect or rather healthy society there should be perfect co-*ordination* and not *competition* or overlapping of functions. In an ideal society there should be as many different "*self-determined*" nationalities. And thus there should be no room for conflict of interests, jealousy, and rivalry.

The determination of international rights, is purely a judicial function and the League of Nations, as it is proposed to be constituted, can hardly be regarded as a competent judicial tribunal. It should serve the functions of the *Brain* in the world organism. And as such it should be constituted by the best intellectual and moral philosophers of the whole world. It should be so constituted as to form the Supreme Legislature of the whole world. To be able to discharge its functions impartially, it is essential that its members should be altogether free from and above the influences of narrow national and sectarian local interests, and that they should be regarded as fit to view international questions of *right* and *wrong* from the highest stand-point of Humanity as a whole. In the ancient East, it was the ascetic *Rishis* (seers) who legislated and not the representatives of commerce

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trades and various industries. The kings were merely the Executive Heads; they had no power to make laws, but had to administer with the help of interpreters or ministers, laws that had been laid down for them by the disinterested ascetic Rishis on universal spiritual principles as known by them in their time.

"*Justice*" is a Divine Ordinance; and far higher than *politics*. President Wilson's ideal, high and noble though it is, falls far short of the true concept of "Justice." That the League of Nations should be composed of not the spiritual but the political representatives of the Powers, and that the Great Powers should have the prepondering voice, are practically the same old motto—"might is right" put in another form. The world has no spiritual heads or representatives to come forward and take up their legitimate functions at this most critical moment! The Church as a spiritual force and the highest tribunal for deciding questions of "*international justice*" is quite impotent. This shows the extent of the spiritual and intellectual degeneration of the world. International justice is going to be dealt with not by the *wisest* and the *best* men in the world, but by a band of interested politicians of certain powers and predominantly of the "great powers." Only self-governing powers will be represented. That is to say those powers that are strong enough to protect themselves will be protected. The smaller powers will be practically in a minority; and the rest, all the subject-nations and peoples, will be left out altogether. In an International Court constituted as above, *might* will be more in evidence than *right*. Mr. Wilson felt for the helpless peoples more than for the more powerful. His League of Nations will not help the helpless. There ought to be in future at least a "League of the Subject-peoples" established side by side with the League of Nations so that the unrepresented subject-peoples may represent their wants and wishes.

KAPILESWAR BHATTACHARYA.

GOVERNMENT SCHOOL OF ART, CALCUTTA

EXHIBITION OF STUDENTS' WORKS.

THE Exhibition of the Works of the Students of the Government School of Art, held during February and March 1919, raises from the standpoint of the public many points of interest. The work of the School deserves more attention and encouragement from the public by way an intelligent interest in its work and active relationship with respect to the opportunity it affords for a training in art. For if the institution has not proved more useful than it has been up to the present, the fault lies, it is said, more with the public than the institution. Indeed it is very discouraging to think how few students go in for admission to this School, as compared to the crowds which flock into institutions for general education. As a rule the sweepings from the Matriculation schools or the 'ne'er-do-wells' of the family are sent to the School of Art. The boy who is good for nothing else, is, in this country, thought good for qualifying as a student of art. From such materials, neither Visvakarma nor the Goddess of Learning herself could turn out a good artist. Yet this is the impossible task which the School of Art is called upon to perform. For very few students with a real talent or inclination for art ever think of choosing art as a calling or profession in life—because having regard to the poverty of public interest and encouragement of art, the career of the student who chooses the profession of an artist in India is one of extreme precariousness. And apart from portraiture there has been little consistent patronage of the Fine Arts on the part of the Indian public. Even with regard to commissions for portraits the patronage has been of such insignificant, fitful and eccentric character that it has done more harm than good to the artists whose lot has been to attempt to cater to this fitful demand. With the recent growth of Bengali literature and the production of illustrated books, a demand for the talents of artists has been called for, but generally the conditions of publication have been so discouraging as to preclude a provision for anything like living wages to illustrators of books. The collections or connoisseurs of pictures, as such, who would take interest in art for the sake of art are so few in this country that their patronage is quite insignificant and does not call for the employment of any large number of artists. Art as a form of culture and an indispensable part of a man's education has unfortunately no attraction for the modern educated Indian, who still continues to look upon art as a fruit forbidden by his university curriculum. There are very few artistic trades in the Bengal Presidency as there are in the Punjab and the Madras Presidency. So that the artist is not required here even in the field of what is known as Applied Art. It is said that many new industries are coming into existence in Bengal and if such industries can get on without calling in the aid of artists they must be of that "brutal" stamp with which Ruskin labelled all 'industries without art.' And the state of that society must be perilous indeed in which there is no occupation for an artist. Yet it is difficult to believe

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that circumstances are quite as bad as that. For some years past a local pottery work has been turning out tea-cups, porcelain dolls, &c., with excruciatingly bad design and decorations without any apparent protest on the part of the public which patronizes them. Yet we know that the enormous sales which Japanese tea-sets command in this city, could never be rivalled by local products unless the talents of artists could improve the colour and design of the latter. There are several classes of artisans and craftsmen who are not influenced or trained by any method of art teaching. They are goldsmiths, carpenters, house decorators. The design of furniture-making is regarded as fine art in many Western countries. And though in the majority of cases the Indian householder buys ready-made furniture, there has arisen, during the last few years, a fairly good demand for distinctive designs for furniture for daily use. The art of the goldsmith is still the most highly patronised branch of artistic crafts in this country. The patronage of the goldsmith's work is still of a very uncultivated and barbaric character and unless there be a demand of artistic jewellery of good designs, the goldsmith could never think of sending his son or pupil to the Art School for training. The function of the Government School of Art is therefore necessarily circumscribed by the conditions of artistic patronage in this country. And the painting of portraits, landscapes or subject pictures seems to be the only branch of art to which the teaching equipment of the institution is mainly directed. Having regard to the nature of the talents which drift into the school of art, it is impossible to expect a high level of production of art pictures. This seems to be emphasised by the large number of landscapes exhibited chiefly of garden scenes rendered in very loud pigments. The Indian stage craft is still in its infancy and one is inclined to ask if some of these students could not be specially trained to treat theatrical scenes and stage accessories. A few years ago an ex-student of Sir J. J. School of Art, Bombay, was taken into a Parsi Theatre Company whose activities have since introduced many new improvements in Indian stage craft. It is notorious that the Indian stage in Calcutta is in a deplorable condition. Why could not some students trained in the Government Art School improve the level of Indian stage scenery ?

These reflections are suggested by a study of the pictures exhibited in the small room of the Government School of Art. Out of about 80 pictures representing nature scenes, only one piece "Cascade" (No. 76) attempts at a distinctive and individualistic point of view, the others are works so much in the same groove that they seem nothing but repetitions. The "Cascade" by P. Mazumdar has unfortunately missed the prize which it very well deserved. A rather striking river scene, badly hung, "No. 132," flatters the style of the talented Vice-Principal in the sincerest form. Imitations such as these may wel be discouraged ; as they only help to prevent the student from finding his own way of expression. The "Trees" (No. 80) is an excellent piece of work deserving warm commendation. The portraits, though some of them display a few good qualities, do not tend to attain a high standard of students' work. Even a really good artist in portraiture is born and not made and it is futile perhaps to expect teachers to turn out one, out of mediocre talents ; still a sterner form of training may perhaps yield better results. Of the black and white works Panda's "Portrait Study" (No. 132) shows conscientious work and one regrets, more examples have not been exhibited. The same remark also applies to the examples of wood-blocks which, as a form of expression, have reached a very high level of excellence in Japan and also in England during recent times. Good colour prints from wood-blocks offer a very interesting medium which may rival in many cases the commercial tri-colour blocks which seem to be much in request in India.

The Indian department in which the indigenous methods of painting are taught is now in charge of Mr. A. K. Haldar. The exhibits from this department are not many but have suffered most from the bad position allotted to them. Although they do not reach a *very* high level, they have one distinction as compared with the exhibits of the European department : they reveal a tendency to dig out an individualistic channel of idea and expression and are far less conventional than the other group of exhibits. Special mention must be made of J. Gupta's "Dance of Krishna", said to be the first sketch of a new student, which, inspite of its crude technique, displays quite original method of presentation. The traditional methods of Moghul and Rajput portraits of which such excellent examples are in the collection of the Government Art Gallery, might be studied to advantage and exploited for the purpose of evolving a modern school of Indian portraiture. Some of the works exhibited in the Indian section, particularly those by Mohabir Prosad Varma, show that there are talents which may be usefully directed to this branch.

The examples of work showing the effect of teaching of design, *as such*, are not quite evident in the studies exhibited. This is a very important branch of art teaching and is of vital interest to the problems of the application of art to industry and the growth and development of Indian industries. We are so many miles behind the progress attained by other countries in the study of Art and its application to industry that it is useless perhaps to remind us that many American Universities have assumed responsibility for the special teaching of design and the Harvard University has chairs endowed for Lectures on the Theory of Design. Yet one is tempted to quote from Mr. Brown's report in which he outlines the aim of the School: "The object of the School is to guide, direct and encourage 'the special artistic tendencies of the people'. Its work is to restrain, control, and instruct the art workman in the preparation of his designs and to develop his technical skill. Its aim is to provide a wholesome art education for all classes of people and to instil into the mind of young India the good there is in the country's art. Not the least important part of the School's work therefore consists in a resuscitation of the indigenous æsthetic sense."

Owing to ill health, the Principal had been away for a time and it is not fair perhaps to scan what actual advance he has been able to effect in the course of a year on the work of the School which he guides with great care and sympathy. On the whole the works of the students offer a very interesting collection and ought to awaken on the part of the public greater attention to and interest in the useful work that the School is doing under very difficult conditions, not the least of which is the apathy of the general public.

G.

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PROFESSIONAL BEGGARY IN CALCUTTA

By Chunilal Bose, I.S.O., M.B., F.C.S.

दरिद्रान् भर कौन्तेय मा प्रयच्छेश्वरे धनं ।
व्याधितस्यौषधं पथ्यं नीरुजस्य किमौषधैः ॥

Help the poor, O son of Kunti; do not abuse charity by helping those that have plenty. The sick only need medicine; what will medicine do for those that enjoy good health?

As this question is now engaging the attention of the Government of Bengal, I lay before your readers a few suggestions which might be found useful in the solution of this difficult social problem.

I shall confine my remarks to Indian beggars only. They may be broadly divided into the following three classes :—

A. Street-beggars.
B. House to house beggars.
C. Distressed "bhadralog" class.

As an old resident of Calcutta, and being in close touch with some of the charitable organisations for the distribution of relief among the poor of this city, I am of opinion that begging has generally been on the increase and that the nuisance of beggary in the streets of Calcutta has grown to a serious extent.

A. *Street-beggars.*—The street-beggars generally consist of infirm, old and diseased persons and boys and girls of tender age, who station themselves at prominent places in the streets, generally at the tramway junctions, the bathing ghats, the markets and other places where people usually congregate in the course of the day. Some of them beg for themselves; others (mostly the crippled and the children) are placed there by people who profit by their earnings. Among them are also found able-bodied persons some of whom are religious mendicants. Lepers and persons suffering from other filthy and contagious diseases are also to be found among them, and this must be considered as a source of great danger to public health.

B. *House to house beggars.*—This class includes religious mendicants, the aged and the infirm poor, and also professional beggars.

C. *Distressed "bhadralog" class.*—Owing to hard economic conditions, distress among the respectable poor is increasing. The daily growing number of applications for relief from this class of people to the different charitable institutions of the City, such as the Indian section of the District Charitable Society, the Sobhabazar Benevolent Society, the Calcutta Orphanage, etc., go to confirm the above observation. The breaking down of some of the old Hindu social institutions, principally the Joint Family system, is responsible for this state of things.

Remedies Suggested.

I am of opinion that we need not at present deal with the beggars included in classes "B" and "C", for the simple reason that they do not constitute a public nuisance in the sense that the class "A" is. Our efforts should, for the present, be directed to minimise the nuisance of *street-begging.*

The existing law in force (Police Act Sec. 70 and 70A) is quite capable of dealing with this evil, and in my opinion, the law need not be made more stringent. The reason why the law cannot be effectively enforced is because there is at present no place where all the old, infirm and incurably-diseased beggars who are taken before Magistrates could be sent. The Magistrates are after all human beings and they can hardly be expected to take so hard a line as to send these people to jail for the simple reason that they cannot earn their living in any other way. Eighty per cent. of the beggars are, therefore, simply warned and discharged by the Magistrates, and it is no wonder that the existing law exercises no deterrent influence on the evil practice.

(1) The real remedy to stop the evil lies in the establishment of an institution where the aged, the infirm and the incurably-diseased beggars could be sent by Magistrates and sheltered and taken care of during the period of their detention. Temporary provision may be made for the admission of these people in some of the existing institutions in the city (such as

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the *Refuge*) until a new home is organised and started outside the city for their detention. An Infirmary and a Reformatory School should be attached to this institution.

(2) To carry out the above, the approximate number of street-beggars in Calcutta should be ascertained through the help of the Police, so that provision may be made in the New Homes for the requisite number.

(3) All lepers with sores, found begging in the streets, should be detained in a Leper Asylum. The Police has power under the act to do this at once.

(4) All beggars suffering from curable diseases should be sent to the Infirmary attached to the Home; and when discharged, they should be helped in finding suitable employment by an organisation to which a brief reference will presently be made.

(5) The cost of the maintenance of the "Home" should be borne jointly by Government and the Corporation of Calcutta, aided by subscriptions raised from the charitably-disposed public. The *Poor box Funds* at the disposal of the City Magistrates should be applied for the maintenance of the Home.

In dealing with the class of beggars under head "B", it must not be forgotten that with the Hindus, the giving of alms to religious mendicants who, under vow, entirely depend upon this form of charity for their livelihood, is considered to be a part of their daily religious duties. And on occasions of special social and religious ceremonies, beggars are sought for and fed or given food, money and clothes at the houses of both Hindus and Mahomedans. Such social customs enable this class of beggars to get a sufficiency of food and raiments for the ordinary requirements of life and they have, therefore, no excuse to betake to *street-begging*. I would not, therefore, interfere with these people as long as they resort to strictly legitimate quarters for the begging of alms, but any religious mendicant found begging in the streets of Calcutta should be brought under the operation of the law. The *house to house begging* is open to them and they must not be permitted to create nuisance in public streets.

I am, therefore, of opinion that the system of *house to house begging* need not at present be interfered with. It is sanctioned by religious usages and is in accord with the sentiments of the people. It forms an outlet for individual charity to relieve distress among the poor and the helpless of the community. There is no doubt that some professional beggars take advantage of this system but it cannot be helped.

In the case of *able-bodied street-beggars*, it cannot be denied that although as a class, they are the least deserving of sympathy, yet even among them, a certain percentage (no doubt a small one) beg from sheer necessity. New arrivals in Calcutta who find themselves stranded in the streets, men suddenly losing their employments, etc., often find it too difficult to get a living for themselves for the time being and are compelled to take to *street-begging*. For these I would suggest that—

(6) There should be some organisation whence they can obtain temporary help, on application, in the shape of work, or doles, or money, after due enquiry. An institution on the line of a *Work-house* may be established, where they can earn their daily living until they can get suitable employment elsewhere. Without some such provision, it would not be fair to punish people for begging when they are unable to find work to earn their living.

(7) Arrangements may also be made with many of the charitable institutions in the city to provide temporary help in such cases.

(8) All able-bodied beggars not falling within the above categories, and any person refusing to submit to the above conditions, should be dealt with according to the strict terms of the existing law. Repeated punishment will, I feel convinced, have a deterrent effect on the present evil practice.

The relief of the "respectable poor" must be left to private charity and to the societies for distribution of organised charity existing in the city. Such charities should be made remunerative as far as possible, and with this object, they should be associated with departments of common industries, so that any person receiving help will have an opportunity to give something in return and thus not suffer from the humiliation and loss of self-respect inseparable from begging. It is a complicated sociological question, and it will always tax the energy and resources

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of people of all countries to successfully tackle with the problem.

The number of juvenile beggars in the streets of Calcutta is on the increase and this constitutes a great nuisance and source of danger to the public. For not only these children give trouble by begging in the streets but they swell up the criminal records of the city as pickpockets and thieves. I would suggest that they should be put in the Reformatory School by orders of Magistrates, unless their natural guardians, if they have any, stand security for them against repetition of the offence. They should be detained in the School for such period as would be required for a thorough training in some useful art or industry which would enable them to obtain a decent living on their discharge from the School.

Although the present paper deals with the problem as it affects Calcutta, the subject is of general interest, as all large cities in India more or less suffer from the same nuisance, and they may be called upon any day to devise meaures for its suppression.

CORRESPONDENCE

Namasudras.

To The Editor of *The Modern Review*.

Sir,—In the March issue of *The Modern Review*, a local Home-Ruler monthly, a letter is published in its correspondence column under the *nom-de-plume* of X, in which the Namasudras are abused in the vilest of terms. The character of the abusive language does not admit of more than a mere reference to it here. I would only submit that the Brahmin-Brahmo editor (and well-informed persons know that a Brahmin does not forget his caste even when he is a convert to Brahmoism), who encourages this sort of abusive correspondence, forgets that if the theory were once accepted, all the offspring of marriages between Kayasthas (Sudras) and Brahmins (the number of which even in a body of 5000 Brahmos in the whole of India is not small) would be regarded as "Chandals" not even excluding a reference to Lord Sinha's family. Then again another indisputable fact is that the number of Namasudra in Bengal and Assam is 2 millions and odd. And of Brahmins one million and odd. And as such, does not the shame-faced statement that these two millions are the offspring of one million Brahmin fathers and Sudra fathers mean the grossest libels against the character of Brahmin girls as chaste. It is strange to find that although the Namasudras abhor any connection between Namasudra and Brahmin girls and emphatically deny that the Brahmins and other members of so-called high castes are found to regale in an attempt at thus lowering down the Namasudras. Such is the bitterness between castes in Bengal. The pity of it is that this has not been a whit realised in the Montford Report. Had it been a little realised Mr Montagu and Lord Chelmsford would have been the very first to say—"Down with caste system" and not precede "Down with bureaucracy." [We would say "Down with both simultaneously." The bureaucracy is a caste by themselves.—*Ed.* M. R.]

Yours, etc.,
B. Ray.
Joint Secretary,
Calcutta Namasudra Association.

Editorial Comment.—We print this letter as it comes from a member of an aggrieved community. We have re-read "X"'s letter in our last March number. We do not think that there is any abuse in it, it is of a wild description. "X" simply gives the opinion of Manu on the origin of the Namasudras,—an opinion which neither "X" nor the Editor of this *Review* shares. Manu does not in our eyes possess the least authority in matters of anthropology or ethnology. And we know that is "X"s opinion too. A Chandala is as good and as bad as a Brahmana, so far as mere birth is concerned. It is only the character, attainments, conduct, and achievements of a person which really matter. A Sudra father and a Brahman mother, or a Brahman father and a Sudra mother, or a Sudra father and a Sudra mother or a Brahman father and a Brahman mother or any other possible combination, in describing one's parentage, is in our opinion, neither abuse nor praise.

We are afraid Mr. B. Ray has not in his wrath understood the drift of X's argument.

We do not care to refer to the personalities in which Mr. Ray has indulged. We can afford to smile and forget.—Editor, *M. R.*

To The Editor of *The Modern Review*.

Sir,—*Anent* the protest of some Namasudras against my identification of the Chandalas with Namasudras in the last number of *The Modern Review* (p. 257), I beg to state that Sir Herbert Risley in Chapter II of his *People of India* (pp. 120 and 126) uses the two names as synonymous. No foreigner studied the caste system of Bengal more thoroughly than Sir Herbert, and he is regarded as the greatest authority on the subject. But I did not borrow my information from him. I wrote from first-hand knowledge. I am an inhabitant of the Dacca district, and have some Namasudra tenants, and they form the backbone of the Hindu agricultural community in my part of the country. They are universally known as Chandalas, and are called as such, even by those among themselves who have no pretensions to education or social position. In parts of the Faridpur district, where the Namasudras are an influential community, they may not call themselves Chandalas, but in the Dacca District the Namasudras I have met—and I have met a good many, living, as I do, in their midst—certainly do not feel surprised or shocked if they are called so. Indeed, when I was a boy, that was their usual appellation, and the new-fangled name of Namasudra had not yet come much into vogue. In this respect, however, the Namasudras are certainly not singular. The upward movement among the Bengal castes is manifested in the assumption by many other castes of the name and status of a superior caste, as can be illustrated by numerous instances which I forbear to mention for fear of further embittering the controversy and wounding

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social susceptibilities which are so sensitive in this unhappy country, but such instances will occur to every reader. As a step towards the ultimate obliteration of all caste distinctions, such a movement may have its uses in the scheme of the universe. Many sociologists regard the scriptural explanation of the multiplication of the four primary castes by inter-breeding as more or less mythical. Nor do I think any the worse of a man because by birth he is a Chandala or Namasudra. I know some Namasudras in the district of Faridpur whom I sincerely respect, much more than I do many Brahmins, to which caste I myself belong. The simplicity, patience, industry, and piety of the ordinary cultivating Namasudra also evokes my admiration. I feel proud to count him as a brother-Hindu, and I am not very sure, as a result of my own ethnic studies, that my own Brahmin blood, Kulin though I am, is much purer than his—Bengal Brahmins like all the other races of India and the rest of the world, appear to me to be a very mixed race indeed, though I find nothing to be ashamed of in this. It was therefore never my intention to wound the susceptibilities of my Namasudra brothers. But I cannot help feeling that so long as they pin their faith to any particular theory of their origin in order to make out that they are socially superior to the caste with which they are usually identified, so long will the canker at the root of all such distinctions continue to poison their efforts towards the attainment of that social equality which all genuine well-wishers of the country want to see established. X.

Inter-caste Marriage.

To The Editor of *The Modern Review*.

Sir,—In continuation of my letter on Inter-caste Marriage in the last number of your magazine the following extract (translated into English) from a Bengali book named *Himalaya-Bhramana* (Travels in the Himalayas) by Brahmachari Suddhananda (Calcutta, 1319 B. S.) will be found interesting, as it shows that in the hill-tracts of Northern India intermarriage, both in the *Anulom* and *Pratilom* forms, is prevalent to this day, and the issues of such marriage attain the status of the higher caste parent in the third generation, and we shall presently see that this is in entire accordance with the ancient Shastric injunctions. We are not to suppose that caste is by any means lax in the Himalayan regions. On the contrary, caste observances are very strict, but as in ancient India, considerable liberty of choice is allowed by Hindus of these parts in regard to matrimonial alliances. (See also on this point an article on the Hill-State of Chamba in the Bengali magazine *Prabasi* for Jaistha 1325). Now for the extract referred to above:

"There are three principal castes in the Himalayas—Brahmans, Kshattriyas, and Doms (Sudras). Most of the Brahmans are of the Gour and Saraswat denominations.....If after marriage the wife does not suit the husband or *vice versa*, they can divorce each other with the consent of the Courts, and then take another wife or husband as the case may be, and this may go on as often as the parties like. Provided sufficient dower is available, a Brahman may marry a Kshattriya girl or a Kshattriya may marry a Brahman girl. Only the issues of such marriage are not taken into the Brahmanic fold at once; they however observe all the Brahmanic sacraments, and gradually, in the third generation, the progeny are accepted as Brahmans and are permitted to dine with the other members of the Brahmanic society. Brahmans and Kshattriyas are very keen about their respective caste observances; so much so, that after the investiture of the sacred thread, they may not even partake of food cooked by their own mothers, etc. (pp. 217-19).

The uncle of His Highness the Holkar, Bhaia Saheb Sirdar Jado Rao, is the son of the late Holkar Tukaji Rao by a Mahomedan lady; so also Bhaia Saheb Prince Balwant Rao of Gwalior, step-brother of the present Maharaja Sindia. The custom in these royal families is that if the son born of a Mahomedan lady has his umbilical cord cut within the palace, he is accepted as a Hindu. (See the Bengali magazine *Bharatvarsha*, Bysack, 1324, S. V. 'Indore and Ujjain'). Indeed, if we take a bird's-eye-view of Hinduism as it prevails now over the entire continent of India (including Nepal, whose ruler is the only independent Hindu king in all India), we shall find that there is hardly a form of marriage known to society which is not prevalent in one form or other among the Hindus in various parts of India. The sage Chanakya (Batsayana), writing a few centuries before Christ (*vide Kamasutra*, Section II, ch. 4, 12-13). called love-marriages in the Gandharva form as the best of all forms of marriage, owing to the great attachment prevailing between the parties to such marriage, and the conjugal felicity which flows therefrom. In Gandharva marriages the barriers of caste could hardly be observed with strictness.

The offspring of intermarriage, according to the व्याससंहिता, (Chap. 2, v. 9) 'न सवर्णात् प्रहीयते' take rank not much below the offspring of marriage in the same caste; so also according to Manu (ch. 10, v. 6) they are 'सदृशानेव' [पितृसदृशान् न तु पितृसजातीयान् इति कुल्लूकभट्टः] similar to the father's caste in status though not quite the same. By repeated cross-breeding, according to Manu, (ch. 10, v. 65) 'शूद्रो ब्राह्मणतामेति ब्राह्मणश्चैति शूद्रताम्' the Sudra is elevated into Brahmanhood and the Brahman is degraded into a Sudra. In Kulluka's commentary on the previous verse we find सप्तमे युगे जन्मनि सपाद्य वाख्यो वर्णो बीजप्राधान्यात् ब्राह्मण्यं प्राप्नोति' in the seventh generation by repeated inter-breeding with the paternal caste a Parasara (the son of a Brahman by a Sudra woman) is elevated to the rank of a Brahman owing to the superior efficacy of the seed. The great sage Vyasa is an instance in kind. We thus find that the gradual elevation of the offspring of inter-marriage into Brahmanhood prevalent in the Himalayan regions to this day has the sanction of our highest Smriti Shastras.

Yours &c.
X.

Bureaucracy in Baroda.

To The Editor, *The Modern Review*.

Sir,—Will you please be kind enough to publish the following letter of public importance and oblige:—

Up till now Baroda was considered to be a nursery of democratic institutions. In almost all reforms of far-reaching effects, Baroda claimed to be a pioneer State in India. But as the grim fact reveal the inner workings of this State in its true colours, the condition is completely the reverse of what it seems to be from a distance.

The recent curtailment of the liberties of the Baroda Legislative Council, the bitter complaint against the harsh control system and the reactionary order of this State forbidding its servants to take part in the recent Agricultural Conference

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Baroda, reveal the trend of the official attitude at Baroda. Can Bureaucracy go further!

To crown the grievances rampant at Baroda, an unheard of incident happened yesterday. A great public meeting, under the auspices of the Baroda Chamber of Commerce was being held on the 9th March, to protest against the Control System at Baroda, by constitutional methods. But the District Magistrate of Baroda, who is also the Revenue head of the Baroda District, issued a prohibition order and stopped the meeting. Is it seditious to hold a public meeting to protest against the "Control System"? Surely repression is soon going to be the order of the day in Baroda.

Girgaum, Bombay,
Dated 13th March 1919.

Yours faithfully,
APABHAI C. AMIN.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Sir Rabindranath Tagore's Views on some Educational Questions.

Mr. V. Subrahmanya Iyer, B.A., publishes in the February number of *The Mysore Economical Journal* under the above caption some of the notes jotted down by him at an interview with "The Great Indian Poet, Mystic, Scholar and Educationist" during his stay at Bangalore and Mysore in January last. On the eve of the publication of the Report of the Calcutta University Commission Sir Rabindranath's views on matters educational cannot fail to be of great interest to the public and that is our main interest in reproducing them here:

I. UNIVERSITIES.

(1) *Professors*:—While for the routine work of the University classes, men may be appointed, as Assistant Professors, in consideration of their academical titles and diplomas, it would be a most serious error to select professors for higher work on the same principle. For the latter have to be the leaders and directors of thought. And none but such as have given unquestionable proof of originality and genius should be placed in such positions. It is because of this defect in our Universities that most of them have not been the success that they should otherwise have been.

a. The right method of appointing Professors is to invite the leading writers and thinkers available, in any subject, irrespective of race, colour, creed or caste, to deliver courses of lectures and to select the best from among such lecturers.

b. Next, such Professors, when appointed, should be bound by a condition that within *three* years they should produce some original work and that in every three years succeeding, they should continue to give evidence of thought on original lines.

c. The system of 'Exchanging' Professors of different Universities for short periods, as in America, should also be adopted.

High salaries must necessarily be paid. But that would be cheaper than the present system, which is more costly, in that it does not bring a corresponding return for the large sums spent.

(2) *Selection of Men for Specialization*:—Now-a-days men are being deputed for special study not only within the University but also to places outside. But the results such men have thus far achieved, though in some cases really brilliant, yet in most cases have not been equal to the expectation. And that is because the selection is not rightly made. Mere academic titles are not a safe guide. Nor is the selection made by authorities competent to judge of the merits of such candidates. It is only when young men have been in close touch with Professors with originality of thought, that their merits and aptitudes for *original* work can be known. And this can be judged best not by ordinary lecturers, usually known as Professors; but by those who have done original or research work.

a. There should be travelling scholarships to enable the students to visit different provinces in India collecting materials for their special studies from observation and submitting them to proper authorities.

b. Professors, engaged in research work, should select students to collaborate with them. The mechanical portions of their work, such as collecting data from different sources, collating different versions of texts, drawing up concordances, and other such tasks, should be left to these students to carry out with the guidance of their professors.

(3) *Subjects of Study*:—Another chief reason for the paucity of original thought and production in the existing Universities, is the viciousness of dividing the pupils' energies and attention in the Collegiate stage. A grounding in general knowledge ought to be provided for up to the Entrance. But in the University, pupils should be allowed to bring up, for a degree, only *one* subject, in which the standard might be raised. Such a graduate will have greater depth, consequently greater love of his subject, greater aptitude for research work and better scope for manifesting originality, if he have any.

The Universities will then turn out a superior type of graduates, which alone could make for real advancement of knowledge in the land.

(4) *The Medium of Instruction in the University*:—As a general rule the mother tongue, *if it be one of the leading* vernaculars of India, should be made the medium of instruction. But the adoption of this principle should be *gradual*. The sciences cannot be

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immediately taught in the vernacular. It is, therefore, necessary to *bifurcate* the courses of study in the University. Pupils desirous of bringing up humanistic subjects like History, Economics, Sociology and Philosophy, should be made to get their education in the vernacular. Pupils seeking to gain degrees in Science subjects should be instructed through the medium of English. The necessary books for the humanistic subjects may be translated *at once*. In the course of ten or fifteen years, all the courses may be given in the vernacular and the 'bifurcation' abolished. English should be universally taught as a second, but '*Compulsory*' language.

(5) *Fine arts*:—Instruction in fine Arts is an urgent necessity. For, these arts develop a province of the mind, which remains untouched by modern Indian education. This defective development of the mind of our times has seriously stunted the growth of national life.

The first step must be to organize, under the direction of experts, a 'Museum' on the most scientific lines. Articles indicative of the life and culture of all the peoples of India, must be secured and then similar articles of other races and cultures of the world, as far as possible. They must be classified according to the purposes they were or are intended to serve; so that the underlying ideas may be studied not only from economic, historical or ethnological standpoints, but also from the ethical and æsthetical.

(6) *Sanskrit Education*:—There is a false notion that Buddhistic culture is either antagonistic or alien to Hindu culture. But they are, in fact, more closely related than Aryan and Dravidian cultures. The study of the Buddhistic and the Pali literature should be combined with a study of Sanskrit leterature. The Pehlavi literature should also be associated with it, for the same reason. Else, a comprehensive idea of Sanskrit *culture* cannot be attained.

II. Women's Education.

Women's Education cannot be the same as men's for the reason that women have a special duty to discharge towards society and humanity. It is not that every woman should be made to learn the culinary art or that she should have no higher ambition than to be a cook or a house-manager. Woman has a right to learn the sciences and arts that man learns and to enter, *as far as practicable*, the walks of life that man usually seeks. But it must not be forgotten that to her alone belongs one of the greatest privileges of life. Of Nature's endowments to man the most valuable is his 'individuality.' Its preservation and development is one of humanity's foremost concerns. This work can be done best only by woman. She must, therefore, be first trained for discharging this great duty of rearing up the real man of the future. And her studies must be subordinated to this end. Else, the very object of creation will have failed. The courses that have such an aim can be best given in the *Vernacular*.

III. Primary and Secondary Education.

So far as the Primary stage goes, there is something to be said in favour of the old Hindu method of teaching pupils one subject after another. It does not mean that the child should learn nothing of history or geography for months or years when it is engaged in the study of Language or Arithmetic. When Language is taken up, it should be the one subject of special and direct instruction. But the teacher and the parents may give the child talks on various topics or subjects *incidentally* in the garden, on the road, at dinner or elsewhere. Task work must be confined only to one subject. The talks should prepare the child for receiving instruction in other subjects, later on. In the High School or Lower Secondary stage, however, a number of subjects may be taught simultaneously.

The Mother-tongue should be the medium of instruction. The fewer the text-books the better in the Primary and the Lower Secondary stage. In the High school stage vernacular text-books for all subjects should be prepared, without any further delay.

IV. Education in General.

All educational development must proceed from within outwards. It is really a spiritual process, not merely an intellectual or a mechanical one. The spirit being greater than the body and even the individual mind, education is a process covering the widest area. Education is, in a real sense, the breaking of the shackles of individual narrowness. The aim must, therefore, be to develop not only the *individual* aspect of the mind but also the *universal* or the *spiritual*, which is the chief characteristic of the ancient Hindu system. It is therefore necessary to bring *together* in every educational organization, *all* the different cultures found in India and, as far as possible, all the cultures of the world, all the phases of religion and art, in which the universal mind has expressed itself in different ages and countries, *i.e.*, to co-ordinate these various cultures without attempting the suppression of the natural differences. The highest aim of education should be to help the realization of unity but not of uniformity. Uniformity is unnatural. And, in fact, its attainment is impossible. A sound educational system should provide for the development of variety without losing the hold on the basic or spiritual unity.

Hence the idea underlying the Bolepur school is to bring together pupils of all creeds and cultures and help them to realize their spiritual brotherhood and develop, freely and fully at the same time, their individual and racial characteristics.

V. A Real Indian University.

There must be a place, if not in every province, at least in one centre in this vast country, to which the best intellects of India and even of the world outside could be induced to resort, where they could meet, stay temporarily or permanently and impart their knowledge to the public. It will help to kill racial, sectarian, caste and other prejudices and be the real fountain of universal light. It is only Native States, whose rulers have in their veins flowing the ancient Aryan spiritual culture, based on 'unity' and 'universality' can realize its importance and organize a real university of this type, which will be India's educational contribution to the world's progress.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Prime End.

From the January number of *The Philippine Review*, we take the following :

The transcendental significance of yesterday's extinguished war, more than the material conquest of the German nation, is the complete dissociation of the Ideal from the galling reality of things, the exultation of the higher Life of Soul above the bare facts of Prussian materialism. This was the supreme assertion of that sublimity of purpose which has been the invariable consideration in Allied thought, that golden rule without exception which spelled victory since the beginning, and till the last.

Let the coming peace conference dedicate itself energetically to the furtherance of the world's spiritual interests. It must not be vindictive and defeat its own end. After the extradition of Hohenzollern Pharao, and his punishment, together with his myrmidons; after the reparation of the huge destruction wrought by Teuton heathenism, the gates of mercy shall not be closed on an unfortunate people disillusioned by their war-lords. Henceforward, they shall form a vital part of the new whole and not be the disconcerting element without. For the peace aspired by Mankind is not a peace endangered by olden trammels of prejudice, but a peace which is, in all sense, free and universal. Such is the idea of present-day democracy. It is accordant with the spiritual inquietudes of the New world.

The True Basis of Political Progress.

Mr. M. H. Masillamani, in the course of an article on the above subject in the February number of *The Young Lanka* [Colombo], makes the following observations :

It is interesting to examine as how we in Ceylon are influenced by our contact with Western Civilization. It seems to have affected us in a different way from the Indians. The people of India have managed to preserve their individuality in spite of this intimate contact with the Westerner. They stuck to their religion, their national habits and customs and viewed with suspicion the new civilization. The Indian is a distinct entity, a force to be reckoned with, a factor that cannot be ignored, in the readjustment of affairs after the war. But the pretentions of Ceylon for political concessions will be ignored. Western Civilization has made us material in the sense that we work only for the means to keep ourselves and our families in material comfort. The materialism of the west is trenchant, militant, progressive with large ambitions of world domination. But ours is a two-penny materialism that aims at a knighthood at the expense of honour and self-respect. But our limitations do not seem to irk us. Most of us have a religion borrowed from the west which seemed to have broken our intellectual backbone and prepared us for every sort of bondage.

In short we are non-descript mass of people that do not mind our political backwardness so long as we are well-fed and well-clothed and have the means to humour our vices. The only means of saving ourselves from utter extinction is by making a great effort to shake off our sloth and selfishness and aspire after nobler ends.

It is through religion alone that we can succeed.... Religion is the common platform on which we can meet.

First of all let us create a conscience a responsibility to God and to our fellow man. Let us look for the essentials, the things of permanent value and give up the worship of externals. The blind imitation of Western manners is the death of us. I know of a man who would prefer to die rather than be seen in his national costume.

Comments on the above would be superfluous.

Japan and the League of Nations.

In the February number of the *Japan Magazine* [Tokyo] just to hand, the Hon. Mr. Kiroku Hayashi, M.P., Professor of Diplomacy in the Keiogijuku University, contributes an article under the above heading in the course of which he writes :

The formation of some kind of international organization for the control of the predatory trend of nations after the war is now being vigorously urged in certain quarters, principally in the United States. The Allies however, on the whole give the proposal substantial support. But Japan has not yet ventured to express any definite opinion as to the proposal; and as she is one of the Allies her convictions should count for something. The present writer does not pretend to speak in any official capacity, so that the opinions here set down may be taken as the writer's individual opinion, shared, no doubt, by many of his fellow countrymen.

At first the proposal was regarded by many as only a form of extreme idealism in politics; but the acceptance of the idea has now so far gained ground as to command attention as a serious proposition. What then is Japan's view concerning the proposed League of Nations? Speaking generally the proposition seems quite acceptable, as it has the laudable aim of preventing war and promoting good fellowship among nations. Such a project should prove a good omen for the policy of the Twentieth century. It is evident that such makeshifts as balance of power cannot be any longer depended on to avert war. In future all attempts of nations to stand aloof from the international family for purposes of selfish greed or aggression must

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be prevented at all costs, even at the risk of ruining the rebel. Consequently if the proposal comes to realization, it is quite obvious that Japan must be a party to it or stand apart to her peril. If one is to judge from the utterances of the Minister of Foreign Affairs the Government seems quite ready to support the League of Nations.

The League of Nations will constitute a good means of expressing as well as enforcing Anglo-Saxon ideas of righteousness, on which the English-speaking countries set more value than on German *kultur*. Japan can do nothing more beneficial to her than to make a nearer approach to such principles. Therefore it is not necessary to labour the point as to whether Japan should join with the Anglo-Saxon nations in supporting the formation of a League of Nations. It is to her undoubted interest to do so, as well as to the interests of civilization generally. There can be no doubt that this is the opinion of the vast majority of the people of Japan. It is one thing to agree to the proposal, however, and quite another thing to find a way to carry it into practical realization.

Let us then look at certain features likely to result from the enforcement of the policy of a League of Nations. In the first place those nations that have won their places in the world, gaining great advantage to the disadvantage of others, will be guaranteed the *status quo*, and be allowed to enjoy the superior advantages thus gained in the past, while the less fortunate nations will be kept also in the *status quo* and remain unable to improve their opportunities for territorial expansion and national progress. It seems tantamount to saying "Now that we have got all we want, the process of grab must cease and all will remain as they are!" Such a policy will greatly militate against the interests of a country like Japan, with her excessive population, meagre territorial extent and insignificant colonial possessions. She will be unable to expand without violation of the terms of the League of Nations. The situation will be a complete arrestment of the general course of human history. From time immemorial it has been that nations rise and fall according to their character and environment; and on this possibility rests the hopes of humanity. Had a League of Nations existed a couple of hundred years ago or even less, America would still be in possession of England, and Canada would be French and India still a congeries of clashing races. A nation, being a human organism, cannot submit to artificial limitation without injury to its life, if not ruin to its destiny. If nations are not to be permitted to increase, are they also not permitted to decline; and will those unfit to maintain the competition essential to existence be deprived of the privilege of death? If nations cannot grow are they to be kept artificially alive? This is a principle that cuts both ways.

Continuing the writer observes:

The principles of the League of Nations, as I understand them, will preclude the privilege of any nation expanding its territories by force. The duty of Germany before the war would have been to maintain her national strength and prosperity by peaceful means, and refrain from any attempt to gratify her ambition by arms. All nations will henceforth be obliged to follow this principle or come into conflict with the League of Nations. To this Japan will, of course, agree, provided that nations be assured of opportunity for natural development, subject to no artificial or fatal restrictions. Will the elimination of arms ensure freedom for national development and free growth? The doubt constantly recurs whether this assurance can be given by a League of Nations. It is a question which Japan in justice to herself is bound seriously to consider.

At present all nations enjoy a degree of freedom that appears to be their right. They can establish protective tariffs for the promotion of domestic industry and the enhancement of national revenue; and they can enact and enforce laws within their own domains for the benefit of their people. Being independent themselves they do not want to limit the independence of others. The League of Nations will have to ensure this freedom unimpaired, even to the extent of precluding unfair economic discrimination, as President Wilson has suggested. The League will or should be still more far-reaching than this; for it ought to preclude the enactment of laws or regulations prejudicial to foreigners wishing to enter another country or live therein. Domestic laws must then be drawn up with a view to the convenience rather than the inconvenience of strangers. All must be based on the principles of humanity rather than on self-interest. Laws at least must be just and impartial. This justice or impartiality does not now exist between nations. Are the prospective members of the League of Nations ready to adopt such principles and honestly put them into practice?

There does not appear to be much difficulty about maintaining this absence of discrimination among white men. It is when we come to relations between these races and other races that the danger arises. Before the war Germany was treated as an equal by the other white races; and her people were received in all western countries on a status of equality with all other western people, while oriental races were placed on a status of inequality. Germany was not satisfied with the freedom she thus enjoyed, but resorted to force of arms to take what the law did not allow. Of course she deserves the reproach of mankind. Had she been fighting to avert discrimination against her race or nation she might have had a right to expect more sympathy.

Now there is no doubt that Japan has been discriminated against racially by western nations, and she is still suffering this indignity and injustice. In America and the British colonies the common people of Japan are excluded by law. Those few that are permitted to live in these countries have to submit to vexing restrictions in regard to land, and therefore are deprived of full liberty in regard to natural development and prosperity. This is quite contrary to the idea of the League of Nations as well as against the dictates of justice and humanity. The situation then is that the Japanese are not placed in a position of equality with western races in any part of the western world. With her very limited territory and rapidly increasing population this interference with natural freedom is very difficult to tolerate. Now when a nation is thus placed in a position where she has to make overseas' expansion or suffer congestion and decline what is she to do? Will not a suffocating man struggle for air and extended existence? And who can blame him? Are not those who shut off the air and attempt to smother the victim, the real culprits in the case? Thus while Japan is quite ready to agree to any

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proposal eliminating the policy of national expansion by force of arms or unjust means, she claims the natural liberty of peaceful dovelopment and racial expansion.

The danger rises where there is any attempt to raise obstacles to this peaceful and natural expansion of races and nations. With a great show of righteousness America now stands for the League of Nations, and advocates limitation of armaments and the progress of peoples by peaceful means alone. She must, therefore, be the first to recognize as a national and racial right the natural freedom of races and nations to grow according to the laws of living organisms. This liberty of peaceful and natural development can be stopped only by force of arms, unless races and nations can be found willing to commit suicide to please their selfish neighbours ; and force of arms is prohibited, according to the tenets of the League of Nations. The Anglo-Saxons are proud to proclaim that they have been fighting for liberty, and especially for the rights and liberties of the small nations. Japan will hold them to this profession. Japan is a small nation ! Will the Anglo-Saxon nations ensure to Japan freedom or natural development ? Will their League of Nations see to it that no interference with Japan's natural expansion and growth is allowed ? Will they guarantee to Japan and the Japanese the same liberties they guarantee to Belgium ? This is all she asks, in order to be a happy member of their League of Nations : no more, but no less ! Are the leaders in the formation of the League of Nations prepared to banish all discrimination against the Japanese race and assure our people the same liberties they themselves now enjoy ? This may be a hard question for race prejudice to answer, but it requires an answer !

Mr. Kiroku concludes his interesting article with the following words :

Unless the League of Nations guarantees to every race full freedom for the natural development of its talents and opportunities, it becomes no more than a trust for the larger nations to guarantee their own superiority and present advantageous position : in other words, it becomes a pretext for the retention of unfair monopoly, if there be any monopoly that can be fair. The League of Nations, to ensure itself of permanence, must be more than a name. It must embody humane principles and practise them. No doubt the last thing that President Wilson would think of allowing would be injustice, unfair discrimination or any form of unrighteousness. But whether he allows it or not, the League he proposes might easily be managed to retain the present injustices to oriental races, unless the guarantees to the contrary are explicit. At all events Japan feels seriously bound to call the attention of the Allies to the above point as of vital importance to her. It is a principle for which Japan must stand up at all hazards. She knows that no statesman of Europe or America, worthy of the name, would dare oppose the principles for which she contends ; but in the past there has been the habit of allowing injustice to persist without openly approving it. If an international society cannot eliminate such injustice what is the good of it ?

In his admirable speech before Congress in April, 1917, President Wilson, in announcing a state of war between America and Germany asserted that Right is of greater value than Peace. Peace must be respected, but a peace that violates Right cannot be tolerated. Thus America, though a sincere lover of peace, was compelled to take up arms against Germany, because Right was set at nought. According to American opinion it is right to take up arms when Right is disregarded. The proposed League of Nations, in order to secure peace, must, therefore, see that Right is respected ; and the rights of the small nations equally with those of the larger nations. If the League should ignore the rights of races it would be worse than no league, for it would be less easy to defeat. Japan's right to racial equality is still ignored. Will the League continue this injustice ?

INDIAN EDUCATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

Professor Geddes on the Problem.

THE problem of education has always been one of the most baffling before the world. No country has yet been able to arrive at a satisfactory solution ; least of all modern India. The roots of the world unrest, whether political or social, are deep in the subterranean strata of education. If only the educational foundations could be laid on a ground solid and firm, the superstructure of the State and the society might confidently be regarded as secure, and practically immune from the ever-recurring upheavals that threaten to shake to the very bottom the edifice of civilization.

The task or educational reconstruction seems to be as hopeless and as forlorn as the quest of ultimate Reality ; but also equally persistent and irrepressible. The failure of innumerable preceding attempts is powerless to dissuade the ardent spirits of succeeding generations from endeavouring to undertake a fresh reconstruction. Nor do we speak of these abortive efforts

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with the slightest disparagement to the educational reformers, any more than with what we could speak of the pioneer workers in any other fields of activity. In this world of imperfections and failings it is not given to man to accomplish any thing that could in any sense be called "perfect". What the greatest among us could ever aspire to achieve is infinitesmally unimportant, but what is infinitely important for us is to do that little. And it is therefore incumbent on humanity to welcome any suggestions that might emanate from a fertile brain towards educational reconstruction.

Professor Patrick Geddes, the eminent Scottish biologist and scholar, has at the present day in the intellectual world few equals, hardly any superior, so far as the recundity of ideas is concerned. He is a man of remarkable personality. Without a touch of racial conceit, he is intensely human, capable of discerning objects, invisible to the eyes blinded by passion or prejudice. He is a great inquirer, a questioner through and through. Luckily for India, he landed on the shores of Bombay in 1915, and has since then, barring a brief visit to Paris, been touring throughout the length and breadth of the Continent. Madras and Bombay, Calcutta and Darjeeling, Lahore and Poona, Benares and Cawnpore, Lucknow and Allahabad,—all these cities with their suburbs he has visited not according to the flying fashion of the professional tourist, but has made things visible to him that are non-existent to the average foreigner, by making a considerable stay of weeks and months at every place, mixing freely with the children of the soil, meeting them on terms of perfect equality, not disdaining to call on them at their antiquated dwellings, frequenting the quarters where the average white man would not set his foot for a moment, cultivating the friendship of "Natives" and winning their confidence by the sheer force of his genuine sympathy.

In this way he has succeeded in getting opportunities which only a few can get, and in surmounting the obstacles that almost invariably blur the vision of an outsider. His official mission to India is in the capacity of a town-planning expert. But the study of Cities, in his philosophy of life, is inseparable from the study of Universities,—in fact only its logical complement. So alongside Town-planning he has all the time been also doing University planning. The sub-current has always flowed with the main stream.

It is owing to these considerations that everything emanating from the pen of Professor Geddes ought to be received with deep attention. And it is in this spirit that one looks up to his exhaustive *Report on the Proposed University for Central India at Indore*. His exceedingly acute and penetrating observations couched in a charming lucid language are a constant temptation to quotation and we freely confess we shall succumb to the temptation. In the main, however, we shall content ourselves with giving a broad outline of the Professor's scheme for the educational re-construction for India and a summary of his notable suggestions which we shall pass in rapid review offering our comments and criticisms wherever needful.

I.

The book,—it is in fact a book of permanent value, not an ordinary 'report' of the transitory type,—characteristically opens with its dedication to two of the greatest sons, not of Britain, nor of any other European Country, but of the land of the dark "Natives",—Tagore and Bose, as also to "all singers and searchers towards the renewal of education". This homage to the worth of the Indian intellect by a scholar of Professor Goddes's eminence and renown is not a thing to be lightly passed over.

In the Introductory Chapter the author traces the historic origins of the Western Universities in general, and of those of India and London in particular all of which, despite their many historic and other differences, may be grouped as pre-Germanic implying thereby the essential unity of the present University machinery and its working all over the world. In this connection, his account of the German Universities, both at their height and in their decay, exceedingly succinct though, is not without interest. The fundamental difference between the pre-Germanic and Germanic Universities lies in the emancipation of the latter from examinations and memory-tests, which are apparently the be-all and end-all of education in the former. The results obtained by this free and untrammeled sys-

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tem of education must come as a surprise to the autocrats of the examination regime. Looking at the undisputed achievements of German Science and Scholarship our educational bureaucrats may well ask themselves in astonishment: "Freed from administrative authority, freed from memory taxation, freed from economic fears consequent on the failure of examinations, how was it possible for the German to study at all, much less to study so intensively, and so productively as he has admittedly done." Because, is Professor Geddes' reply, one can only really study, still more investigate, from interest in the subject; whereas under external authority or amid internal fears, one can only cram. *In this distinction, clear as between the nutritive kernel and its shell, lies the historic rise and growth of German Universities and the long arrest of French, British and Indian ones.*"

But latterly even Germany did not escape the deteriorative influence of Imperialism, in education. Of late the State attempted to over-dominate education and succeeded in doing so only at the expense of its quality. For, in the words of the St. Andrews Professor, "education like religion, can only be truly vital in the measure of its freedom from external authority; since truth, like goodness, cannot be imposed from without, but can only grow with mind and soul within."

Who can doubt the transparent truth, the immense wisdom, of the above remark? But is there a single soul among the entire hierarchy of the I. E. S. with sufficient courage or foresight to act accordingly?

Incidentally this also dispels the popular illusion that Universities have been or could be, "founded" by kings, statesmen or millionaires. In fact "they have all historically arisen from a preliminary growth and culture in their cities." External wealth and power can at best water, not plant, them.

Next, the Professor proceeds to survey the present Indian University situation. His immensely broad outlook leads him to plan a post-Germanic University as a necessary epilogue to the pre-Germanic and Germanic types. With this standard in view he is naturally dissatisfied with the programme of the Indian University reformer, specially with the Calcutta University Commission, so far as could be judged from its published questions.

That India is a predominantl agricultural country is a truism irritatingly oft-repeated. From this fact the Professor deduces the educational corrollary that it is the Agricultural education that must be given the most central place in the curricula of Indian Universities, and not to clerical, legal or medical education, as heretofore. The reasons he advances to support his views are worthy of serious attention. In the first place, better farming would lead to better business, and this in turn to better living. Material prosperity is then his first point. The second is educational efficiency, since the test which the practitioner-professors would require the student-assistants to satisfy would obviously no longer be a test of the rote-faculty, a test of bookish memory, but that of skilful and intelligent practice estimated by actual results in the field. This would automatically put an end to the evils of examinations. Next the training in Agriculture would also be a training in various Sciences inasmuch as the medical, physical and chemical sciences are all advancing towards the biological standpoint,—beyond the old static externalism and post-mortem studies toward a clear view of the processes of life,—the starting point of Agriculture. Lastly, the social sciences, *e.g.*, the Humanities, instead of suffering, would gain by the Agricultural education. Better ploughs would produce better seeds, better leaves, better flowers, better fruits and better crops. Dead studies would be re-vitalised. The tyrraneous cram-trade of colleges would be replaced by recitation of ancient songs, ancient poetry and active representation of ancient drama. The wandering agricultural student would be told of the glorious regions, the great and inspiring cities of the past, and be encouraged to visit them. "Even the sacred Grammars will only die to live. At first, of course, they must disappear, but in and from the wider Grammar of the Sciences all that is vital in them re-appears: We but correct their conventional order of Noun and Verb into the true vital order of activity and fixity, of Kinetic and Static; as Verb and Noun, as creative and as product."

So far so good. But with due deference to the learned Professor one may be

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permitted to observe that to stop at Agriculture is to stop in the midway. Pressing as is the need for Agricultural education, the need for Industrial education is only little less so. Trade, commerce and industry are the only effective weapons equipped with which can India hope to maintain her existence in the fierce competition raging all the world over. Agriculture is, no doubt, essential. It is in no case to be supplanted. But it is at the same time to be supplanted by a training in that art which is the mainspring of the material civilisation of the West.

II.

What are the material adjuncts of an ideal University? To this question the Professor returns after devoting two interesting chapters to general, though rather desultory, remarks on University Renewal as aided by the afterwar Reconstruction. A theatre, a library and a museum are the obvious requisites. With the instinct of a city designer he considers the location of these as of some importance. The locality and buildings should, of course, be suitable both from the architectural and educational points of view. The use of the theatre is to be reserved for physical education. Beside it, may be constructed an open-air gymnasium and a couple of wrestling pits. In the theatre with its lawns, public Bands may play, popular entertainments may be held, and even "Purda" parties may be initiated, say, by the local Girls' school.

Why not also a swimming bath, we may add?

As regards the library and the museum special care should be taken to save them from becoming "a cemetery of books", a "mere miscellaneous storehouse" respectively. All sorts of psychological devices should be adopted to make these institutions as useful and as popular as possible. The Library, for instance, should have several separate compartments suited to persons of all classes and all ages. Let the first room be the Lending Library with its large book store. Next should come the Reference Library with its bookcases and reading tables between them. The adjoining set of rooms should be kept apart as studies for the research scholar. Opposite this we should find the general reading room or News-room with its papers and magazines and books of everyday reference. Close to this, but with a separate entrance, there should be a Children's reading-room and also a Women's (Purda) Reading-room. The school-child and his mother may thus visit the library together, the former at the same time visualising the main steps of the long ladder of learning. Each room should, of course, have a verandah and around it pleasant and steady garden walks.

Similarly the Museum, too, should be a real "wonder-house" (*Ajaib-ghar*, as its Hindustani equivalent denotes), being able both to arouse wonder and "to satisfy it, with wonder yet more". "With innumerable galleries specialised for every aspect of nature, every class of natural objects, every effort, expression and master-piece of man" it should be able to respond to every demand upon it and this at all levels, from elementary school visits to research consultations. This will lead "even the puzzled and wearied public to readily gather into eager groups and to follow round the Museum an interesting and lucid expositor as Guide." The Museum, like the library, has to be divided into several departments,—regional museum, educational museum, history museum, art museum, agricultural museum, health museum, general museum, and so on, with adjacent model workshop and Bazar exhibiting the work of the potter, the weaver, the painter, the jeweller, the goldsmith and the rest of the craftsmen class.

Professor Geddes' extremely graphic description of these institutions of yesterday and tomorrow deserves to be quoted *in extenso*.

"Too commonly hitherto the librarian has been more concerned with the orderly keeping of his books than with getting them worn out through use, while still more the Meseum curator has been wrapping his treasures within a napkin. But this organisation of material wealth, at the expense of intellectual poverty is largely because Museum and Library are as yet scarcely anywhere adequately related with each other, or with the surrounding colleges and schools with their city public, or with the town and village beyond. But of late years here and there each and all of these defects have been changing towards their very opposites. The Museum is arranged and displayed and with its specimens now in serial and evolutionary order, intelligently and interestingly labelled. And while a learned and exhaustive catalogue is made available for the students a popular and well-illustrated Introductory Guide to each gallery is offered to the

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Public for an anna or two and copies hung beside the cases for those who cannot afford even this. Rest of all, the Curator and his assistants divide among them a daily round of teaching, in this or that gallery, to its visitors..... School classes..... come in rotation day by day. A higher guidance is given to the college students on their periodical visits often by their Professors..... The more living libraries and Museums are now each developing their "Leading Branches"..... the librarian sending out his monthly or fortnightly parcel of books to every village school house..... and the curator similarly sending round his boxes..... for the nature-teaching of the schools."

And what are the effects of this on students? Let us listen to his words once more :—

"In schools thus kept stirred to active interests by such healthy change and continual freshness, children and teacher progress together, and this at a rate far exceeding even in rapidity, besides depth, permanence and thoroughness, all the whipping and spurring and terrifying which are needed for the present examination method."

Who can doubt, except perhaps the exalted Members of the sublime Indian Educational Service, that reforms such as these are the sure means of re-animating and re-vivifying the dry, dreary bones of the present system of education ?

III.

The central idea of Educational Renewal is the idea of freedom, of emancipation. Professor Geddes cannot for a moment countenance "the prevalent theory of the blank-class and examination room" which implies "that life is to be developed and to be measured by abstracting the normal and improving environment which life requires for that or other functioning." To use a metaphor suggested by him, the true test of the flight of birds does not consist in confining them within the four walls of a chamber, and to have even that chamber emptied of the vital and sustaining air, but in encouraging them to fly in the open air and thereby to estimate their power of flight. But it is precisely this return to the normal conditions of life, this, return to act and fact, which the educational autocrats of "Paper-dom" abhor from the depths of their souls.

Architecturally, the striking feature of the group of educational buildings in the University-City would be the construction of a central Outlook Tower, the topmost turret of which should be accessible only after ascending a fairly long stair. "With circulation stirred beyond everyday slowness of pulse, with heart aroused and hands alert, Head is also awakened by usual brain circulation." And here with eyes freshened the student should command the view of 'Life and Nature in the City, Nature and Life in the surrounding plain,' and feel his 'vital immersion in the concrete with fresh force and variety'."

Professor Geddes is nothing, if not thorough. Thoroughness is his strongest point. He is never content with mere enunciation of a general proposition. He applied this open-air Out-look method to the teaching of Geography, Cosmography, Astronomy, Botany, Physics, History, Sociology, in short to every department of the physical and social sciences with an ingenuity that is all his own. But for the details of this the reader must refer to the pages of the Report itself.

Beside this Out-look the Professor also plans a complemental In-look,—"a small corner-turret without the disturbing windows but with a light-opening in its roof,"—for the recluse student of philosophy, for his world of abstractions, for his introspective looks into his own soul, where he may retire and, withdrawing from the outward and phenomenal world, may meditate upon his abstract and universal ideas.

Perhaps the most interesting application of Mr. Geddes' plan of education is to be found in its possibility of proving an antidote to the political unrest and revolutionary tendencies. His ætiology of unrest is one of the most sensible utterances that have even fallen from the lips of a member of the ruling class. "It is," says he, "from the section of youth least contented with the present, most determined to advance upon it, and thus more or less in unrest that revolutionaries are at present drawn, *yet these are but so many strayed pioneers. The true Police for them should thus have been their Professors, to open better horizons to each of these ardent young souls before his disappointment and embitterment.* Let us educate such restless sprits in the main aspects of life, in appreciating the corresponding great departments of its activity, and sharing in them too—Industrial and Esthetic, Hygienic and Agricultural, Educational, Economic and Social. Yet also Ethical; with faith and effort in the possibility of these, in their community, their city and its betterment around them."

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We shudder to think of the consequences that would have befallen an Indian publicist, had he ventured to utter words italicised in the above extract. Strayed pioneers, not downright scoundrels! Incitement to anarchism, was the mildest charge to be levelled against him.

The optimism of the Professor cannot find a greater justification than in the career of the late Babu Ganga Pershad Varma of the Lucknow '*Advocate*,' and readily avails himself of his instance. Let the story and the moral be stated in his own words :—

"Knowing as I do the record of men like Ganga Pershad Verma of Lucknow at first so stormy and threatening, even as it seemed to public order, 'the James Larkin of Lucknow,' but next, when practical opportunity was given him, so eminently civic and constructive; knowing too his work in detail through being privileged to plan in continuing it in two successive years I cannot but think that half of the restless youth of to-day are lost town-improvers and planners, and I would take over from their present well-meaning but insufficiently psychological custodian, such students as simple tests of eye and hand would select as the visual and constructive ones. With six months' training in any Indian City not their own, such men would on the whole be ready for City survey and service... I venture to predict that such at present restless youths would soon be steadied men making a record deserving their portraits in it (i.e. Memorial Hall) with those of other sons and soldiers of India."

The Indian unrest would be a thing of the past if the present custodians of law and order could be prevailed upon just to give a fair trial to the remedy suggested here. But has not our Bureaucracy shown itself bankrupt of fore-sight and statesmanship, at any rate, in this respect ?

IV.

How to bring a true University into being ? Not by "founding" it off-hand on a sufficiently large site with the help of some generous donor or educationally minded statesmen and to fix on it a "Constitution" of administrative and examinational fetters. The right method is to continue and encourage growth, not to force it. The first pre-requisite of an University is "the intellectual movement and ferment of the times. It is in and from these, that Universities have arisen. And they have prospered in the measure not simply of their learning but of their activity, their own internal movements, their intellectual hunger and thirst." A true University is not a simple union of several colleges, or a mere agglomeration of scholars. It is all this, but also something more. *Its life-spirit is the atmosphere of active enquiry and discussion.* It must blossom from its culture-city. Hence the significance of Athens and Paris, Jena and Leyden, Edinburgh and Boston and let us hope, of Benares and Aligarh.

Not the least important is the question of the University Headship. To organise and maintain an institution dealing with manifold subjects, all related to one another yet also radically dissimilar, calls for exceptional aptitudes and attainment, all of which it is impossible to find combined in a single individual. A University thus needs not an autocrat, but a General Staff, in the full military sense, each member being an expert in his own department. Yet this does not dispense with the need of a Leader. Now what aptitudes shall we require of him, of the Principal of an Indian University ? Not that he should be an Honors man of some British University, nor that he should revel in his pet low-level efficiency, nor yet that he should be past master in the art of discipline. None of these at all. What else then ? Let the answer come from the lips of the eminent Scotch scientist.

Such a Head must unite Indian traditions at their highest, with intellect at its openest. Beyond even this sympathetic attitude and synthetic culture, he needs organising energies of that uncommon order which can at once revive the oldest or most weary teachers, encourage and help on the youngest and inspire the students above all and beyond and through all these, the Citizens, until they feel the University as their own, as part of themselves and henceforward of civic interest and pride. He must thus be much like a general in the field, as well as in his study-tent, alert to all changes of the situation, yet clear as to his general campaign and vigilant not only of drill and discipline but also of health and spirit, even spirits, of all ranks. Yet not even this high Military comparison suffices, for *the powers here needed are more widely Intellectual, more sympathetic also, in a word, far more of spiritual energy and influence than of temporal authority and command.*"

Excellent ideas and excellently expressed ! But how many of the present Heads of Colleges and Universities throughout the length and breadth of India, could be found even remotely answering to this description ?

But what about the funds ? Supposing we have succeeded in getting the right sort of men in the right place, where is the

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money to come from ? Professor Geddes answers the query by a counter-question, —Why require money at all ? The spirit can never be purchased by money ; it is unpurchasable. It was not the richest Brahmins, says he, who have been the most learned, not the best supported Gurus who have been the most educative.

All this is true ; but this is not the whole truth. True, Prince Siddhartha did not endow Professorships nor did Socrates think of funds when he founded the University of Athens ; but then the conditions of the present day are not at all comparable to those obtaining in the days of Buddha or of Socrates. We are not aware that these protagonists of ancient wisdom were ever confronted with the problem of founding a huge library, or a museum, or of having up-to-date biological and physical and chemical laboratories with all their costly equipment. Faced as we are with the material civilization of the West, we have in every educational enterprize to fall back upon what is purchasable by money —though of course the question of funds is not the only question that should concern us.

V.

Finally, what with regard to the time-honored custom of Examinations,—a custom so dear to, and so beloved of, the Officers of the Order of Red Tape ? Our "re-evolutionary,"—not revolutionary,— Professor of St. Andrew, is strongest in his denunciation of the system. The natural order of "Research and Estimation" has been inverted and perverted into a course of "Examination and Research." The educational authorities have a superstitious dread of "Research." They consider it a thing beyond the reach of ordinary mortals, and if some one aspires to reach that pedestal he must ascend a long and windy stair of examinations. To expect any original research after passing through long and tedious rituals of lecturings and memorisings and crammings, applied with peculiar thoroughness, is (to quote the Professor once more) as reasonable as to measure the spontaneous flow of a well we first fill up as fully as possible.

It would surely go down to posterity as a curious specimen of the mentality of the present day educationists that for centuries together a three-hours' memory ordeal continued to be regarded as the only and sufficient test of a man's abilities, capacities and attainments,—the only passport on the strength of which he could earn his livelihood, the only label according to which his work was to be judged hereafter in the Civic Life.

But, it may be contended, where is the substitute ? The examination evil is admitted but it is a necessary evil since no alternative is forthcoming. The malady is there but what is the remedy ?

The remedies happily are with Professor Geddes. They are :—

First, the definite record of the student's work throughout his course.

Secondly, the periodic and tutorial estimation of his developing qualities and persisting defects.

Thirdly, the final estimation which appreciates his aptitude, and attainments at the close of his studies.

The present writer has elsewhere described the physical, intellectual and moral evils attendant on the examination system and has also set forth the remedies as they appeared to him. Here by way of supplementing the eminently sound observations of Professor Geddes it may be added that the grouping of wholly unrelated subjects for examinational purposes and the slavish dependence of students on some particular text-book, which allows no initiative to the teachers and which forces a student to cram a particular text-book (or rather the handy 'notes' on it) are the two great impediments in the path of educational progress ; and unless the present regime of examinations and yet more examinations is radically transformed all hope of sound educational reform is chimerical.

India welcomes with all her heart the splendid scheme of Prefessor Geddes. Minor differences of opinion as regards the working of details are immaterial. Let us see how Anglo-India receives it. Perhaps we can read it in the studied silence of its champions in the Press.

ABDUL MAJID.

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HISTORY OF SHIVAJI, 1667-1670

I. State of Mughal Deccan, 1667.

On his return home from Agra in December 1666, Shivaji found the political situation in the Deccan entirely changed. The Mughal viceroy, Jai Singh, was no longer in a position to repeat his former success over the Marathas. Worn out by age, toil, disappointment and domestic anxieties, discredited in his master's eyes by the failure of his invasion of Bijapur, and expecting every day to be removed from his post, Mirza Rajah was visibly hastening to his grave. In May 1667 Prince Muazzam, the newly appointed governor, reached Aurangabad and relieved Jai Singh of his charge. The Rajput veteran set out on his homeward journey in extreme misery of mind and sense of public humiliation, and died on the way at Burhanpur on 2nd July.

The return of the weak and indolent Muazzam and the friendly Jaswant to power in the Deccan (May 1667) relieved Shivaji of all fear from the Mughal side. It is true that soon afterwards an able and active general, bearing implacable hatred to the Marathas, joined the Mughal camp. Dilir Khan returned from the Gond country to the side of Prince Muazzam in October 1667, but the coming of this famous warrior brought no accession of strength to the imperialists. The Prince was jealous of Dilir's influence and prestige at his father's Court, resented his insubordinate spirit, and regarded him as a spy on behalf of the Emperor. The proud Rohila general, on his part, publicly slighted Maharajah Jaswant Singh, the right-hand man and trusted confidant of the Prince. Nor was this the only source of discord in the Mughal army in the Deccan. Rao Karn Rathor, the chief of Bikanir, was an officer in Dilir's contingent. His worthless son Anup Singh, when acting as his father's agent at the imperial court, influenced the Emperor to transfer the principality of Bikanir to himself. "At the news of this event, the Rao became even more negligent of his duties and reckless than before, ... disobeying the wishes of the Khan. His Rajputs practised gang-robbery in the camp at night, because, his lands having been given to his son, he had ceased to get the necessary money for his expenses from his home. It was proved that his soldiers had looted some villages also. Dilir Khan, to save his credit with the Emperor, reported the matter to Court and the Emperor, [in reply], ordered him to arrest the Rao if he [still] acted in that manner. The court agent of Rao Bhao Singh Hada, learning of the contents of the imperial letter, wrote to his master about it...When Dilir Khan, on the pretext of hunting, approached the camp of Rao Karn and invited him to join in the chase,...the Rao came to him with a few Rajputs. Bhao Singh, on getting news of Dilir Khan having ridden out towards the camp of Rao Karn that morning, arrived there quickly with his own troops and carried off Rao Karn to safety from the midst of Dilir's guards. The two Raos marched together to Aurangabad, 24 miles behind Dilir's army. Dilir Khan did not pull on well with Muazzam and Jaswant. He was sent towards Bidar to punish the enemy, but the two Raos remained behind at Aurangabad by order [of the Prince]." (*Dil.* 66-68.) The Prince used to help Rao Karn with money in his distress and enforced idleness at Aurangabad.

Thus, Dilir's enemies found a ready shelter with Muazzam. After sending Dilir Khan away to Bidar, the Prince freely indulged his natural love of hunting and witnessing animal combats, and no attempt was made to crush Shivaji.

But even if the viceroy of the Deccan had been a man of greater spirit and enterprise, it would have been impossible for him for some years from this time to get adequate men and money for an attempt to crush Shivaji. The resources of the empire had to be concentrated elsewhere to meet more pressing dangers. Within a fortnight of Shivaji's escape, a large army had to be sent to the Panjab to meet the

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threat of a Persian invasion, and the anxiety on this point was not removed till December. But immediately afterwards, in March 1667, the Yusufzai rising of Peshawar took place, which taxed the imperial strength for more than a year. It was, therefore, the Emperor's interest not to molest Shivaji at such a time.

II. Shivaji's peace with the Mughals, 1668.

The Maratha chief, on his part, was not eager for a war with the imperialists. For some years after his return home from Agra, he lived very quietly, and avoided giving any fresh provocation to the Mughals. He wanted peace * for a time to organise his government, repair and provision his forts, and consolidate and extend his power on the western coast at the expense of Bijapur and the Siddis of Janjira. As early as April 1667 he had sent a letter to the Emperor professing terror of the imperial army which was reported to have been despatched against him, and offering to make his submission again and send a contingent of 400 men under his son to fight under the Mughal banners. (*Akhbarat*, 10|9.)

Aurangzib had taken no notice of this letter. Some months later Shivaji made another attempt. He entreated Jaswant Singh to be his intermediary in making peace with the empire. He wrote to the Maharajah, "The Emperor has cast me off, otherwise I intended to have begged the task of recovering Qandahar with my unaided resources. I fled [from Agra] in fear of my life. Mirza Rajah, my patron, is dead. If through your intercession I am pardoned, I shall send Shambhu to wait on the Prince and serve as a *mansabdar* at the head of my followers wherever ordered." (*Dil.* 69-70.)

Jaswant Singh and Prince Muazzam jumped at the offer and recommended Shiva to the Emperor (9th March 1668), who accepted the proposal, and thus a peace was made which lasted nearly two years. The Emperor recognised Shivaji's title of Rajah, but so far as we can judge did not restore to him any of his forts, except Chakan. For instance, Kalianpurimri continued in the hands of the Mughals. For the next two years Shivaji lived at peace with the Mughal government. The English factory letters at the close of 1668 and in 1669 describe him as "very quiet" and as "Aurangzib's vassal, [bound] to do whatsoever is commanded by the Prince." His relations with Bijapur also were pacific. "The country all about [Karwar] at present is in great tranquillity. Shivaji keeps still at Rajgarh, and though as yet there is no peace made between this king [Adil Shah] and him, yet both refrain from committing any acts of hostility against one another." [*F. R.* Surat, vol. 105, Karwar to Surat, 16 Sep. 1668.] Still later, on 17th July 1669, the English traders at Hubli speak of "Shivaji being very quiet, not offering to molest the king's country." (*Ibid.*)

In fact, during these three years (1667-69), he was busy framing a set of very wise regulations, which laid the foundations of his government broad and deep, and have remained an object of admiration to after ages. (Sabh. 27-33, 58 ; Chit. 78-88).

In terms of the agreement with the Mughals, Shambhuji was sent to the Viceroy's court at Aurangabad with a Maratha contingent of 1,000 horse, under Pratap Rao Gujar. He was created a Commander of Five Thousand again and presented with an elephant and a jewelled sword. Jagirs were assigned to him in Berar. Half his contingent attended him at Aurangabad, while the other half was sent to the new jagir to help in collecting the revenue. After some months Shambhu was permitted to go back to his father on account of his tender age. For two years the Maratha contingent lived in the jagir, "feeding themselves at the expense of the Mughal dominion," as Sabhasad frankly puts it. (*Dil.* 70.)

But the peace was essentially a hollow truce on both sides. Shivaji's sole aim in making it was to save himself from the combined attack of three great Powers and to recover his strength during this respite from war. Aurangzib, ever suspicious of his sons, looked upon Muazzam's friendship with Shiva as a possible menace to his throne, and he secretly planned to entrap Shivaji a second time, or at least to seize his son and general as hostages. (Sabh. 62.)

The rupture, inevitable in any case, was precipitated by financial causes. Retrenchment of expenditure had now be-

* Shivaji's two years' peace with the Mughals 1668-1669 and the causes of rupture : Sabh. 59-62 ; Chit. 121-124 ; *Dil.* 69-71. The terms of this treaty are nowhere given in detail.

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come a pressing necessity to Aurangzib, and he ordered the Mughal army in the Deccan to be greatly reduced. The disbanded soldiery took service with Shiva, who had to find employment for them. Another ill-judged measure of imperial parsimony was to attach a part of Shiva's new jagir in Berar in order to recover the lakh of Rupees advanced to him in 1666 for his journey to the Court. The news of it reached Shivaji when he had completed his military preparations. He sent a secret message to Pratap Rao to slip away from Aurangabad with his men. The other half of the contingent fled from Berar at the same time, plundering the villages on the way! (*Dil.* 71.)

Sabhasad, however, tells us that Aurangzib wrote to his son to arrest Pratap Rao and Niraji Pant, the Maratha agents at Aurangabad and attach the horses of their troops, and that the Prince, who had learnt of the order beforehand from his court agent, revealed it to Niraji and instigated the Marathas to escape, while the imperial order arrived a week afterwards, when it was too late to carry it out. (Sabh. 61-62.)

III. War Renewed, 1670.

This rupture with the Mughals occurred in January 1670, or a month earlier. On 11th Dec. 1669, the Emperor received a despatch from the Deccan reporting the desertion of four Maratha captains of Shiva's clan (*biradari*) who had entered the imperial service. Aurangzib soon set to strengthening his forces in the Deccan. On 26th January 1670 an order was sent to Dilir to leave Deogarh in the Gond country and hasten to Aurangabad. Daud Khan was ordered to arrange for the defence of his province of Gujrat and then go to Prince Muazzam's assistance. Many other officers were transferred from North India to the Deccan. (*Akhbarat*, year 12.)

Shivaji opened his offensive with great vigour and immediate success.* His roving bands looted Mughal territory, and he attacked several of the forts which he had ceded to Aurangzib by the Treaty of Purandar. "The imperial officers in command of most of these forts fell after fighting heroically. Every day the Emperor got news of such losses. But some of these places defied capture by reason of the strength of their fortifications and abundant supply of war material." (*Dil.* 64.)

His most conspicuous success was the capture of Kondana from Udai Bhan, its Rajput *qiladar*, (late in January). Assisted by some Koli guides who knew the place well, one dark night Tanaji Malusare, with his 300 picked Mavle infantry scaled the less abrupt hill side near the Kalyan gate by means of rope ladders and advanced into the fort, slaying the sentinels. The alarm was given; the Rajputs, stupefied with opium, took some time to arm and come out; but in the meantime the Marathas had made their footing secure. The garrison fought desperately, but the Mavles with their war cry of *Hara! Hara! Mahadev!* carried havoc into their ranks. The two chiefs challenged each other and both fell down dead, after a single combat. The Marathas, disheartened by the fall of their leader, were rallied by his brother Suryaji Malusare, opened the Kalyan gate to their supporting columns, and took complete possession of the fort. The rest was butchery. Twelve hundred Rajputs were slain, and many more perished in trying to escape down the hill side. The victors set fire to the huts of the cavalry lines and the blaze informed Shivaji at Rajgarh, nine miles southwards, that the fort had been taken. He mourned the death of Tanaji as too high a price for the fort, and named it Singhgarh after the lion heart that had won it.

Early in March, he recovered Purandar, capturing its *qiladar* Razi-ud-din Khan. (*M.A.* 99.) A few days later he looted the village of Chandor, seizing an elephant, 12 horses and Rs. 40,000 belonging to the imperial treasury, then entered the town and plundered it, while the imperial *qiladar* was shut up in the fort. At one place, however, he met with a repulse. The fort of Mahuli (in North Konkon, 50 miles N. E. of Bombay) was held for the Emperor by a gallant and able Rajput named Manohar Das Gaur, the nephew of Rajah Bithal Das of Shah Jahan's time. Shiva invested it in February 1670 and attempted a surprise at night. He sent up 500 d

* Sabhasad, 59, says, "In four months he recovered the 27 forts he had ceded to the Mughals." But it is an exaggeration. There is a most spirited but legendary ballad on the capture of Singhgarh (*Povadas*). The *Akhbarat* and *Dilkasha* have been of invaluable help in the history of the compaigns of 1671 as reconstructed here. Maratha *bakhars* are silent.

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his men to the ramparts by means of rope ladders. But Manohar Das, who "used to be on the alert day and night," fell on the party, slew most of the men and hurled the rest down the precipice. Shivaji then raised the siege, turned to Kalian-Bhimri and recovered it after slaying its *thanahdar* Uzbak Khan and driving out the Mughal outpost there. (*Dil.* 65 ; *O. C.* 3415, Surat to Co., 30 March 1670.) Ludi Khan, the faujdar of Konkan, was wounded in a battle with the Maratha forces, defeated in a second encounter, and expelled from his district. The Mughal *faujdar* of Nander (?) fled away, deserting his post.

About the end of this year (1670) Mahuli too was lost to the Emperor. Manohar Das, conscious of the inadequacy of the garrison and provisions of the fort to repel another attack of the superior Maratha forces, resigned his post in despair of getting reinforcements. Shivaji seized the opportunity, and about December captured Mahuli, slaying its new commandant Alawardi Khan and his garrison of 200 men. (*Dil.* 65.) By the end of April 1670* he had looted 51 villages near Ahmadnagar, Junnar and Parenda.

The only officer who made an attempt to uphold the imperial prestige in the Deccan was Daud Khan Quraishi, who had been second only to Dilir Khan during Jai Singh's Maratha campaign of 1665. Leaving the province of Khandesh in charge of his son, Daud Khan arrived at Ahmadnagar on 28th March, 1670. Six days afterwards he set out with 7,000 cavalry to expel Shiva's men who were roving near Parnir, Junnar, and Mahuli. They evacuated Parnir and Junnar and retired before him, while he occupied these two posts. Meantime Shivaji had invested three Mughal forts in that region, and Daud Khan left Junnar to relieve them. But at the approach of his Van (under his gallant son Hamid and Ludi Khan) the Marathas raised the siege and fled away, and the Mughal advanced division fell back on their main body.

Soon afterwards, these two officers went with a detachment and destroyed an old fort which the Marathas were repairing on the frontier, 20 miles from Mahuli. Towards the end of April, Daud Khan himself marched to Mahuli. The Emperor in open court highly praised Daud Khan for his spirit in invading the enemy's country, regardless of the smallness of his own force, and thereby creating a useful diversion of Shivaji's attention. The hot weather evidently put an end to the campaign soon afterwards. (*Akhbarat*, year 13.)

IV. Quarrel between Muazzam and Dilir.

But the Mughal administration of the Deccan was in no condition to make a stand against Shivaji. For half of the year 1670 it was passing through a civil war of its own. In obedience to the Emperor's anxious and repeated orders, Dilir Khan* had left the Gond country, where he had been profitably employed in squeezing the local chieftains, and set off for the Deccan. Starting from Nagpur on 19th March 1670, he expected to reach Aurangabad and wait on the Prince on 12th April. But at his near approach the old quarrel between the viceroy and his general broke out afresh. We have seen how they had disagreed in 1667. So, now too, when Dilir reached Pathri, 76 miles S. E. of Aurangabad (about 8th April) and received an order from the Prince to wait on him, he feared to go to the interview, lest he should be treacherously imprisoned or killed by the Prince. "Twice or thrice he took horse for the purpose of visiting the Prince, but returned from the way, and spent some days on the plea of illness." (*Dil.* 73-74.)

At this act of insubordination, Muazzam and Jaswant wrote to the Emperor accusing Dilir Khan of rebellion. The Khan had already denounced the Prince to the Emperor, saying that he was in collusion with Shivaji and had done nothing to defend the imperial dominions, and offering to crush the Maratha chief if the command of the army in the Deccan were left in his (Dilir's) hands for two years with an adequate supply of artillery and siege material.

Aurangzib was at this time filled with serious anxiety at Muazzam's wilful conduct, neglect of the imperial business,

* The text of *Akhbarat* here is doubtful. The year may be 1671.

* Quarrel between Muazzam and Dilir Khan in 1670 : *Dil.* 73-75, 80-82 (main source) ; Ishwardas 59 *a*—60 *a* ; *Storia*, ii. 161-166 ; while *M.A.* 101, *Akhbarat*, year 13, and English records give dates and a few details. *O. C.* 3415, *F. R.* Surat Vol. 3, Vol. 105 (Bombay to Surat, 5 Sep.), &c.

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and failure to carry out orders. Popular voice in the Deccan could account for the open audacity and easy success of Shivaji's raids and the Prince's inactivity, only by ascribing to Muazzam a treasonable design to attempt his father's throne in alliance with the Marathas.

So, at the end of March 1670 the Emperor had sent his Chamberlain (*Khan-i-saman*), Iftikhar Khan, to Aurangabad to investigate how matters really stood,—whether Muazzam was really bent on treason and what his relations with Shivaji were. This officer was now instructed to inquire into the Prince's charges against Dilir Khan, and, if the Pathan general was found to be really guilty, to bring him by any means to the Prince's presence and there "do to him what the exigencies of the State required." (*Dil.* 74.) Iftikhar's brother, a high officer of the imperial court, learning of this order wrote secretly to Dilir to be vigilant when visiting the Prince. This message only deepened the alarm and suspicion of Dilir Khan.

Iftikhar, after his arrival at Aurangabad, went out to visit Dilir, and listen to his explanations of his conduct. When he tried to dispel the alarm of Dilir and swore that no disgrace would be done to him at the Prince's Court, Dilir put him to shame and silence by showing him the letter of his brother at Court, reporting the Emperor's instructions. Iftikhar, therefore, could only advise Dilir to keep away from the Prince longer, by pretending illness and then march away without seeking an interview or permission from the Viceroy.

Iftikhar, no doubt moved by kindly intentions, thus became guilty of double dealing. As an English gunner in Muazzam's service wrote, "He played the Jack on both sides, and told the Prince that Dilir Khan was his enemy, and went to Dilir Khan and told him that the Prince would seize on him if he came to Aurangabad." (John Trotter to President of Surat, 20 Dec. 1670 in *F. R.* Surat, Vol. 105.) His unfortunate advice to Dilir only prolonged the tension.

Iftikhar then returned to the Prince's court and falsely testified to Dilir's illness, adding many imaginary details to it. Dilir marched southwards to attack a Maratha force (under Pratap Rao) that was raiding Mungi-patan (in May).

Muazzam complained to the Emperor that Dilir Khan had openly defied his authority and that the Khan's Afghan troops used to rob the people and sack the villages along their line of march, and the latter charge was borne out by the reports of the news-writers. Then Dilir, finding his position in the Deccan intolerable, wanted to go back to the imperial court without waiting for permission; but the Prince ascribed this course to a wicked desire of creating disorder in Northern India. Imperial orders reached him to force Dilir Khan back to the path of obedience. The Prince set himself to raise an army for a war with Dilir and called in the Mughal detachments from the outlying posts to his banners.

Dilir Khan was pursuing a Maratha band across the Godavari river, when he heard of the arrival of a *farman* from the imperial court, and divined its purport. His former suspicion and anxiety now deepened into alarm and perplexity. Though it was the height of the rainy season (August), the rivers swollen and the roads miry, he burnt his tents and stores and fled northwards with his army on horseback. Marching "in great fear of life, without distinguishing between night and day", he reached the ferry of Akbarabad on the Tapti and swam his horses across the raging stream, losing many men by drowning. Thence he proceeded to Ujjain, the capital of Malwa, to rest for a few days from the fatigues of this march.

As soon as he started from the south, Prince Muazzam and Jaswant gave him chase with all the available Mughal troops, calling upon Shivaji to come to their aid! The Deccan was filled with wild rumours of a civil war among the imperialists, which were "so confused that we cannot write them for credible." (*O. C.* 3470, Bombay to Surat, 1 Sep. 1670.)

In the pursuit of Dilir Khan, Prince Muazzam reached the pass of Changdev, six miles from the Tapti, intending to cross the river and enter Burhanpur, the capital of Khandesh, of which Daud Khan was *subahdar*. This governor refused to let him cross his frontier and prepared for armed resistance. The Prince distributed a month's pay to his soldiers to hearten them for the coming struggle. But this

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unexpected opposition brought him to a halt for some time, during which a letter came from the Emperor, ordering Muazzam back to Aurangabad (September). The Prince's evil genius, Jaswant Singh, was separated from him and posted at Burhanpur until further orders.

For, in the meantime, Bahadur Khan, the governor of Gujrat, had taken Dilir Khan under his protection and written to the Emperor praising Dilir's loyalty and past services, explaining how the unreasonable antipathy of Jaswant and the misrepresentations of back-biters had turned the Prince's mind against the Khan, and recommending that Dilir might be permitted to serve under him as *faujdar* of Kathiawad. The Emperor's suspicion and alarm had also been excited by Muazzam's approach to Hindustan; it looked so very like his own move in 1657! Indeed, his own position now was weaker than Shah Jahan's in that year, for, the war with Shivaji had drawn the greater part of the Mughal forces into the Deccan and Aurangzib had no army in Northern India large enough to confront his son's. It was the talk of the Prince's camp that "if he had marched forward, he would before this have been king of Hindustan." (Trotter to Surat.) Muazzam promptly obeyed his father's order and returned to Aurangabad at the end of September, 1670.*

These internal troubles paralysed the Mughal arms, and Shivaji made the most of this golden opportunity. We have seen how he had recovered several of his forts early in the year. His cavalry bands roamed over the country, plundering far and wide. In March the English factors at Surat wrote, "Shivaji marches now not (as) before as a thief, but in gross with an army of 30,000 men, conquering as he goes, and is not disturbed though the Prince lies near him." (*O. C.* 3415.)

* We may here conclude this episode in the life of Muazzam. In April his mother, Nawab Bai, was sent from Delhi to visit him and bring him back to the right path by her influence. She returned from her mission in September. Iftikhar Khan, the impe-rial Chamberlain, had harshly reprimanded the Prince. But when the Emperor learnt that Muazzam's heart was loyal and that his motives had been misrepre-sented to him by his enemies, the imperial wrath fell upon Iftikhar Khan for having exceeded his instruc-tions and been guilty of double-dealing at Auranga-bad. His brother, Muftakhar Khan, too, was pun-ished for communicating official secrets to Dilir Khan. Both brothers remained deprived of office for some months. (*M.A.* 101; *Akhbarat*, 13-3.)

V. Loot of Surat.

In April Bahadur Khan visited Surat with 5000 horse, to guard the town against an apprehended attack by Shiva. In August there were false rumours that Muazzam, then supposed to be in rebellion against his father, was coming to Surat, "to take possession of this town and castle." The Mughals demanded from the Court of Bijapur a contingent of 12,000 horse for service against Shivaji, and some ammunition from the English at Bombay for the fort of Koridru. People were expectant as to what the imperialists would do when the rains would cease and campaigning again become possible. (*F. R.* Surat, vol. 3. Consult. 16 and 18 Aug. 1670. *O. C.* 3457.) But Shivaji, as usual, struck the first blow. On 3rd October he plundered Surat for the second time.

Throughout September he had been assembling a large body of cavalry at Kalian, evidently to invade Gujrat. (*F. R.* Surat, Vol. 3. Consult. 12 Sep. 1670.) The matter was so notorious that on 12th September the English factors at Surat* had rightly concluded that "that town would be the first place he would take," and "foreseeing the ensuing danger, [we] had taken a convenient time to empty all our warehouses at Surat of what goods were ready baled and sent them down to Swally;" even their entire Council with the President (Gerald Aungier) were at Swally at the beginning of October. And yet the Mughal governor was so criminally negligent as to keep only 300 men for the defence of the city. On 2nd October came successive reports of Shiva's arrival with 15,000 horse and foot within 20 miles of Surat. All the Indian merchants of the city and even the officers of government fled in the course of that day and night. On the 3rd, Shivaji attacked the city which had recently been walled round by order of Aurangzib. After a slight resistance the defenders fled to the fort, and the Marathas possessed themselves of the whole town except only the English, Dutch and French factories, the large *New Serai* of the Persian and Turkish merchants, and the *Tartar Serai* midway

* The second loot of Surat: Surat Council to Co., 20 Nov. 1670 (Hedge's *Diary*, ii, pp. ccxxvi—ix). *F. R.* Surat Vol. 3, (Consult. at Swally Marine, October); Dutch Records, Trans. Vol. 29, No. 763. *M.A.* 106 (bare mention). Sabh, 63-64. Chit, 72 confused and unreliable.

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between the English and French houses, which was occupied by Abdullah Khan, ex-king of Kashghar, just returned from a pilgrimage to Mecca. The French bought off the raiders by means of "valuable presents." The English factory, though it was an open house, was defended by Streynsham Master with 50 sailors, and the Marathas were received with such a hot fire from it that they lost several men, and, leaving the English alone, assaulted the Kashghar king's *serai* from the advantageous position of some avenues next to the French factory, which they were suffered by the French to occupy. The Tartars made a stout resistance all the day, but finding the post untenable they fled with their king to the fort at night, giving up to plunder their house with its valuable property, including a gold *palki* and other costly presents from Aurangzib.

From the safe shelter of the Tartar Serai, the Marathas prepared to open fire on the English factory the next day, but the resolute attitude of the handful of Englishmen cowed them, and after an angry parley they came to an understanding and agreed not to molest the English. The Dutch warehouse was untouched. "A messenger came from the invader to assure us that no harm would befall us if we remained quiet.....and gave him our assurances that we would not interfere for or against him." (*Dutch Records*, Translations, Vol. 29, Surat to Directors, 14 Nov. 1670). The Turks in the *New Serai* successfully defended themselves, inflicting some loss on the raiders.

The Marathas plundered the larger houses of the city at leisure, taking immense quantities of treasure, cloth, and other valuable goods, and setting fire to several places, so that "nearly half the town" was burnt to the ground. They then approached the fortress of Surat, threatening to storm it; but it was a mere demonstration, as they were not prepared to conduct a siege, and did not venture close to the walls. The third day (5th Oct.) they again appeared before the English factory, threatening to burn it down. Shivaji and his soldiers were greatly enraged at the loss of their men in the first assault on this house, and they clamoured for vengeance. But the wiser among his captains knew that a second attack would result in further loss of life, and at their request two English agents waited on Shivaji in his tent outside the town, with some presents of scarlet cloth, swords, blades and knives. The Maratha king "received them in a very kind manner, telling them that the English and he were good friends, and putting his hand into their hands he told them that he would do the English no wrong. (Surat to Co., 20 Nov. 1670, in *Hedge's Diary*.)

On 5th October, about noon Shivaji suddenly retreated from the town, though no Mughal army was near or even reported to be coming. "But he had got plunder enough and thought it prudent to secure himself. When he marched away he sent a letter to the officers and chief merchants saying that if they did not pay him twelve lakhs of Rupees as yearly tribute, he would return the next year and burn down the remaining part of the town. No sooner Shivaji was gone than the poor people of Surat fell to plundering what was left, in so much that there was not a house, great or small, excepting those which stood on their guard, which were not ransacked." Even the English sailors, under S. Master took to plundering.

During the three days that Surat was undergoing this fate, the sea-port of Swally marine, 10 miles west of it across the Tapti, was not free from alarm. There the English, Dutch and French had built their warehouses and landing places for ocean-going vessels. Here lay during those days all the members of the English factory, their treasure, and most of the goods bought for Europe. Here the *shah-i-bandar* (harbour and custom master), the *qazi* and the most eminent merchants (Hindu, Muslim and Armenian) of Surat had taken refuge with the English. Many rich people of the town, too, had fled to the villages north of Surat, across the river and close to Swally. On the 3rd it was reported that Shivaji wanted to send 500 horsemen north of the river to plunder the villages and seize these rich men, and it was feared that he might even come to Swally to demand the surrender of the Surat refugees and blackmail from the European merchants. But the coming of the spring-tide made it impossible for the Marathas to cross the river, and Swally remained safe. So great was the alarm there, however, that on the 3rd the English factors removed their treasure

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from the shore to one of their ships, and next day loaded all their broadcloth, quicksilver, currall (?) &c., on board ship, "to secure them against any attempts of Shivaji." Two other English ships, which were due to sail, were detained at Swally till 10th October, by which time the Marathas were expected to withdraw from the district. The English factors with the help of the ships' carpenters even ran up a wooden platform at one end of the marine yard and mounted eight guns on it, "to defend the Company's estate the best we could."

The manly attitude of the English and their success in scaring away the Maratha myriads, greatly impressed the people of the country. They had, as a reward of their brave defence of their factory during the loot of 1664, received commercial privileges from the Emperor. And now the son of Haji Said Beg, the richest merchant of Surat, who had found shelter at Swally, publicly swore that he would migrate with his family to Bombay.

The fact that all the three European factories at Surat were untouched while every other shop and house was ransacked by the raiders, naturally excited suspicion. Both at Surat and the imperial court people "talked of the three Christian nations having made a league with Shivaji when he was here." The foreign merchants therefore received no reward from the ruler of the land *this* time. (Master to Swally Marine, 3 Jan. 1671, in F.R. Surat, 105.)

An official inquiry ascertained that Shivaji had carried off 66 *lakhs* of Rupees' worth of booty from Surat,—*viz.*, cash, pearls, and other articles worth 53 *lakhs* from the city itself and 13 *lakhs* worth from Nawal Sahu and Hari Sahu and a village near Surat. (*Akhbarat* 13-10.)

But the real loss of Surat was not to be estimated by the booty which the Marathas carried off. The trade of this, the richest port of India, was practically destroyed. For several years after Shivaji's withdrawal from it, the town used to throb with panic every now and then, whenever any Maratha force came within few days march of it, or even at false alarms of their coming. On every such occasion the merchants would quickly remove their goods to ships, the citizens would flee to the villages, and the Europeans would hasten to Swally. Business was effectually scared away from Surat, and inland producers hesitated to send their goods to this the greatest emporium of Western India.

For one month after the second sack, "the town was in so great a confusion that there was neither governor nor government," and almost every day was troubled by rumours of Shiva's coming there again. "On the 12th [i. e., only a week after his departure] it was again rumoured that he was returning with 6,000 horse and 10,000 foot, and that he had already reached Pent, a place about 25 miles distant. At once there was a general exodus and the town was changed from a busy port into the death-like quiet of a desert. The Turkish, English and French merchants abandoned their factories." But the Dutch, 52 men in all, with flags flying and drums beating proceeded from their ship to their factory. This was their belated imitation of the English demonstration of January 1664, when "the English president, at the head of some 200 men, had marched through the town, declaring that he meant to withstand Shivaji with this handful of men"! (*Dutch Records*, Trans, vol. 29, letter No. 763 and Vol. 27, No. 719.)

At the end of November, and again about 10th December, 1670, the alarm was revived; and the European merchants met together to concert means of guarding their respective interests. The landward defences of Swally were strengthened by adding a breast-work on the north side of the *choultry*, and the entrance to the harbour or "hole" was guarded by stationing a ship there. The English used to remove their money and goods from Surat to this place at every such alarm.

In June 1672 the success of the Maratha forces under Moro Pant in the Kuli State of Ramnagar, on the way to Surat, kept the city in constant terror for a long time. The Maratha general openly demanded *chauth* from Surat, threatening a visitation if the governor refused payment. There was the same panic again in February and October 1672, September 1673, October 1674, and December 1679. In short, the destruction of the trade and financial prosperity of Surat was complete. (*F.R.*)

VI. Battle of Vani.

Having concluded the story of the

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Maratha dealings with Surat, we turn to Shivaji's activities in other quarters.

Prince Muazzam had just returned to Aurangabad after chasing Dilir Khan to the bank of the Tapti, when he heard of the plunder of Surat. He immediately summoned Daud Khan from Burhanpur and sent him off to attack the Maratha raiders. Meantime, Shivaji had left Surat, entered Baglana, and plundered the villages nestling at the foot of the fort of Mulhir. Daud Khan, after sending his baggage back to Aurangabad, marched westwards with light kit to Chandor, a town at which the road from Nasik to Baglana crosses the hill range. Spies brought him news that Shivaji had started from Mulhir, and intended to cross the Chandor range by the pass of Kanchana-Manchana, ten miles west of Chandor. Arriving at the hamlet of Chandor (below the fort) at about 9 P.M., Daud Khan waited to verify the news of the enemy's movements. At midnight his spies reported that Shiva had already issued from the pass and was rapidly following the road to Nasik with half his forces, while the other half of his army was holding the pass to pick up stragglers. Daud Khan at once resumed his march. But the moon set about three o'clock in the morning, and in the darkness the Mughal soldiers were somewhat scattered.

Ikhlas Khan Miana (son of Abdul Qadir Bahlol Khan, a former Pathan leader of Bijapur), commanded the Mughal Vanguard. Ascending a hillock in the early morning, he beheld the enemy standing ready for battle in the plain below. While his men were putting on their armour, which was conveyed on camels, he himself with a handful of followers recklessly charged the enemy. The Maratha rearguard, which had faced about, was 10,000 strong and commanded by distinguished generals like Pratap Rao Gujar, the Master of the Horse, Vyankoji Datto, and Makaji Anand Rao (a natural son of Shahji Bhonsla). Ikhlas Khan was very soon wounded and unhorsed. After a time Daud Khan arrived on the scene and sent up Rai Makarand and some other officers to reinforce the Van, while he left his elephants, flags and drums at a ruined village on a height, surrounded by *nalas*, with orders to make his camp and rearguard halt there when they would come up.

For hours together an obstinate and bloody battle raged. Sangram Khan Ghori and his kinsmen were wounded, and many were slain on the Mughal side. The Marathas, "like the *Bargis* of the Deccan, fought hovering round the imperialists." But the Bundela infantry of the Mughal army with their abundant fire-arms kept the enemy back. Daud Khan himself entered the fight, repulsed the enemy with his artillery, and rescued the wounded Ikhlas Khan.

Meantime, in another part of the field, Mir Abdul Mabud, the *darogha* of the Mughal artillery, who had been separated from the main army by a fold in the ground, was attacked. He was wounded with one of his sons and some followers, while another son and many soldiers were slain; and his flags and horses were carried off by the enemy. There was a lull in the fight at noon.

At that time Daud Khan had less than 2,000 men with him, while the Marathas outnumbered him fivefold. In the evening they charged him again, but were driven back, evidently by the artillery. At night the Mughals bivouacked under the autumn sky, their camp was entrenched, and they engaged in burying the dead and tending the wounded. The Marathas retreated to Konkan without further opposition. This battle was fought in the Vani-Dindori sub-division late in the month of October, 1670.*

This battle neutralised the Mughal power for more than a month. The day after the fight, Daud Khan marched with the broken remnant of his army to Nasik, and halted there for one month, evidently to recoup his strength and also to watch the route from Konkan (by the Tal pass?). The wounded were sent to Aurangabad. Late in November, he removed to Ahmadnagar, but at the end of December he was recalled to the scene of his last battle by the revival of Maratha activity in the Chandor range. (*Dil.* 87, 89, 92.)

VII. Raid into Berar and Baglana.

We shall, for the present, pass over Shivaji's activity at sea and in the western coast-strip during the whole of November and part of December 1670 after his return from Surat. Early in December

* Battle of Vani-Dindori; entirely based upon *Dil Kasha*, 84-88. (Bhimsen was an eye-witness) with a few points from Sabh. 64-65.

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a Maratha force under Pratap Rao made a raid into Khandesh. Advancing by rapid marches, he plundered Bahadurpura, a village two miles from Burhanpur (the capital of Khandesh), but did not come closer to that city, because of the warning of Jaswant Singh, who had been posted there since August last. Passing into Berar, he fell, when least expected, upon the rich and flourishing city of Karinja, and looted it completely. Four thousand oxen and donkeys were loaded with booty —consisting of fine cloth, silver and gold, to the value of a *krore* of Rupees, captured here. All the rich men of the place were carried off for ransom. Only the most eminent one among them escaped in the disguise of a woman. The other towns also yielded vast sums of money. That rich province, with its accumulated wealth of more than half a century of peace and prosperity, afforded a virgin soil to the plunderers in this their first raid. A force, reported to be 20,000 strong, looted the neighbourhood of Ausa and collected *chauth*, but they rode away without attacking the fort. In the neighbourhood of Karinja and Nandurbar the Marathas took from the affrighted people written promises to pay them one-fourth of the revenue (*chauth*) in future.*

No resistance was made by the Mughals. Khan-i-zaman, the governor of Berar, moved too slowly to intercept the raiders, and he stopped on reaching Deogarh. Daud Khan, the governor of Khandesh, was absent campaigning near Ahmadnagar, while his son Ahmad Khan, who officiated as his deputy at Burhanpur, was at open war with Maharajah Jaswant Singh, who was trying to raise money for the Prince's expenses and had demanded five *lakhs* from the treasury of Khandesh. Daud Khan's son replied that if the Maharajah could procure Aurangzib's order, he would pay him even 20 *lakhs*, or else not a pice, at which message Jaswant threatened to sack the town. (*F. R.* Surat 105, Bombay to Surat, 5 Feb. 1671.)

Daud Khan from his camp near Ankai Tankai hastened towards Burhanpur. Arriving near the pass of Fardapur he heard that the Marathas returning from Berar had turned aside from Burhanpur and taken the road to Baglana. The situation at the capital of Khandesh was also saved by the arrival there on 1st January 1671 of a new supreme commander, Mahabat Khan, who took Jaswant away with himself when leaving the town.

From Fardapur, Daud Khan swerved to the west and entered Baglana on the heels of the Marathas. While Pratap Rao had been sacking Karinja in Berar, another Maratha band under Moro Trimbak Pingle had been looting West Khandesh and Baglana, and now these two divisions had united in the neighbourhood of Salhir. They had plundered the village under the hill-fort of Mulhir and laid siege to Salhir. Daud Khan arrived near Mulhir at about 8 P.M., but could advance no further as most of his camp and army were lagging behind.

The Khan urged his troops to start next morning in order to raise the siege of Salhir. He himself set out before sunrise. But most of his men had not yet arrived, and the few that had come with him were scattered. They busied themselves in cooking food or taking rest in the camp, instead of resuming the march with their chief. Daud Khan heard on the way that Salhir had already been captured by the Marathas, and so he returned in disappointment to Mulhir, and after a short halt there fell back or his new base near Kanchana- Manchana in the Chandor range.

Shivaji had invested Salhir with a force of 20,000 horse and foot, and one day finding the garrison off their guard he had scaled the wall by means of rope ladders. The *qiladar* Fathullah Khan fell fighting, and his wife's brother then gave up the fort to the enemy. This happened about 5th January 1671. The success of the Marathas continued. They threatened other forts in the province, such as Mulhir, Chauragarh and Talulgarh. Their roving bands cut off the grain supply of Neknam Khan, the faujdar of Baglana (whose headquarters were at Mulhir.) They also laid siege to Dhodap, the loftiest hill-fort in the Chandor range.*

JADUNATH SARKAR.

* *Dil.* 91. *Akhbarat*, year 13—5, 10, 11. *F.R.* Surat 105, Letter of J. Trotter 20 Dec. 1670; S. Manier to President, 19 Dec. *Dil.* 64 (bare mention of Karinja.) Sabh. 71.

* *Dil.* 98-100. *Akhbarat*, year 13,—12, 15. *T. S* 33a. K. K. ii. 247-249 (gives another story of the surrender of Salhir).

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NOTES

Mere Political Unity Neither Stable nor Sufficient.

The making of all the inhabitants of our country into one people, is our greatest problem. If we could once really be thoroughly one people, as partially we already are, winning of self-government would be child's play. We do not forget that self-government is one of the means by which the unification of the people may be brought about, for in reality none of our problems admits of isolated solution, all being inter-related and interdependent.

What is the meaning of unification of a people? Would the people be one, if they merely lived under one government? Though this factor brings about unification to a slight extent, this alone cannot make us one people. For, having already lived under one government for generations, we should then have by now become fused into one organic whole. It may be objected that as our government is alien in character, it has not served to make us one, and it may, in consequence, be argued that a *swadeshi* government would make us one. There is no doubt that under present circumstances a *swadeshi* government within the British Empire would be a more powerful means of unification than the present alien rule. But even then we should not be a thoroughly unified people. In fact, political unity or union of *any* kind is never stable or sufficient without social unity, though when built upon the foundation of social unity, political unity is stable and capable of withstanding internal and external shocks.

It is to be hoped that the number of Indian nationalists is diminishing who think that thorough political unification is possible without social oneness or that political unity, however brought about, can be stable and can stand proof against all internal and external disruptive forces, in the absence of social unity. The fates of Austria-Hungary, Russia and the German Empire should have their lessons for us. Austria-Hungary was a conglomeration of many countries inhabited by different races, speaking various tongues. But they were under one central government which granted to all certain rights of self-rule and, moreover, intermarriage between the different linguistic and ethnic groups was not as impossible as it is between Hindus and Moslems, or between the different Hindu castes. Still Austria-Hungary has not been able to resist the shock of the war. Independent nations and governments are springing up from her ashes. Russia, too, which was even a greater conglomeration of countries, races, languages and creeds than Austria-Hungary, has falllen into pieces and has ceased to be one nation. Even Germany proper, which could claim to be inhabited by one people—we do not take into account Poland, Schleswig, and French-speaking Alsace-Lorraine—is threatened with disruption, because the Prussians, particularly the Junkers among them, were a sort of proud caste whose arrogance and domineering spirit prevented perfect social solidarity with other Germans.

By perfect social unity and solidarity we mean that among a people all kinds of social relations should be possible and that no class or section of the people should smart under a sense of some irremediable disability or injustice. It may be conceded that in this sense perfect social solidarity does not exist even in Great Britain or in the United States of America. In Great Britain, not only is there class war between Labour and Capital, but there is also great social inequality between the Lords and the humbler ranks of the people, standing in the way of easy intermarriage and other kinds of social intercourse. This state of things undoubtedly points to a weak spot in Britain's armour. But it has to be remembered that class distinctions in the country, whether based on birth or on wealth, do not constitute a permanent line of cleavage between class and class. A labourer may become a capitalist, and this not in theory merely; there are acts

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ally many persons who began life in great poverty and afterwards became very wealthy. Similarly, it is true not merely in theory that a commoner may become a lord, but there are numerous instances of ordinary men becoming peers. Every year many men are raised to the peerage. As regards social intercourse a lord may not as a rule dine with costermongers, but if he does, a coster's food does not defile him, he is not cast outside the pale of his fraternity; and though it is not the rule for lords and costermongers to intermarry, if there be such intermarriage, the lord does not cease either to be an Englishman, or a lord, or a Christian. Therefore, in Great Britain the people are *one* people to a far greater extent than the people of India or of any province of India can be spoken of as *one* people. In the United States of America, all white immigrants, of whatever nationality, tend to become one people, though a minority, consisting of a section of the German-Americans, were not thoroughly loyal to the States. But they were the only exception among the white immigrants. The Negroes, however, constitute a far graver problem. For in the South lynching still prevails, and there is perfect social cleavage between the white and coloured peoples. In many States, there are laws actually forbidding marriage between the coloured and white races, and even where there are no such laws, such marriages are looked at askance and are not usual. Still the Negro in America enjoys greater educational advantages than the lower orders of the people of India, which have enabled them to make greater economic and educational progress than the people of India. And, however low the position of the Negro in America may be, it is to be remembered that neither his touch nor his vicinity defiles or pollutes the white man, as the touch and vicinity of some castes pollutes Brahmans, wells, tanks and public thoroughfares in parts of India. No orthodox Brahman household keeps pariahs, or chamars or members of any of the other so-called untouchable castes as cooks,—not to speak of Christian or Moslem cooks. But Negro cooks in white families in America are innumerable. So, though so long as the Negroes are not thoroughly assimilated with the other communities of America, that would continue to constitute a weak spot in America's armour, the Americans are undoubtedly possessed of greater social solidarity than the people of India.

Our defects do not indeed give any people on the face of the earth the *right* to exploit and domineer over us and keep us deprived of the opportunity and power to manage our own affairs even in a blundering way, but they *do* give foreign people the *might* to treat us as imbeciles and slaves. Nationalists are agreed that we must have political unity in order that we may not continue to be treated as eternal babies and slaves. But political unity cannot be attained without a certain amount of social solidarity, and we have not yet become socially one to that extent, though we are slowly on the way to it. And even if political unity could be attained without the necessary degree of social solidarity, it would neither be stable nor would it make our nationality proof against internal and external forces of disruption; as history and common logic prove. Hence political unity must be built on the foundation of social solidarity.

There may be an appearance or even for a time the reality of political unity among classes and communities brought about by policy and a patched up truce. But, as we have said, political unity to be stable and sufficiently strong, must be based on social solidarity. And social solidarity cannot be brought about by policy. It can be brought about only by spiritual sympathy and unity. The belief in all men's spiritual affinity is the only cement which can help to build up and hold together the social fabric. Education along right lines given by free-souled and unprejudiced school teachers and ministers of religion can produce this belief in human spiritual affinity. This belief is latent and dormant in all of us. It has only to be roused and made an active factor in all our lives.

A Hindu in U. S. A. Army.

Duggu Ram is a native of the Simla Hills, whom an American sojourner in India took with him as servant when he went to America. As he elected to stay there for a time when the American returned to India, he was left there. When America entered the war, he enlisted in the army, and is now in France. He is a great favourite with his fellow-soldiers

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DUGGU RAM.
The only Hindu in the U. S. A. Army in France.

and amuses them in the evenings by doing *Pahari* (hill) dances for them. He is probably the only Hindu in the United States Army.

Holi a Century Ago.

"Holi" was celebrated throughout Hindu India a few days ago. No decent man can approve of or wink at the coarseness, the drunkenness and the obscenities which have come to be associated with it. Earnest efforts ought to be, and have in various places been made, to eliminate these. Stripped of these undesirable features, it would serve a useful purpose as introducing life and colour into the gloomy and colourless lives of the people.

It is interesting to learn that owing to political necessity or on account of their greater sociability Anglo-Indians (old style) of a century or more ago, mixed more freely with the people than their present-day successors and joined in popular festivities, as will appear, for example, from the following extract from a letter of Sir John Malcolm to General Wellesley written in 1803 :

"I am to deliver the treaty to-day and after that ceremony is over to play 'hooley', for which I have prepared an old coat and an old hat. Scindiah is furnished with an engine of great power by which he can play upon a fellow fifty yards distant. He has besides a magazine of syringes ; so I expect to be well squirted."

Sir John wrote afterwards that the "cursed hooley play" had given him a sharp attack of fever. At that time he was negotiating a treaty with Scindiah. Evidently in those days the West *did* meet the East sometimes. But now Lord Chelmsford does not play *holi* with the Maharaja of Kashmir or the Maharaja of Mysore, or any other Maharaja; his lordship does not play *holi* even with Sir Sankaran Nair. Lord Ronaldshay, too, does not play *holi* with the Maharajadhiraj of Burdwan.

Famine in Bankura.

Famine is raging in so many provinces of India over such extensive tracts that it is with reluctance that we refer to its prevalence in only one district of one province, namely, Bankura, in Bengal. As the editor of this Review is a native of that district, he hopes that he will be excused for this apparent or real partiality.

Swami Saradananda of the Ramkrishna Mission gives a heart-rending description of the condition of the district in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*. Says he :—

"The famine has cast its darkest gloom in the thana of Indpur, which was also stated in the Government communique that was published a fortnight ago. The people, inculding working hands, both men and women, are deserting their homes and bands to find their livelihood elsewhere, leaving behind such of their relations in their homes as are too old or too young to go and whose last resource has become the small stores of forest plums and husks ; while we are almost unable to deal with the critical situation even in our small area for inadequate funds. We can neither supply them with labour nor with sufficient gratuitous doles. Such also is the case of the well-to-do classes. The circumstances have turned them into so many beggars. Even the ladies are always eager to accept a handful of rice like an ordinary person in the street, but sometimes prevented even in that because of their nudity. Also the scarcity of water has commence-

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simultaneously with the famine. People used up the "bund" and the tank water very lavishly, to save the crop that is confined only to a scanty area which has now been spared by the last year's drought. This shortage of drinking water has increased the intensity of distress and pestilence to its last extreme."

Among the advertisements in this issue of the Review, the reader will find an appeal of the Bankura Sammilani on behalf of the famine-stricken people, in which it is requested that *all contributions should be sent to Rai Bahadur Hemantakumar Raha, Assistant Director-General of Post Offices, Calcutta.*

Srimati Krishnabhabini Das.

The greatest, most active, and most unostentatious of social workers among Bengali women has passed away from the scene of her earthly labours. *Srimati* Krishnabhabini Das was the widow of the late Prof. Devendranath Das, B.A. (*Cantab.*), and the daughter-in-law of the late Babu Srinath Das, a leading millionaire Vakil of the Calcutta High Court. She was in England with her husband for eight or nine years, in the eighties of the last century; and many Indians who were in London in those days saw her passing hours day after day absorbed in her studies in the library of the British Museum. When she returned to India with her husband she was a true helpmeet to him, working devotedly with him to establish and conduct the now extinct Century School, which later grew into the Century College. After the death of her husband and of her only daughter, she threw herself heart and soul into the movement for the education and uplift of her sisters. With the help of teachers maintained by the *Streemahamandal*, of which she was secretary and chief worker, she carried on the work of zenana tuition for years in a thoroughly unsectarian manner. She did not accept state help for this or any other of her activities, as she did not like any interference with her liberty in the choice of means and methods. She got even poor women of meagre education to do some useful teaching work. She also maintained a school for girls with a hostel attached, where she brought up, among others, some girls from very poor families who could not pay their way. Many orphans were maintained by her. She also constructed a rescue home.

Though she had been in England for about a decade and was an educated lady, she was not in the least Anglicised or Eurasianised. Neither from her dress, nor from her speech or manners, could it be guessed that she was other than an ordinary *purdahnashin* Hindu lady. With the selfless, pure and unostentatious devotion of the typical Hindu widow, she combined the method, the energy, and the spirit of active social service of the West. She was a Bengali writer of repute in prose and verse. Her prose style bore the stamp of individuality.

Though she was a *pardahnashin* Hindu lady and a millionaire's daughter-in-law, she led the austere life of a *sannyasini*, not spending more than fifteen rupees a month on herself, as we learn from an intimate friend of hers, and often walking the crowded streets and lanes of Calcutta to obtain help for her institutions.

We could not obtain any photograph of hers, as she was very unwilling to be photographed. But fortunately when she was once engaged in conversation in the residence of Sir J. C. Bose, Miss Larcher made a pencil sketch of hers without her knowledge. This we have much pleasure to reproduce, and are very thankful for permission to do so.

"The League of Dreams."

In an article in the *Nineteenth Century and After* Sir Herbert Stephen calls the League of Nations "The League of Dreams." Says he :—

> Human nature being what it is, and the department of human thought known as jurisprudence being what it is, I think that there ought to be no League of Nations. I think that if there ever is one it will bitterly disappoint the hopes of its votaries. I think it will be totally inadequate to its intended purpose, and therefore not only will not promote but will positively retard the achievement of that purpose. If you buy a new kind of coat to keep out the rain, and it entirely fails to keep out the rain, you will be wetter than if you had eschewed the new coat and relied on your previous precautions, whatever they were. If we construct a League of Nations we shall rely on it, not on our own good behaviour, foresight, and courage, to keep us out of war. When it fails to do so, we shall in any case feel extremely ill-used and angry, and may not improbably be caught at a horrible disadvantage.

The Review of Reviews says in reply :—

> This is the argument of one who has no faith or belief in the upward progress, gradual, but none the less sure, of human nature. What man has been, man will be, says the writer in effect. Having started as a quarrelsome, fighting animal, he will continue so to the end. The spread of civilisation,

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the betterment of social conditions, the softening of manners, the rise of law and moral conceptions, to which all history bears witness, are so many delusions. If the facts bore out Sir Herbert Stephen's theory, his pessimism would be justified, but they do not. Human nature does change, is changing every day, and on the whole for the better.

All this is true. At the same time it cannot be gainsaid that the League of Nations, as it is going to be constituted, would be not a League of *all* Nations, as it ought to be, but a League of the preponderant Nations, which are, with one exception, all of European race and professedly Christian. Such a League is neither just, nor can it prevent war. Sir Robert Stephen is right when he observes :—

The more sober advocates of the League of Nations, and in particular Lord Robert Cecil, its British official advocate, recognise fully the distinction between a group of nations, preponderant in strength, and earnestly desirous of a prolonged period of peace, and a League of all Nations desirous of establishing constitutional arrangements which will prevent our descendants from ever going to war again. We have the group now. A good many years must elapse before we can have the League.

What follows is based on a low view of human nature and is an appeal to national selfishness.

In order to have the League we must share with foreign nations the control of the British Navy, which, under our own control, has saved the civilised world from the domination of a single State four several times in five different centuries. There is every reason to think that, unless mankind and their most profound emotions change into something quite different from what they have hitherto been, the League of Nations, if it ever exists, will fail to prevent the occurrence of war. We are asked to sacrifice the best things we have in order to obtain a remote and exceedingly improbable advantage. Our only wise course is to recognise the truth at once, and destroy an insane project by plainly and openly refusing to have anything to do with it.

British Maritime Supremacy.

Great Britain's empire rests on the foundation of her supremacy at sea. During the war her net loss in merchant tonnage amounted to at least 3,500,000 tons. What has crippled her,. has been of advantage to her rivals, who have occupied part of the sea-ways of the world. Hence in the pages of the *Edinburgh Review*, Mr. David Hannay calls upon all Britishers to face and grapple with the unpleasant fact that the maritime supremacy upon which the safety and well-being of the Empire depend is in danger. Says he :—

The British Empire is spread in widely separated masses of territory over the surface of the globe. The "Seaways" are the connecting nerves and veins which hold it together and make it one. It is a credible proposition that "in the deeps of the years and the changes of things" there may arise some people which, because of the advantages of its position, its resources, and its qualities, will be able to create a merchant shipping equal to or greater than the British, and will then produce a navy proportionate to its stake on the sea. That the only people which is likely to achieve this development is the American, that we are excellent friends and hope so to remain, are considerations irrelevant to our argument. Whenever the United States, or another nation, is our equal, and still more when it is our superior, on the sea, the British Empire will have lost its place in the world. Our rival may be moved by no animosity, may be just and friendly. None the less he will have the power to cut the connexions which hold the British Empire together. It may continue to be prosperous. Spain is richer now than when she owned the Indies. So may we be more wealthy when our supremacy is gone, but we shall no longer be the British Empire which owed its place in the world to its own strength. We shall be compelled to trust our safety to the moderation, the justice, the generosity of a rival. Supremacy we must have or we fall from our high estate.

Transport Reconstruction

While the Government of India is going to sink a staggering amount of capital in railways, to the neglect of waterways and roads, people in other countries are by no means satisfied that the railroad is the last word in locomotion. Not to speak of air traffic, which is coming or has already come, there are better means even of land transport than the railroad. Mr. W. M. Acworth writes in the *Edinburgh Review* :

The capital cost of a motor service beyond the actual purchase of the vehicles themselves is almost negligible, and the number of vehicles can be proportioned to the public demands for their use; whereas the railway goes on costing £475 a mile per annum, without allowing for the purchase of rolling stock, however little use the public make of it. A very rough estimate would probably put the average cost of running the road vehicles—assuming normal prices—at something like 18d. per mile. In favourable districts this might be covered by the receipts, for both fares and charges would reasonably be at a higher rate than on a railway. It is better worth anybody's while to be carried from the market place to his own door four miles off for 6d. than the same distance between two stations for 4d. if the 4d. implies two miles' walk in addition. As for goods, the charge by lorry would in most cases replace not only the railway charge for carriage but the cost of hauling to or from the station in addition. Further, the lorry can perform services that the light railway can never do. The railway is limited to few trains, and the hours that suit the passengers are not the hours that best suit the milk, etc. In districts where the traffic was not likely to suffice to cover the cost of a motor service, still less would it cover that of a light railway, and if for good cause shown the State decided to subsidise locomotion in such districts, the cost would

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KRISHNABHABINI DAS

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immensely less than that in subsidising light railways.

Hence he believes that the real solution of the problem of transport lies in the development of motor transport. In India that would depend on the proper upkeep of the existing highways and the construction of a network of new roads all over the country. Besides this, we must have the improvement and linking up of canals and waterways.

Among the newspapers in India, the *Indian Daily News* alone has been laying stress on the development of motor traffic and its pre-requisite, the conservation and extension of roads. In addition to what our contemporary has itself written, it has adduced the examples of France and America to support its views.

The Senate Post Office Committee of the U. S. A. has just recommended the expenditure of 40 million sterling (sixty crores) spread over three years for the construction and maintenance of roads. The first thing that struck the Americans on arriving in France was the French road system and its immense potentialities for traffic. The result is this gigantic road programme. Some day Sir James Meston will awake to the value of roads, but he seems to learn nothing and can only utter dismal laments about the hoarding of rupees which is the normal conduct of people who distrust Governments and is just now prevalent over the whole civilised world.

Capital and Labour.

A great, and perhaps the most pressing, problem in Great Britain and in Europe generally is the class war between capitalists and labourers. Writers belonging to different classes and professions have been discussing the means and methods of its solution. *The Reviews of Reviews* has published the opinions of many such writers. The Right Rev. James E. C. Welldon, Dean of Durham, says :

The frequent strikes and lockouts in the industrial world have long been recognised as grave evils. They have engendered bitter feelings. They have created widespread misery. They have driven trade away from Great Britain to Germany. Whether right in them has lain on the side of Capital or on the side of Labour, or now on one side and now on the other, or partly on both sides, they have been and must always be unpatriotic.

It is, I am afraid, true that Labour is apt to be short-sighted rather than far-sighted. It sees its own immediate advantage ; it does not always see the ultimate grounds upon which its advantage must rest. There is no greater mistake than the assumption (to which the currency of the language lends support) that the only working man is the man who works with his hands. Brains are as necessary to the welfare of trade as sinews and muscles. Inventors are as true benefactors of society as operatives. No manual labourer has done or could have done so much for social progress as Watt or Stephenson or Arkwright or Hargreaves. Nor can any great business be successfully administered without Capital ; and as businesses extend and increase through the agency of limited liability companies and other such combinations, Capital becomes a still more important factor in commercial development.

But, he admits, that whatever is true to-day, it has undoubtedly been true in the past that Labour has not enjoyed its legitimate share of the profits to which it has so largely contributed by its services. He continues :—

It is or it has been impossible to contrast the lives of employers and of the men whom they employ without a feeling that something was wrong in the relation between them. Until the era of the legislation which has and always will be associated with the name of the great Earl of Shaftesbury, the hours of Labour were two long, its conditions were unhealthy, its wages were insufficient, its opportunities of cultivation and recreation were too few. For most of these evils a partial, if not complete, remedy has now been found. But there are leaders of industry, like Lord Leverhulme in England, and Mr. Henry Ford in the United States of America, who still believe in the possibility of reducing the hours of labour without lessening its productiveness or its profitableness. It is the growing dissociation of employers from the daily life of their workmen, in so far as it has destroyed or impaired the sympathy which is born of personal knowledge and personal friendship, which has been the prevailing cause of disquietude and unsettlement in industrial life.

Whatever the case in England, it cannot be said that Labour in India has yet come to enjoy its legitimate share of the profits to which it so largely contributes by its services. Here the problem has been further complicated by the existence, in most factories and plantations, the feeling that the lobourers belong to an inferior race and the capitalists and exploiters to a superior ruling race ; the consequences being that there is less sympathy between Labour and Capital, for the most part in India than there ever was in the West and Labour troubles here are often unjustly ascribed to the "seditious" efforts of political agitators. Here we ought to say that Indian employers of Labour, too, are not universally or for the most part as just and sympathetic as they ought to be.

However, the solution of the problem is essentially the same here as in the West. The Dean of Durham looks for it wholly or mainly to two principles which, in his opinion, should govern all operations in the world of Labour.

One is co-partnership. For under a system of co-

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partnership the interests of Capital and Labour will be no longer, even in appearance, divergent; they will be identical. Both will be concerned, and equally concerned, in the prosperity of a business. Both will share its profits. Both will, if need be, bear its losses. It will be the common interest of masters and men that industry in all its forms should be so scientifically ordered as to give everybody a chance, and I might almost say an equally fair chance, of profiting by his own skill and toil or of suffering from his own negligence or indolence.

The other is arbitration. War among classes is as barbarous as it is among nations. Economic battles are not less fatal than battles on the stricken fields of warfare. Individuals in a civilised society do not settle their disputes nowadays by the revolver or the bowie-knife; they appeal to Courts of Law. The nations of the world are now aspiring to similar pacific means of avoiding what has been called, by a misuse of language, the arbitrament of the sword. Is it not high time that the world of industry should say, decisively, "There must be no more industrial war. There must be no more of the distress which arises from industrial war?" It is when men bring their differences into a judicial court, when they argue their causes before a competent tribunal, when they accept the decisions of an impartial judge, that they will act as Christians in the 20th century of the Christian era ought to act.

Such are, I think, the essential principles of a new and a better and higher life in the world of industry.

What the Dean says is true and just, as far as it goes; but it does not go far enough. He does not explicitly tackle the problem of international industrial war. He does not say how an end can be put to one nation's efforts to industrially throttle another nation or nations. Dr. John Clifford, M.A., the eminent Nonconformist, takes higher ground and grapples with the international aspects, too, of industrial conflicts. He says that employers and employees should get together as men and women, brothers and sisters, in fraternal fellowship conference and co-operation, with a view to the arrangement of the terms and conditions of their common work. They need to agree:

(1) That the ideal of Labour is the best service of the *whole* Commonwealth, and not a ceaseless battle for filling the private purse; that is to say, that all trade is a social service, and not a struggle for the exclusive collection of coins.

(2) That the whole physical, intellectual, moral and social welfare of the toiler must have a *primary place* in the fixing of the distribution of the rewards of labour; and not his only, but that of the family he or she may have to support and train, for the Commonwealth and the world.

(3) That the worker must have a voice with regard to the conditions under which he works, and must be taken into counsel through his chosen representatives as to the management of the business. He must not be a part of the machinery, a mere dead, dull cog in a wheel, but a living member of the firm.

(4) That Labour must not be narrowly patriotic, but broadly humanitarian and international. For the world is one, and humanity is a solidarity.

We call particular attention to item (4) of the extract given above.

Dr. Clifford mentions a factory where the principles he advocates have been reduced to practice.

I know a "slipper factory" employing what used to be called a thousand "hands." They are no longer "hands," they are souls, personalities, men and women; and they are *in* the business as well as at it. They have a share, not only in its profits, but in the management through their representatives. They are in regular conference with the directors, with the result that hours have been reduced to 46½ per week, and the output increased. Sufferers by the war have been relieved, and then afterwards cared for. Hence the relations of all concerned in the business are happy; they are not mechanical, frigid and rigid, but entirely human and friendly, and the atmosphere of the factory is laden with goodwill.

A "Professional Man" expresses the view that "the ultimate causes of the war may be summed up in one word 'materialism,' which lies not only at the root of Prussianism, but also behind the far too prevalent view of what the new, post-war world shall be. Various expressions of the materialistic spirit, in the pre-war period, brought about mutual distrust, not only between nations, but also between classes in each nation."

Spiritual Education and World-Citizenship

This writer's observations on the essential need of the ideal of world-citizenship are so clear and convincing that we make no apology for making rather long extracts from his article.

The prime necessity of all is education *on international rather than patriotic lines*, for in that lies the surer guarantee of the future peace of the world than in all the money ever spent on armaments. If reconstruction means retention of the armament of each nation, and retention of military schemes—no matter whether they are frankly militarist or classed as merely defensive—then peace becomes an armed truce and under the weight of armament and the cost thereof materialism gets a new lease of life. If one tenth of the pre-war annual appropriation of funds to naval and military purposes had, in each of the great countries of the world, been devoted to education on right lines, the need for means of offence and defence would have disappeared within a couple of generations of the innovation, for the misconceptions that lead to war born of ignorance, which can only be combated by better educational measures.

He gives us an idea of what kind of education is required by telling us what it ought not to be, what Germany gave her people.

Paradoxical though it may seem, German

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super-educated Germany—is the best available proof of this thesis. In the material sense, no country educated its people so thoroughly as did Germany; every class received attention in this direction, and all with a view to the ultimate conquest of the world, all to the end that the German should be lord in every country. The utter failure of the system, the inefficiency of the education provided to this end, is proved by the multitudes of Germans who, emigrating, disowned the country of their birth and became citizens of the countries of their adoption. There were the paid spies, of course, the Germans who retained their nationality—usually behind a form of naturalisation—and worked for the fatherland in the fatherland's crooked ways, result of complete assimilation of the German system of education. But the majority threw off their Germanism, and became good Americans, good Argentines; especially in the Western Continent was this trait marked, for to the western countries flowed the main stream of genuine emigration. The older countries of Europe received mainly the cloaked agents and emissaries of Germanism, which is materialism at its worst—which again is lack of education in the true sense of the word.

German education was a training in materialism, a narrow, perverted instruction, in the rights of the German and the inferiority of all other races; it was a cultivation of insular barbarism, a shutting-off rather than an opening-out, and in the real sense of the word was not education at all. The first requirement of every country is that each one of its citizens shall be educated to a sense of his or her responsibility, not only to his or her own country, but to the citizens of the whole world. If the bases of the future are to be soundly laid, there must be established an ideal of world-citizenship,...

The writer proceeds ;—

It is this ideal of world-citizenship which through education on right lines, must be made to permeate the world if civilisation is to endure. Without it, plans for the expansion of trade, for the capture of this or that market, for the development of this or that industry, are useless. The peoples of the world be lifted to an understanding of the responsibilities, and to conception of the tempers and needs of other peoples. For, just as distrust between classes interferes with the development of national life, so international distrust interferes with world-development, breeds preparation for war, which in turn breeds war and the temporary total cessation of peaceful advance in civilisation.

He is right in saying that "it is of no use to suggest material remedies for the materialism that has, through a century, led steadily up to the world's greatest disaster."

Homeopathy will not act in this case. The only remedy lies in a clearer conception of the duties of every world-citizen, and that in turn can only be attained by a clearer moral conception of life, which, by means of education on right lines, must lift up the whole world. From the practical point of view, the war has impoverished the whole world, but it has left such material wealth as will permit of the education of every citizen of every country, more especially since in such use of wealth lies the creation of the greatest asset that any nation can possess. Education on patriotic lines is of no avail, for in patriotiotism is no virtue, but merely the expression of an instinct; in Internationalism rather than Patriotism lies the great promise of the future.

The writer observes that this ideal may seem vague, but in reality it is definite and possible of attainment.

Apart from disconnected charities, no attempt has yet been made to better the lot of any people. The experiment of moral uplifting has never been tried, and now, in these days of change and rebuilding, is the time to try it. It is self-evident that, if any one nation had the courage to educate its citizens on right lines, with a view to the realisation of international responsibility, and to house them decently, giving to each one the time and the room to live, in place of existing, in twenty years the results of the experiment would be such as to bring the whole world into line. From the material point of view, the experiment would *pay*. Increase of comfort, increase of knowledge, and the spread of a right conception of life, would inevitably be followed by greater producing power, for it is a mere platitude that moral well-being brings physical well-being. Certain industries and enterprises might suffer at the outset, for many of these are built on sheer materialism, but the total of gain would far outweigh the loss, and, if the experiment of inculcating the younger generation a right conception of life and its responsibilities were once set going, public opinion would ensure its continuance.

The cry of economic war after the war was raised during the war and that is still one of the main cries of the dominant nations. The writer is opposed to this commercial war.

The morrow is envisaged as a sterner struggle than ever—this time for supremacy in trade; one which is to be as uncompromising and relentless as the struggle of war, in which the eventual victor is to control the markets of the world and depend on its own material prosperity as Germany depended on its colossal armaments and armies. Among leaders of industry this view is far too prevalent; there is to be an attempt, by means of production, to "capture" this or that industry, and eventually, though this is not expressed in so many words, to monopolise it, not for the benefit of the industry in question, or to make life easier for mankind in general by meeting a need, but for the benefit of the producing group. Such an attitude is a logical outcome of the war, but it is a sign of reconstruction rather than new construction, a putting together of old pieces rather than creation of the new world for which the opportunity is open. It is a view incompatible with international development, a parochial expression of what the war has inculcated, and an expression which, in the end, may lead to the development of monopolies which are as evil in their effect as is Prussianism in the form that we know. This view of means as end—for that is what it amounts to—leads back to war, and not to peace at all. It is aggressive, and the main practical need of the future is security against aggression, which must be interpreted as security against commercial aggression as well as the more obvious forms.

"Action, of course, is a necessity." But, the guiding impulse, the immaterial thought

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from which the act springs, is that which most needs shaping. Let each citizen be awakened to the spiritual significance of material action; and let him or her be given a life in which is time and room to realise that the spirit rules and matter is its servant, and in any country the result will be a power which could dominate the whole world to the world's good—not, as Germay sought, to its oppression and to the final extinction of the experiment.

Litigation in India.

That litigation in India has been one of the causes of the poverty and ruin of a large section of our people goes without saying. According to the "Statistics of British India" which deals with Administrative, Judicial and Local Self-Government tables published recently by Mr. Findlay Shirras, the love of litigation in India is so great that in 1916 2,329,000 civil cases were taken up against 2,226,468 in 1915, 2,055,272 in 1914, and an average of 2,153,000 in the last five years. Suits for money or movable property made up more than two-thirds of the total and suits under the Rent Law one half of the remainder. Relatively to the population Bengal appears to be the most litigious of all the provinces of India; Madras and the Punjab next. The suits instituted in 1916 involved a money value of Rs. 48,75,42,538. Fifty-three per cent. were for amounts not exceeding Rs. 50, and 95 per cent. for sums not exceeding Rs. 500. In the Small Causes Court 352,097 cases were tried, of which the United Provinces had the greatest number. As regards criminal justice the number of offences reported in 1916 was 1,669,670 in a population of 243,607,034. The number of persons concerned was 2,053,656, and 1,011,210 convictions took place. There was a marked increase in criminality in the year—the convictions increasing from 38 per 10,000 of the population in 1889 to 42 per 10,000 in 1916. These figures furnish us with matters for serious consideration.

Sir Rabindranath Tagore's Tour in Southern India.

Those who have been able to follow the Madras daily papers will have taken note of the long tour of Sir Rabindranath Tagore, the Poet, extending over two months, and undertaken during a period of great physical exhaustion and at a serious cost to health. Twice over the Poet went steadily on with his work, fulfilling his crowded engagements, until influenza and fever made it impossible for him to proceed any longer, and the doctors peremptorily ordered him to take complete rest. The Poet has now returned to his *ashram* at Shantiniketan, after lecturing in Calcutta, but he intends to start out once again for Benares, where he hopes to deliver the same message which he gave with such power in the South.

The reason for the Poet's breaking through the bounds of his accustomed retirement has been the imperative call from within to declare what he has, at last, felt to be the truth on certain subjects of vital importance. His three lectures present an ideal for India by which all her modern standards of value, taken from the West, must be judged and appraised. When at last these lectures are read and studied and absorbed, their effect will be seen in fundamental changes in education, in society, in politics and in religion. For they have the creative genius of the Poet and the living words of the seer behind them.

In South India it would not be too much to say that the visit of Sir Rabindranath Tagore has been revolutionary. Nothing will quite remain where it was. One symptom of the revolution was that, for the first time in history, a member of the Legislative Council got up and addressed the assembly in his own mother tongue, instead of in English. This councillor afterwards told the Poet that he had been so impressed by the truth of his words that his mind had not been able to rest, until he had taken some definite action; and that this speech in his mother tongue was the action which came to him to take.

The social structure of the South, with its rigid walls of exclusion, felt the impact of the Poet's utterance. Those who listened to him went away with a new determination to set themselves free from the thraldom of the past.

The most touching thing of all to witness was the way in which everywhere on every side, the students flocked around the Poet and received him as their own with an immediate instinct of reverence and humility, mingled with love, which went at once to his heart. Night and day he set with them,—as they came individually and in little groups,—listening to

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their difficulties, answering their questions, inspiring them with courage, kindling their minds with hope. Nothing was more significant than the claim thus made upon his time and energy by the students,—a claim which no weariness of mind or body could ever make him refuse.

In Madras, all the acrimony of party politics was hushed during the Poet's visit. Every section of the community met together to do him honour. The great audiences, which were gathered to hear him, night after night, were drawn into a spiritual unity under the spell of the Poet's presence. The dead weight of their minor differences dropped from them, unawares, as they were lifted into the higher air which the Poet himself breathed.

It is difficult to estimate, in practical terms, the meaning of all that has happened. Perhaps such an estimate is impossible; but what is certain is this, that a new atmosphere has been created of hope and aspiration and courage. In this new atmosphere, the younger generation, as it rises to full manhood, may accomplish much that before was beyond achievement.

A German View of "the Suicide of Europe."

We learn from the *Review of Reviews* that an unsigned article bearing the title "The Suicide of Europe" has appeared in the *Suddeutsche Monatshefte*, which it has summarised.

The most obvious result of the war, says the writer, is the disappearance of the European Continent as a deciding political factor. Another result is, that at first, but probably not for long, there remain three Great Powers, all outside Europe—America, Japan, and England—the United States and Japan being the masters of the New World, Japan and England the masters of Asia, and England the master of Europe and Africa. Of the eight former Great Powers, three have been destroyed—Russia, Austria-Hungary, and Germany, their destruction being in the interests of England. Germany has done England the favour of rendering her Asiatic competitor harmless. This fact and the destruction of Austria give England a free hand in the Balkans, for Egypt and India can no longer be menaced. By the overthrow of Germany every obstacle in the way of England with regard to Russia, Scandinavia, Holland, Belgium, and France is removed. If England comes to an understanding with America, the two countries can divine between them all the spheres of interest in the world. Denmark during the war parted with her American possessions. Holland will retain her colonies only so long as England pleases. By her fleet England rules the northern kingdoms, politically and commercially, so completely that there is no need to annex them officially. She can stop transport to every single Continental state so long as Central and Eastern Europe is composed of decentralised small states.

But, continues the writer, England will have to pay a pretty high price for her enormous increase of power.

Before the war England was master of the world. The world has now apperently three masters, but in reality only two—England and America, the latter of whom has utilised the war to militarise herself to such an extent that she can meet every possibility either from the offensive or the defensive point of view. The great *X* is Japan. England and America are in a position to send her a disarmament ultimatum. This would rob one of these two Powers of the only ally possible in case of a conflict with the other, for the only second possible ally, Germany or the German fleet, has ceased to exist. All the demands of Japan are directed against America and all the armaments America are directed against Japan.

The writer then dwells on the fate of the lesser great powers.

France, once a Great Power of the first rank, will, according to the writer, fall to a position of the second rank, her territorial gain notwithstanding, and this because the three Great Powers have become so strong that France no longer counts. While France has conquered Germany she has been conquered by England. Italy, a Great Power of the third rank, has from the Anglo-American standpoint lost more power than France. By the extension of her frontiers her population will be less homogeneous and the interests between north and south more diverse. The rest of Europe, with the exception of France, has added three new Balkan muddles to the old Balkan muddle—Russia, Austria and Germany. Belgium has become an annex of France, but France will take care not to annex it. Antwerp, apparently Belgian, is an English pistol threatening France. Belgium has ceased to be an independent state.

In the opinion of the writer, the ruin of Germany means the destruction of the European arch.

All the European States have by the ruin of the Central Powers weakened themselves to the advantage of England. Germany was, so to speak, the keystone of the European arch. Since this stone has been broken out, the arch is showing cracks everywhere. Especially instructive is the case of Switzerland. Of the four walls of the Swiss house, the one least menaced has fallen at a single blow. The eastern wall has fallen, because no Austria is there; and Italy is pushing northward her south-east corner. The west wall was a wall against France only so long as there was a Germany; now there is only a French wall against Switzerland. In the future there will be no Swiss neutrality, for in due course Switzerland will be Itallanised and Frenchified. The new Polish house will have no walls at all. Equally precarious is the position of Holland. France has destroyed a neighbour whom she hated; but a disagreeable neighbour is often better than none at all, and Germany was a protection against invasion from the East.

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Nemesis in Europe.

The spread of Bolshevism, in its lower and brutal phase, in Europe, threatens to be her nemesis. It is the logical outcome of her predatory and cannibalistic nationalism and "civilisation." If it be right for one people to eat up the substance of and destroy, if necessary, another people, body and soul, why would it not be right for a class (the Have—Nots) of one people to war and prey on another class (the Haves) of the same people and its women? That is the conscious or unconscious logic of the Bolsheviki.

English and Indian Manners.

In his reply to a correspondent on the subject of Indian manners, Sir John Woodroffe says:—

"I do not myself, nor does any other Englishman, Irishman or Scotchman feel inclined to imitate any one. We therefore do not generally borrow Indian customs or manners for we consider ours are good and the best for us. Nor do we as a rule esteem the imitator, for the latter is generally a snob or a person who, to the extent and in respect of the subject of imitation, writes himself down as inferior to ourselves. Many Indians however desire to imitate us, a fact which gives many of us a good conceit of ourselves. Personally if I were a native of this country I would not adopt any foreign custom unless I was satisfied that I ought to do so. Certainly I would not give up the Indian salutation for an English shake-hand, great and inspired by freedom and comradeship though the shaking of hands be. I should see no object in doing so except to imitate and thereby acknowledge the superiority (in this particular respect at least) of a foreign civilization. As regards however your outlook upon women, it is not ours. We do not feel in the way you describe either when shaking the hands of another man's wife or seeing another man shake the hands of your own wife. As a foreigner however I would respect the feelings of the people of this country in all matters and would not shake hands with any one (man or woman) who or whose people I thought might not like me to do so."

Imitation, they say, is the best form of flattery. It, therefore, sometimes puzzles us, how people calling themselves Swarajists and patriots, ape European manners. Adopt, but adapt.

Another Letter From Australia.

The letter printed below has been received from a large and influential body of women workers in Australia. It will touch the hearts of all who read it and give confidence in India that there are many siding with us in our struggle for freedom of whom we have never heard. We are thankful of these signs of the dawn of a brighter day amid much that is enveloped in gloom. The letter runs as follows:—

"We the women of New South Wales branch of the Women's Peace Army send greetings to our sisters in India.

"The object of our organisation is to create the sisterhood of mankind regardless of race, creed or color and the recognition of the oneness of humanity.

"We would like a regular letter from your organisation giving us accounts of your economic and political position.

"Here in Australia, the life of an Australian working woman is not such as should be found in an enlightened country in the twentieth century, but I believe we are advancing and I hope one day our goal may be obtained.

"There may be much we can learn from you, there may be something you can learn from us.

"We particularly wish to express our deep sympathy with our Indian sisters suffering in Fiji, wholly through the wrongs of Australian and British people. We assure you that had the working women in Australia been acquainted with the situation earlier, it would have been non-existent to-day. But we did not know you and what we are asking is to know you.

"We are particularly interested in Indian Home Rule and would like your expression of thought on that subject. We are also interested in political rights for women, believing that women who are by nature creative, will if given power, abolish the destruction of humanity such as has been seen on the European continent during the past four years. When the bond of womanhood stands stronger than the bond of nationality, then and then alone can women's creative power be freed from the degradation it suffers to-day.

"Therefore we appeal to you to put a small link in this chain which will bind the world in one. Let us unite, let us sympathise with one another's sorrows, let us know each other's weakness, let us know each other's strength and by knowing one another copy what is strong, what is good in one another, bringing about that unity which alone can emancipate women and thereby emancipate humanity.

"Yours truly,—
ISABEL F. FWANN."

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It is encouraging to know that these words of greeting, which have been reaching us from Australia, have not ended in theory. The united women's organisations in Australia have sent out Miss Garnham, as their representative to Fiji, and she has conducted an entirely independent enquiry. Her conclusions have been identical with those of Mr. C. F. Andrews, whose statements have been impugned by the Fiji Legislative Council. It remains to be seen whether the said Legislative Council will now revise its own conclusions. It welcomed Miss Garnham's enquiry hoping that she might witness in their favour, but her evidence has gone altogether against them. Will they now impugn Miss Garnham's statements as exaggerated and untrue, as they did those of Mr. C. F. Andrews?

The Shame to Indian Womanhood.

While the Fiji Legislative Council spends its time in heaping abuse on those who bring to light the wrong that is being done, that wrong itself is becoming more and more accentuated. The Indian women who remain in the coolie 'lines' under indenture are suffering a worse fate than ever. When these 'lines' were occupied only by indentured labourers, the proportion of men to women in them was three to one. But as the indentures are gradually running out, a large number of unindentured men (with practically no women) are being hired by the employers to come into the 'lines', side by side with those men and women who are still under indenture. This makes the proportion of wifeless men in the 'lines' far greater than ever. The indentured women are *forced* to remain in these 'lines', whether they like it or no, and, with their spirit already crushed, they cannot hold out against the solicitations of this crowd of men. They spoke to Miss Garnham personally, as women to a woman, of the wretchedness of their fate, *which is that of enforced prostitution*. Has India's manhood any heart to feel what that means?

The Government of India promised in open Council in September 1918 that it would negociate for the early release of those still under indenture in Fiji. The Government of India proptessed itself as anxious to do everything in its power to help. How have these pledges and promises been kept?

"An Act to Cope with Anarchical and Revolutionary Crime."

One of the Rowlatt Bills which has become law has been given the above title by Government. With the exception of Sir Sankaran Nair, who is an official and has, therefore, for the time being virtually ceased to be one of the people, not a single Indian has voted in favour of the Act, nor has a single European voted against it. But the triumph and solidarity of the Europeans and the officials were greater than the unanimity and solidarity of the non-official Indians. For whilst the Europeans and officials were all present to vote and voted in favour of the law and there was one Indian, though an official, on their side, *all* the non-official Indian members were not present to vote, only 21 were present, and out of these one did not vote on either side. It may be presumed that the Indian members who were absent had sufficient reasons for their absence, but their countrymen would have rejoiced if they had all been present to vote against the bill. Khan Bahadur Nawab Saiyid Nawab Ali Chaudhuri, who abstained from voting, must be praised for his great courage in not voting in favour of the bill.

We do not know whether there is any covenant which obliges an official member of the council to vote for every bill introduced by Government, but there is nothing which can prevent an official member from resigning his seat. One would therefore be curious to know why Sir Sankaran Nair voted for the bill. If he voted from conviction, he may be presumed to have more facts in his possession than his non-official countrymen in council, and these may have led him to vote in the way he did. But we need not make even this assumption. For we find that no one among the non-official Indian members called in question the facts given in the Rowlatt Committee's Report, on which the law is said to be based, and yet every one of them abstained from voting in favour of it. It is not, of course, impossible for an Indian member to sincerely and conscientiously vote for a law not supported by any other Indian member. Therefore, as regards Sir Sankaran Nair's vote, we have to choose between two atlternative suppositions: either he voted from sincere conviction, or he voted

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against his conviction and conscience because of his official position. If the former supposition be true, one must respect him for his sincerity, though at the same time one may cease to think that Sir Sankaran Nair is at one with his patriotic countrymen in all matters of moment. If the latter supposition be accepted as true, one must regretfully hold a low opinion of his sincerity and manhood and cease to consider him a patriot. It is the duty of every right-minded man to follow the dictates of his conscience at all costs and under all circumstances. If an official feels that he cannot conscientiously vote for a bill, it is his duty to resign. As we do not know why Sir Sankaran Nair voted as he did, we shall not be justified in taking it for granted that he voted against his conviction. But neither shall we be justified in continuing to think that he is the same Sankaran Nair unchanged, who once presided over the Congress. We must hold our judgment in suspense, awarding neither praise nor blame, *so far as the moral aspect of his conduct is concerned.* As for the political aspect, we are decided of the opinion that his vote was wrong and unpatriotic. It may be observed incidentally that as Indian official members generally act as the European official members, what is wanted is not an Indian bureaucracy in lieu of the present foreign bureaucracy, but an executive reponsible to the people's representatives and amenable to control by them.

The Character of the Act.

The Act as passed into law is not quite as bad as the bill orginally introduced in council. But it still remains a "lawless law", calculated to be subversive of personal and national liberty at the hands of an irresponsible executive. Therefore it must be opposed in all legitimate ways. We must not take it as a settled fact. That would brand us all as slaves.

The promise that the Act will be in force only for three years practically means nothing. For there is nothing to prevent Government passing a similar law or even a more drastic law under a different name after the lapse of three years. So our attitude towards the Act should be as if it were a permanent law. And therefore we should try by every legitimate means to get it repealed or to prevent its enforcement and nullify its effect.

Officials and Non-officials and the Rowlatt Act.

As from before the passing of the Defence of India Act, there have been many weapons in the hands of Government to cope with all sorts of crime and even with non-criminal movements, and the Defence of India Act will remain in force for six months after the conclusion of peace, which is not yet in sight, there ought not to have been any hurry in passing the Rowlatt Act. But it has been forced through the Council at a breakneck pace, the members one day sitting even after one A. M., which is a record for legislative councils in India. The bill was not published in the provincial *gazettes*, nor were the provincial governments, the high courts, the public bodies, &c., asked and given an opportunity to express their opinions on it. Most of the non-official Indian members tried their best to get the bill dropped, and when that attempt failed, they tried to prevent its passing or to see that its consideration was delayed or that its most obnoxious clauses were dropped or modified. But in spite of all their efforts, the bill has become law, with some modifications most of which are not very important.

There was no lack of earnestness, courage, statesmanship, logic and facts on the non-official side. But these were of no avail, and these could not divest the debate of its air of unreality. For the deciding factor was not the value of the things said, but were numbers. Things might seem real and natural, if sometimes the officials sided with the non-officials; but that was not to be. The officials thought that it is they who were always right. It is impossible to believe that non-officials can be wise and in the right *only* when they are either Europeans or when they say ditto to European officials. And it is also funny to find that even an Indian becomes wise as soon as he becomes an official. With all our humility we cannot perceive and admit the collective unwisdom and the collective incapacity of non-official Indians to understand what is good for the country. In fact, we are so foolhardy as to assert that it is sheer absurdity and impudence on the part of the foreign

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officials to claim that it is they alone who know what is necessary for the welfare of the country.

Many of our countrymen are either so childlike in their simple faith or so intent on grinding their own axes by flattering the bureaucracy, as to have expressed the opinion that, in spite of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform scheme giving the alien bureaucrats power either to bring about its fruition or its frustration, these white angels will do their best only to hasten the advent of the day which will see them shorn of power, if not entirely, at least to a great extent. The debates on the Rowlatt bills show for the hundredth time the spirit of uncompromising autocracy which inspire the bureaucrats. Their every act and utterance proclaim: "We are the earthly Providence for you, we shall decide what is good for you. You have only to thankfully accept our decision." Are these the men who are fit to work popular representative institutions? Where is the spirit of co-operation with the people, and the spirit of give and take which alone can fit them for such a task? The bureaucrats have learned only to be masters. They are unfit to work as the real colleagues of the representatives of the people.

Dissenting Notes.

The Viceroy's ruling that if a member of a select committee does not sign the majority report, he loses the right to have his dissenting minute included in the report of the select committee, is wrong. He only spoke of the usual practice of the council, as rules being silent. And even as regards the practice he had to admit: "I am aware that there is one exception to the practice I have described." It is immaterial that "on that occasion no question was raised and the President's orders were not taken." The Viceroy said: "I can only regard this instance as an exception which proves the rule but in no sense affecting the general practice of this council." But we think that the fact that nobody on that occasion thought of raising any question or taking the president's orders shows that the exception was not really an exception; on the contrary, it showed that the general practice on such occasions ought to be. The Viceroy observed :— The Council has a right that the correctness of the report as an account of the proceedings of the Committee irrespective of differences of opinion upon its details is undisputed and this can only be secured by the signatures of the members. In the case of members desiring to put in a dissenting minute their signature to the report means nothing more than this that they agree to the correctness of the report.

It cannot be admitted that the last of the two sentences quoted above expresses the whole significance of the affixing of the signatures of dissenting members to the majority reports of select committees. Certainly the affixing of such signatures also implies that the signatories accept at least some part or parts, however small, of the conclusions and observations embodied in the report. Such being the case, if a dissenting member is entirely opposed to a bill and therefore to all the conclusions and observations in the report how can he conscientiously sign it? At the same time, he should certainly have the right to put in his dissenting minute. For the report of the select committee really makes an account of what every one and all of the members thought and said about the bill. Therefore, the exclusion of the minutes of the non-signatories from the report, has really made it incomplete and incorrect. In consequence, it has become a misleading document, in as much as it does not show the full extent, nature and reason of the non-official opposition to the bill. For the notes of the non-signatories were very able documents and put the people's case against the bill very clearly and strongly.

Bill No. 1 of 1919.

Bill No. 1 of 1919, "to provide for the amendment of the Indian Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898," as amended by the select committee is an improvement on the original draft. But the principles underlying the Bill still remain objectionable, and it should, therefore, continue to be strenuously opposed. Poison in a slightly milder dose is still poison.

Passive Resistance.

Government having passed the Rowlatt Act against the sense of the country and in spite of the fact that not a single non-official Indian member of the Legislative Council supported it, the question has arisen what the people should do to get it repealed or to nullify its effect. Constitu-

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tional agitation of the usual kind has been advocated by some public men and journals, whilst others are in favour of passive resistance. Seeing that constitutional agitation as usually understood was successful to some extent in modifying the Bengal Partition, it is possible that it may succeed on the present occasion, too. But to be successful, the agitation should be as presistent, widespread and strenuous as the anti-partition agitation was. It is to be borne in mind that since partition days, Government has armed itself with many weapons to crush strong agitation, which were non-existent when the Partition took place, and that, therefore, it is not so easy now to carry on constitutional agitation vigorously as it was more than a decade ago. Still vigorous agitation is not at all impossible, as the comparatively recent example of the agitation carried on after Mrs. Besant's internment shows. And whatever the difficulties and risks, public duty must be done.

As for passive resistance, there cannot be any objection to it on principle and in theory. And the present is certainly an occasion on which it may be resorted to. Still there are grave questions connected with it which require serious consideration.

It has first to be ascertained what law or laws one can disobey without striking at the foundations of society. Some laws there are which are the reflex of moral and spiritual laws, ou the observance and maintenance of which the permanence and welfare of society depend. Such laws are not to be broken. There are other, man-made, laws which are not of such a fundamental character. One or all of these may be disobeyed. Clearly then the passive resister should be a man who is able to decide for himself what laws are essential for the stability and well-being of society and what not. We are against the taking of a vow by any would-be passive resister that he would disobey any law or laws to be chosen by a committee whose personnel, again, is still unknown. Such blind following militates against our ideas of free and intelligent manhood. Moreover, men who to-day would agree to follow the yet unknown directions of a yet unknown committee because of their reverence for Mr. M. K. Gandhi, are fit material to be influenced by some other strong personality whose views and intentions may be different from those of Mr. Gandhi and may be of a mischievous character. It is of blind followers who unquestioningly bow to authority that good political, social or religious slaves are made. And since our object is to free men from thraldom of all kinds, we are opposed to blind following, no matter who it be that is followed or for what ends. We know blind soldier-like obedience has its result-producing efficiency value. But in a passive resistance campaign in the present circumstances of India, with its large area, teeming population and extensive ignorance and traditions of blind obedience to authority, the object ought to be not so much to force the hands of Government, in a trial of strength (which does not seem to us practicable), as the development of fearless, discriminating, intelligent, and self-respecting manhood, and fortitude. The reason why we say that it does not seem to us practicable to force the hands of Government in a trial of strength, is that passive resistance is most successful in forcing the hands of a government when it is resorted by a comparatively small community living in a limited area, on a definite and clear issue, and when there is neither a majority nor an influential minority of the community opposed to it. These conditions are not satisfied in the present case. And Government has various means of putting forward an ostensible justification for declaring even a *passive* resistance *movement* or *organisation* unlawful and making such declaration; passive resisters acting individually on their own responsibility, cannot be dealt with exactly in that way. There are sections of the people who would, of their own accord or otherwise, be only too willing to help in bringing about such a result, *viz.*, the declaration that the passive resistance *movement* is unlawful. We say all these things not to dissuade people from adopting passive resistance. Our object is far different, and we hope it will be clear before we reach the end of this note.

Passive resistance may or may not oblige Government to repeal the Rowlatt Act or to hold it in abeyance, We are willing to believe that it may, but there is no certainty. But the other object that we have spoken of, namely, the development of fortitude and fearless, intelligent

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discriminating and self-respecting manhood, is certainly attainable, provided the passive resisters are of the right stamp. Let us make our meaning clear. A passive resister of the kind that we have in view will say to Government, "You may or may not repeal the law, but I, a peace-loving man who is prepared to obey all laws which are necessary for the preservation and good of society, will not obey any law which militates against my idea of personal liberty and the dignity of human nature, whatever hardships and penalties my disobedience may bring upon me." If Government cannot break the righteous will of such a man, as we believe it can, that would mean a defeat for Government and a triumph for the upholder of personal liberty and of the dignity of human nature. One such victory would bring many recruits to hold the banner of personal liberty. Now, the question is, who can be passive resisters of this description? We think mind followers cannot be passive resisters of this kind. For our idea of passive resistance of the right kind is that a man should not only be staunch and fearless and capable of sacrifice and the endurance of hardships, but that he should also be able to decide for himself what laws are fundmental and what are not, and what may be disobeyed and what should not. He should also be a man who has recourse to any method not because of excitement or resentment but from purity of purpose born of a calm sense of duty and the pursuance of right principles; and what distinguishes *passive* resistance, Satyagraha or the use of soul force, as Mr. M. K. Gandhi prefers to call it, from physical force methods or *active* resistance, not merely that in passive resistance there is an absence of those *external* acts of physical force which men moved by passion and resentment and sense of injury have recourse to, but also that there is the internal absence of the mainsprings of violence, *viz.*, passion and excitement. This distinction is important and essential, for where there is resentment and violence within, there is also the probability of an outbreak of violence without. We say, therefore, let there be, and there should be, passive resistance. But if it be adopted, not by blind, undiscriminating and impulsive men moving in masses, but by self-controlled and intelligent men who have freed their minds from *himsa* against Government and the bureaucrats and who are able to distinguish between essential and unessential laws, and between laws which tend to kill freedom and the dignity of manhood and laws which promote the cause of personal and national liberty and foster freedom of conscience. If there be even only one such passive resister, the cause of personal freedom and of the dignity of human nature will be victorious by his conduct, for arbitrariness and despotism embodied in "lawless laws" will not be able to enforce his obedience, and Government will thus suffer defeat at his hands.

We wish it to be distinctly understood that no expectation of results of any kind can reconcile us to anything which directly or indirectly strengthens and encourages crowd psychology. Crowd psychology, the sheep-instinct, mob impulse, blind obedience, are evils, not merely when the thing done, adopted, followed, or obeyed is evil or injurious; but these are in themselves to be guarded against for what they are: because they detract from the worth of human personality.

Obedience and Disobedience.

To encourage the impulse and habit of disobedience is risky. Civil disobedience is allowable only when it is equivalent to and proceeds from *obedience* to the highest laws, not made by man. It should be resorted to only from a compelling sense of duty. We support the attitude of disobedience towards the Rowlatt Act, because to obey it would be to disobey what is higher, *viz.*, the claims of personal freedom and the dignity of human nature. Our emphasis is on obedience, not on disobedience. We say, Obey the law of your being; if that involves the violation of some man-made laws, conventions and customs, you should not flinch.

What Laws to Disobey.

It would have been well if before asking men to sign the satyagraha vow Mr. M. K. Gandhi had told them definitely what laws he would expect them to disobey.

The Gazette of India of March 22, 1919, containing the full text of the Rowlatt Act, reached us on the 25th March, and we have not yet (26-3-1919) been able to go through it carefully. From what we

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have been able to see, section 22 alone of this Act, or at any rate parts of that section may be passively resisted or civilly disobeyed by persons *who are not or have not been really concerned in anarchical or revolutionary movements.* Sections 21 and 22 require to be quoted in order that the reader may understand what we mean.

21. If the Governor General in Council is satisfied that anarchical or revolutionary movements which are, in his opinion, likely to lead to the commission of scheduled offences are being extensively promoted in the whole or any part of British India, he may by notification in the *Gazette of India* make a declaration to that effect, and thereupon the provisions of this Part shall come into force in the area specified in the notification.

22. (*1*) Where, in the opinion of the Local Government, there are reasonable grounds for believing that any person is or has been actively concerned in such area in any movement of the nature referred to in section 21, the Local Government may place all the materials in its possession relating to his case before a judicial officer who is qualified for appointment to a High Court and take his opinion thereon. If, after considering such opinion, the Local Government is satisfied that action under the provisions of this section is necessary, it may by order in writing containing a declaration to the effect that such person is or has been actively concerned in such area in any movement of the nature referred to in section 21, give all or any of the following directions, namely: that such person.

(*a*) shall, within such period as may be specified in the order, execute a bond with or without sureties undertaking, for such period not exceeding one year as may be so specified, that he will not commit, or attempt or conspire to commit, or abet the commitment of, any offence against any provision of the law which is referred to in the schedule;

(*b*) shall notify his residence and any change of residence to such authority as may be so specified;

(*c*) shall remain or reside in any area in British India so specified;

Provided that, if the area so specified is outside the province, the concurrence of the Local Government of that area the making of the order shall first have been obtained;

(*d*) Shall abstain from any act so specified which, in the opinion of the Local Government, is calculated to disturb the public peace or is prejudicial to the public safety; and

(*e*) shall report himself to the officer in charge of the police-station nearest to his residence at such periods as may be so specified.

(*2*) Any order under clauses (*b*) to (*e*) of sub-section (*1*) may also be made to take effect upon default by the person concerned in complying with an order under clause (*a*) of that subsection.

The penalty for disobeying any order (other than an order to furnish security) made under section 22 is imprisonment for a maximum term of six months or fine up to 500 rupees, or both. Moreover, the refusal to execute a bond, as required by clause (*a*) sub-section (*1*) of section 22, may lead to the presumption that the passive resister is a person who intends to commit, or attempt or conspire to commit, or abet the commitment of, any offence against any provision of the law which is referred to in the Schedule. But the innocent passive resister must be prepared for all such risks.

Section 22 of the Rowlatt Act can, however, be disobeyed only by those upon whom an order has been passed under it. It is not very probable that any such order will be passed upon the majority, or at all upon any, of those who are signing the Satyagraha Pledge. If so, in what other way can they make their passive resistance a reality?

Here the question arises, whether it is right to break any other law because of the enactment of a bad or "lawless" law. Of course, no law which is fundamental, that is to say, which is necessary for the preservation and welfare of society, ought to be broken under any circumstance. But there are other laws which are not of that description. They may be broken under some circumstances. But is it right to break an otherwise unobjectional, though non-essential, law, because of the enactment by Government of an objectionable law? In other words, does Government forfeit the right to the obedience of even its unobjectionable laws because it has enacted a very harmful law against public opinion? Here we do not feel quite competent to give a definite answer dogmatically. Much will depend upon the character of the harmful law and the degree and extent of its militancy against personal and national freedom and dignity. We are inclined to think that individuals may be left to judge for themselves. And should any persons answer the question in the affirmative, they may decide for themselves whether they will refuse to pay the income-tax or the road cess or any other tax, or keep in their possession and circulate a really good and unobjectionable but proscribed book, or take some other step to civilly disobey some other law.

The mischief of a wrong use of passive resistance may be illustrated by a suggestion which we vaguely remember to have seen in a newspaper, namely, that should the Patel Intermarriage Bill be passed orthodox Hindus should have recourse to passive resistance. This is certainly

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rash, if not an idiotic, suggestion. For the Patel Bill does not in the least propose to interfere with anybody's freedom. If passed, it will not compel anybody to marry outside his caste or to have social intercourse with those who are parties to such intermarriages. It only proposes to validate intercaste marriages, thereby recognising freedom of conscience and the right of the individual to perform all non-criminal actions so long as he does not thereby interfere with the similar right of others. Passive resistance is justified only against those laws which are calculated to curtail or destroy personal or national liberty or which *requires* or *compels* men to do, what is derogatory to human nature, or which takes away any fundamental civic or political right of the citizen, &c.

Small Holdings and Co-operation.

"*Towards Industrial Freedom*" by Edward Carpenter is a book which critics would call a thought-provoking production. It is full of suggestions for us. In the present note we wish to present our readers with some paragraphs from the author's chapter on small holdings and agricultural co-operation.

It is well-known that our agriculturists (call them farmers, peasants and ryots, as you will) are generally men of small means and their holdings are small. Moreover, they generally pass their lives in a state of chronic indebtedness. Such being the case, what hope is there of improvement in their economic condition? And, it is also well understood that educational, intellectual and moral improvement depends to a great extent on economic improvement.

Let us see what the people and government did under similar circumstances in some other countries. Says Mr. Edward Carpenter :—

One common objection brought against the small holding idea is that little industries work at a disadvantage in point of capital, division of labour, sheer productiveness, etc., as compared with large scale industries. Of course there is a certain amount of truth in this—though it would not do to say that *all* small scale industries suffer in the comparison—and if it were the case that the absolute and only object of industry was the money value of its product there would be still more truth in it; but we have seen through that delusion already, and need not again be led astray by it.

The limitation, however, of his capital, in the case of a small man, his disadvantage in the markets, both in buying and selling, his being compelled sometimes to invest in a horse and cart or in some kind of machinery, which the exiguity of his estate will not permit him fully to use, the difficulty that he has in borrowing money in a time of need, and the danger of falling into the hands of the money-lender—all these things undoubtedly do militate against the small holder; and the cure for them equally undoubtedly is to be found in Co-operation.

The classical instance of the value of Co-operation in connexion with small holdings is to be found in Denmark. After 1864, when Germany had wrested Schleswig-Holstein from the Danes, there was nothing left for the latter but to make the best of what remained to them. Jutland was little better than a sandy heath; but with extraordinary energy the people threw themselves into its development; the soil was worked and enriched in every possible way; the land was broken up into holdings of seven to ten acres each; sheds and cots and cottages were erected; co-operative societies were formed among the settlers; *the government helped with agricultural organisation, the creation of High schools for the peasants, and the loan of funds* (the italics are ours,—Ed., *M. R.*); and before long there were beside large farms some 150,000 little holdings of seven to ten acres successfully running there, whose activities were largely carried on by combined labour. The first co-operative dairy was started in 1882; by the year 1904 there were over 1,000 such dairies. Bacon-curing, the collecting and sale of eggs, poultry, honey, the manufacture of butter and cheese, the purchase of seeds, food-stuffs, manures, machinery, were all negotiated by the same method; insurance and banking the same; and in this short period of time sandy Jutland became a large exporter of food, and poured even into England (with its really richer soil) great quantities of farm produce which England might have been growing for herself. In the form of butter, eggs and bacon alone Denmark before the War was supplying the United Kingdom to the value of 15 or 20 million sterling.

As the British Government in India exacts from us the same allegiance and loyalty as national governments do in independent countries from their peoples, it is its bounden duty to do for the Indian people all that the Danish Government has done for the Danes. But the object of the present Note is not to encourage the attitude of helpless dependence on government. Such an attitude is both unmanly, beggarly and suicidal. From the big landholders downwards, we must all try to do for our peasants, who are our mainstay, what foreign governments in Denmark, France, Belgium and other countries have done for their people. And it is not Governments alone in foreign countries which have helped the people. In Ireland, for example, the noble efforts of Horace Plunkett and George Russell have changed the face of Ireland.

It is not Denmark alone which has adopted agricultural co-operation with suc-

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cess. Other European countries have done the same.

France, Belgium, Holland, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Italy, Roumania, Bulgaria, have followed on the same lines of agricultural co-operation. Nor must we forget Ireland. The noble efforts of Horace Plunkett and afterwards of George Russell (A.E.) were scoffed at at first. But gradually they won their way. In 1889, I believe, the first Irish Creamery was started; in 1895 there were already 67; and in 1892, over 320, effecting sales to the value of £1,000,000 per annum; to-day there are agricultural societies without end, for the production and sale of poultry, eggs, flax, fruit, honey, and a variety of other things.

The author then proceeds to quote a paragraph from Mr. George Russell's excellent book *The National Being* (Maunsel & Co., Dublin and London, 1916, price 4s. 6d.) in which Mr. Russell shows from his own experience what the co-operative association can do. He says (p. 46):

The Society is a better buyer than the individual. It can buy things the individual cannot buy. It is a better producer also. The plant for a creamery is beyond the individual farmer. But our organised farmers in Ireland, small though they are, find it no trouble to erect and equip a creamery with plant costing £2,000, the organised rural community of the future will generate its own electricity at its central buildings, and run not only its factories and other enterprises by this power, but will supply light to the houses of its members and also mechanical power to run machinery on the farm. One of our Irish Societies already supplies electric light for the town it works in. In the organised rural community the eggs, milk, poultry, pigs, cattle, grain and wheat produced on the farm and not consumed or required for further agricultural production, will automatically be delivered to the co-operative business centre of the district where the manager of the dairy will turn the milk into butter or cheese, and the skim milk will be returned to feed the community's pigs. The poultry and egg department will pack and dispatch the fowls and eggs to market. The mill will grind the corn, and return it ground to the member, or there may be a co-operatitve bakery to which some of it may go."

This is followed in Mr. George Russell's book by a picture of how the rural labourers under this regime will gradually become skilled co-workers with one another, and the co-operative community have its own carpenters, smiths and mechanics; how there will be common laundries and kitchens, and village halls with libraries and gymnasiums and rooms for recreation and dancing. All this is quite feasible, and one may say already realised in part in various different localities. In India, of course, the things to be produced, consumed and sold by agricultural co-operative societies will be partly different from those in foreign countries and will vary from province to province, but the methods are the same everywhere.

Revenue and War Expenditure in Japan and India.

For the year 1919-20 the revenue of India is expected to amount to £ 86,375,000, of which £ 41,200,000, will be allotted for military expenditure. So that India will be required to spend 47·7 per cent. of her revenue for readiness to fight. For the year 1918-19 the revised figures for her total revenue are £ 85,298,000. Of this amount £ 43,950,000 was spent by the war departments. That is to say, more than 51·5 per cent. of our total revenue was spent in 1918-19 for war.

Let us see what the total revenues of Japan and her total military and naval allotments were for the same year 1918-19. The figures are taken from the Japan Year Book for 1918, pp. 607-8. The total ordinary revenue was 642,641,000 yens and the total extraordinary revenue was 76,935,000 yens, grand total 719,576,000 yens. The naval and military expenditures in yens were as follows:—

	Ordinary	Extraodinary.
War Department	84,394,000	30,219,000
Navy Department	54,620,000	95,343,000
	139,014,000	125,562,000

The total of ordinary and extraordinary expenditure on the War and Navy departments for 1918-19 was 264,576,000. As the total ordinary and extraordinary revenues stood at 719,576,000 yens, Japan spent for fighting and the readiness to fight 36·7 per cent. of her total revenues in 1918-19. In the same year India spent 51·5 per cent. of her revenue for fighting and the readiness to fight. And now though the War is over, she will still be required to spend 47·7 per cent. of her total revenue for the readiness to fight.

As regards the actual amount spent, as one yen is approximately equivalent to Re. 1-8, Japan spent in 1918-19 about Rs. 396,864,000, or say 40 crores of rupees in round figures for fighting. In the same year India spent for the same purpose Rs. 659,250,000, or say 66 crores of rupees in round figures

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Besides this India made a "free gift" of 150 crores of rupees, and she has been made to promise another free gift of 45 millions sterling, or 67½ crores of rupees.

Here it should be noted that Japan has both an Army and a Navy and she spent 40 crores of rupees, or 36·7 per cent. of her total revenues, for both the Army and the Navy, which are both in excellent fighting trim and among the best in the world. They have raised her power and prestige in the world. India has only an Army but no Navy, and for the Army alone she spent 66 crores of rupees or 51·5 per cent. of her revenues; and this expenditure has made her people neither strong, nor respected or fear. For the army alone Japan's expenditure was 114,613,000 yens or Rs. 17,19,19,500, as against India's expenditnre of 66 crores of rupees for the army alone. Or, in other words, India's expenditure on her army was about *four* times that of Japan for hers. Japan's expenditure on the army alone was 15·9 per cent. of her total revenues in 1918-19, whereas in the same year India's expenditure on her army was 51·5 per cent. of her total revenues!

And yet there are ungrateful wretches who say that India has not spent enough for the war! We have not taken into consideration the contributions made by the princes and people of India to various war funds, hospital ship funds, relief funds, etc., and the sums spent by the Indian States for the maintenance of their contingents.

The Indian Budget for 1919-20.

On the 21st of March last, Sir James Meston presenting the budget for 1919-20 in the Imperial Legislative Council said that "for the coming year the revenue is now expected to amount to £86,375,000," of which £41,195,000 has been allotted for military expenditure. This is like a householder earning Rs. 86 per annum spending Rs. 41 per annum for keeping armed retainers in order to fight his enemies;—though the members of the household wear rags, dwell in unhealthy hovels, cannot for want of funds and proper education carry on manufacturing and agricultural industries properly, do not owing to poverty receive proper medical aid during illness and in consequence die in large numbers or lead sickly lives, and, owing to poverty and ignorance combined, many of them become criminals, and though the children of the household, for the most part, grow up in ignorance!

The people of India are this household. But they cannot control their income and expenditure. It was a heinous sin on their part to have allowed this control to pass out of their hands. They must regain this control. In the meantime all their sufferings and indignities must be considered as penance for their sin.

The table given below shows how rapidly our military expenditure has grown:—

Year	Military charges in £s.
1915-16	22,261,353
1916-17	24,990,811
1917-18	29,043,141
1918-19 (budget)	29,000,000
1918-19 (revised)	43,926,000
1919-20 (budget)	41,195,000

The amount budgeted for 1919-20 will most probably be exceeded as that for 1918-19 was very greatly exceeded. The expenses for the financial year just closed were very heavy and the coming year's estimates are also very heavy. It will not do to say that the War is responsible for this heavy expenditure; for during the greater part of the war, *i.e.*, up to 31st March, 1918, the expenditure, though excessive, was not abnormally heavy. It is only during and since 1918-19 that India has been unjustly burdened with a disproportionately heavy military expenditure. Previous to the war, India's military expenditure, though great, was less than what it was during the least expensive war-year, which was 1915-16, when it was Rs. 33,39,20,000. Let us see what the military expenditure was in some pre-war years.

Years.	Military expenditure in crores of rupees.
1884-85	16.96
1887-88	20.41
1890-91	20.69
1894-95	24.09
1902-03	25.91
1903-04 (revised)	26.78
1904-05 (budget)	28.66

For the year 1919-20 the sum of Rs. 61,79,25,000 has been allotted for military expenditure; but probably it will not ultimately fall short of 64 or 65 crores of rupees. In 1884-85 it was 16·96 crores;

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so that *in 35 years, military expenditure has quadrupled.* But neither the income of the people of India nor the revenue of the Government of India has increased even approximately to the same extent or degree.

A greater falsehood was never uttered than when it was said in Council that the budget for 1919-20 was a poor man's budget. It is in fact the soldier's and railwayman's budget.

We have shown in a previous note that the actual amount of India's military expenditure for the army alone is greater than that of Japan for both the army and the navy, and also that India is required to spend a very much larger percentage of her tolal revenue for military purposes. This heavy expenditure cannot be justified on any account.

India keeps a much larger army than she requires for her own purposes. During the War there were in India sometimes only 15,000 soldiers; yet there was neither any internal rising nor aggression from outside. It may be said that the probable foreign aggressors were all busily engaged in the world-war, and hence could not turn their thoughts towards India. Though this is not entirely true, let us take it, for granted. Still one thing has to be admitted, and that is that there was no internal rising, which shows that India's large army is not necessary to cope with any probable internal trouble. Let us now consider the argument that the large army is required for coping with aggression from outside. During the Boer war, the Boxer troubles in China, and in many other military expeditions or undertakings outside the boundaries of India, large numbers of soldiers were taken away to foreign parts and remained there for long periods; and yet there was not only no rebellion in India, but also no invasion by any foreign enemy. This is significant; because during the wars referred to in the previous sentence, the probable invaders of India, like Russia, were not involved in any great undertaking like the recent war and consequently their hands were not full, and they could have made an attempt to attack India, if so minded. But they did not. All which shows that the Indian army, at least its greater portion, is not required for India's purposes. It is in reality an army of occupation, which is occasionally used to put down frontier risings, but has more often been used in foreign wars for British Imperial purposes. India is thus practically a training ground for an Imperial army from which soldiers are drawn for foreign wars from which India does not derive any benefit and in which India is not interested. The late Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman said: "*Justice demands that England should pay a portion of the cost of the great Indian army maintained in India for Imperial rather than Indian purposes. This has not yet been done, and famine-stricken India is being bled for the maintenance of England's world-wide Empire.*"

As we have already said, though during the War there were sometimes only 15,000 soldiers, there was not, as there could not be, any rebellion. Hence, we do not really require to keep more than 15 or 20 thousand soldiers. Russia has gone to pieces and requires all her men, money and energies to put her own house in order. She cannot invade India. Germany cannot invade India, she is distracted with her own troubles, and has been rendered powerless by the War. China is not yet sufficiently "modernised" to think of attacking India, is distracted with civil troubles, and has enough work in her hands to protect herself against the designs of powerful foreign exploiters. Japan is an ally of Great Britain. Moreover, even if she had any designs upon India, she could not and would not do any thing. Because at present, the only three powers in the world that count are Great Britain, the United States and Japan; and as there is rivalry and jealousy (and consequent mutual suspicion) between Japan and the U. S. A. with regard to predominance in China and the Pacific ocean, each of these two countries would do their best to have Great Britain on its side. Hence Japan will do nothing to make Great Britain an enemy.

We have thus proved that there is not the least chance of a foreign invasion of India, nor is there any likelihood of a rebellion. So the army is mainly for Britain's imperial purposes, and hence Britain ought to pay the greater portion of its upkeep and equipment.

When a country keeps an army, it is generally with three objects in view: (1) to prevent or cope with internal troubles, (2) to prevent or cope with foreign invasion and aggression, and (3) to invade or

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fight with foreign countries for purposes of obtaining foreign territory or some such material gain. Sometimes, though rarely, a country may use its army for the preservation or restoration of the independence of another country. We have shown that India's *large* army is not necessary for objects (1) & (2). As for (3), India does not wish to and cannot conquer and annex foreign territory and subjugate foreign peoples. Territory conquered with aid of India's army has enriched England, not India. So for object (3), too, India does not require to keep a large army. As for preserving or restoring another country's independence the idea of a dependent country thinking of doing such a thing is ludicrous. So for no reason whatever does India require a large army.

Independent countries keep an adequately large army to preserve their independence. India is made to keep a large army in order to preserve her dependence on England. And as we have seen, India has to pay more for preserving her dependence on England than Japan pays for preserving her independence. We can well understand the argument that India's dependence on England is worth something to India, that is to say, that India derives benefits from being dependent on and being ruled by England. Granted. But the question is, is India's dependence on England the cause of as much moral and material prosperity, as the independence of other countries is? Let us take a concrete case, the case of another Asiatic country. The educational, intellectual, industrial and commercial progress made by Japan during the last half a century of constitutional government is well known. India, in spite of, or, it may be, because of, her much longer period of dependence on England, lags far behind Japan in all these respects. And whereas today Japan is one of the three greatest powers in the world and as such enjoys great prestige everywhere, India and Indians are despised and insulted everywhere. Such being the contrast between the beneficial results of Japan's independence and of India's dependence-on-England, no one ought to expect India to pay more for an army which ensures this dependence than Japan pays for her army and navy to preserve her independence. But, as we have seen, India *does* pay more. Which let those who can defend.

It is not contended that India's connection with England has not been at all beneficial to us in any way. It has been. It is also probable that India would have fared worse if she had been dependent on some other foreign powers. It is idle, too, to speculate whether she would have fared better at the hands of *any* other master than Great Britain. It is also unnecessary to dwell on the harm that has resulted from India's dependence on England. Speaking only of the good results of the connection, we say that England, too, has derived and continues to derive great advantages from her connection with India. No one but an ignoramus or a lying hypocrite can deny this. And England has not yet sacrificed half a cowry for the untold advantages which the possession of India has given her. Justice, therefore, demands that she should pay the greater part of the amount needed for maintaining a large army in India.

It has been and will be said that as India does not pay any portion of the expenses of the British Navy, which in part protects India and her commerce, there is no injustice involved in her bearing her entire military burden. We will meet this argument. The British Navy, it goes without saying, does not prevent and is not meant to prevent rebellion in India. As for foreign invasion by way of the sea, Japan is the only power which need be feared. But as we have shown above, Japan will in her own interests do her best to remain friends with England. Besides, even supposing that the British Navy protects India against some unknown foe, this protection is simply the preservation, not of India's independence, but of her dependence on England,—which is of advantage to both countries. As for the maritime commerce and passenger traffic, which the Navy protects, they are entirely in the hands of foreigners, mostly Britishers. All these facts prove that there is no injustice in Great Britain bearing the entire expenses of her Navy, and that she cannot in justice call upon our country to meet any part of it.

But supposing justice requires us to pay a part, we, too, may claim that impartial and strict justice should be done to us. This means that we should be admitted to all the advantages of the Army,

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the Navy and the Air Force. And what does that mean?

Let us at the outset make it clear that we do not want the material advantages in the form of the annexation and exploitation of foreign territory which the possession of an army and a navy gives to Great Britain. We refer to other advantages than these.

In Great Britain's army, navy, and air force, all the privates and officers are Britishers, and hence all the salary and emoluments paid and the experience and prestige gained remain Great Britain's. Great Britain manufactures her munitions, war stores, equipments, army, &c., in her own factories, with the aid of her own capital and the skilled and unskilled labour of her own men. Here, too, the gain, experience, and every other advantage remain hers. She makes her own war-vessels of all sorts in her own dockyards with the skilled and unskilled assistance of her own men and with her own capital. Here, too, all the advantages, material and immaterial, remain hers. The same remarks apply to the making of aeroplanes, &c. If India be called upon to pay her share of the cost of Empire-Defence on land, in the ocean and in the air, she should in justice be entitled to officer and man her army, her navy and her air force with her own sons, make her arms, ammunition and stores, her war-vessels and aeroplanes in her own factories and dockyards with the assistance of the skilled and unskilled labours of her own sons and daughters, have facilities of training them for these purposes, and have all the material and immaterial advantages and prestige which the possession of an army, a navy and an air force gives. Long ago Dadabhai Naoroji wanted justice of this kind, which has not yet come but will come some day. He wrote in a letter on "The Causes of Discontent in India" addressed to Lord Welby, dated 31st January, 1897:—

"Indians are repeatedly told and in this commission several times that Indians are partners in the British Empire and must share the burdens of the Empire. Then, I propose a simple test. For instance supposing that the expenditure of the total navy of the Empire is, say £20,000,000, and as partners in the Empire you ask British India to pay £10,000,000, more or less, British India as partner, would be ready to pay, and therefore, as partner, must have her share in the employment of Brtish Indians and in every other benefit of the service to the extent of her contribution. Take the Army. Suppose the expenditure of the total Army of the British Empire is, say £40,000,000. Now you may ask £20,000,000 for more or less, to be contributed by British India. Then as partners, India must claim and must have every employment and every benefit of that service to the extent of her contribution.... In short, if British India is to be treated as a partner in the Empire, it must follow that to whatever extent (be it a farthing or a hundred millions) British India contributes to the expenses of any department, to that extent British India must have a share in the services and benefits of that department—whether civil, military, naval or other: then only will British India be the 'integral part' or partner in the Empire. 'If there be honour and righteousness on the side of the British, then this is the right solution' of the rights and duties of British India."

Japan's & India's Fighting Expenses.

It cannot fail to have been noticed that though Japan provided a smaller amount than India for fighting expenses in her budget for the year 1918-19, she was able to maintain both an efficient army and an efficient navy, whereas India had only an army. Japan's army and navy are second to none in the world in efficiency. *The Daily Mail Year Book* for 1919 says that "The Japanese Navy in efficiency is second to none, and in strength comes third among the Allied Powers. It acts as a very formidable and useful reserve." One of the reasons why Japan can maintain both a navy and an army for a smaller amount than India's military expenditure is that all her fighters, both men in the ranks and officers, are children of the soil; whereas India's European army consists of European privates and European officers, and the commissioned officers of the sepoy army are, with about a dozen exceptions, all Europeans. And Europeans have to be paid at a much higher rate than Indians.

Railway Expenditure.

Next to the military charges, the biggest item in the Budget for 1919-20, is the sum allotted to the railways. Railways are necessary, but not more necessary than food production, sanitation, education, and manufacturing industries. Railways are required for strategic purposes, for passenger traffic and for goods traffic. It may be said that within the borders of India no more strategic railways are required. Men require food, good health, education and the power to manufacture things more than they require to travel. And Indians have to travel in railways like cattle. Railways, no doubt, provide facilities for the distribution of food and

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of manufactured goods; but the first thing to do is to produce the food and manufacture the goods. But our railways help but little in the production of food or in the manufacture of goods *in India by Indians*. No doubt in times of famine railways are of use in carrying food to the affected parts. But this presupposes the existence of sufficient food. So the plea that railways prevent famine is not true either in logic or in fact. In spite of the existence of railways, famines continue to ravage some parts of India or other every year. At the same time, they help foreign dealers in grain and other raw materials in exporting these things in large quantities even in famine years. When railways had not penetrated to the remotest parts of India, some parts of the country at least could have sufficient and cheap food in good years. But now, prices are high and food scarce and dear almost in every district of India. This would not have been the evil that it is in India, if the people of India had enough money in their hands by the sale of manufactures, to be able to pay as high prices for food grains as the people of Europe and thus keep their food in the country: But the pity is, our producers of food have to part with it for money to pay taxes and interest and the purchase of foreign-made cloth, utensils, trinkets, &c., and are unable, because of insufficient production, to lay by a sufficient store of grain for lean years. When such years come they have either no money or little to buy food at high prices.

As for manufactures, the railway tariff is so arranged that it favours the foreign importer of foreign manufactures into India and the foreign exporter of Indian food grain and raw materials out of the country. It is now well understood in Europe, America, New Zealand, &c., that one of the important functions of railways is to foster the growth of national industries by a favourable tariff and other means. Our railways do no such thing. On the contrary, they favour the foreign manufacturer. There is another way in which railways have injured the people. They have carried foreign manufactures to every nook and corner of India and brought them into competition with the products of indigenous industries and killed the latter. The artisans and craftsmen have been thus ruined and thrown on the soil for subsistence. This has intensified the poverty of the country.

Railways are also responsible for the shortage of the acreage under crops in many districts, and are thus directly responsible for scarcity and famine.

As regards sanitation, railways obstruct natural water-courses, increase subsoil humidity by water-logging, provide breeding grounds for mosquitoes in the borrow pits left unfilled, and thus produce malaria. They are also great disseminators of infectious and contagious diseases. In India in pre-railway days, there were epidemics of plague, &c. But they never spread over such large areas as now.

For all these reasons and because of their natural priority in importance, we must have sufficient sums provided for the encouragement, promotion and teaching of agriculture, the construction of canals and wells for irrigation, the undertaking of all kinds of sanitary works, the provision of good drinking water, the provision of adequate medical aid, the improvement of water-ways, the opening of a sufficient number of new schools for all children of school age, &c., before further extension of railways is thought of. But whereas a very large amount has been provided for railway extension,—agriculture, irrigation, sanitation, education, the scientific departments, and industries have all been starved. The reason is that the British industrial and commercial classes are directly interested in railway extension. The British suppliers of railway material gain by railway extension. When Lord George Hamilton was Secretary of State for India, British capitalists owning iron and steel factories one year waited upon him in deputation and represented to him that in the Indian budget sufficient provision had not been made for railway extension, meaning, of course, that their concerns would be affected thereby. Lord George had to satisfy them. Those who export manufactured goods from England to India and import raw materials from India into England are also interested in railway extension. Britishers in India carrying on import and export business are also interested. All these classes of men are more influential than the 315 millions of Indians who want more food, more money more clothing and better house, more

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and better sanitation, doctors, hospitals and dispensaries, more and better education, &c.

In discussing the question of railway extension, one has also to consider whether railways are at present and will continue to be in the near future the best means of transport.

As air traffic has already been proved to be practicable, and as air routes do not require any expenditure for construction or maintenance, it is time for all governments to pay increasing attention to this means of locomotion and transport. In all advanced countries, internal waterways receive due attention. Old existing waterways, both natural and artificial, are maintained in good condition, and new artificial waterways are created. Waterways are not only not so costly as railways, but have the additional advantage of being helpful in irrigation and in the production of fish and similar food. They are also not a monopoly of either the state or of private companies as railways are. Hence waterways should receive due attention in our country. Another means of locomotion has in recent years come to be increasingly adopted, namely, that by motor traction. For this purpose, as has been showed in a previous note, by means of an extract from the *Indian Daily News*, in some advanced countries, good roads have been and are being constructed. Roads for motor traffic, unlike rail-roads, are also not a monopoly, and serve as well for bullock cart, horse carriage, pack bullock, pedestrian and other kinds of ordinary traffic. There is no reason why the State in India should not cover the whole country with a net-work of good roads fit for motor traffic. There is a probability that in the near future all railways will be run by electricity. Hence the system of electric traction should be adopted from now.

It is argued that as railways are a good source of income, they should be extended. But from how long have they begun to pay, and after what loss for how many years? Up to the end of 1917-18 capital expenditure on railways amounted to more than 372 million pounds sterling, or 560 crores of rupees in round figures. What have been the profit and loss? *The Indian Daily News* writes :—

In 1896, the evidence before the Welby Commission showed that the deficit on the railways of India amounted to 52 crores or about a crore a year. In 1909 Sir Dinshaw Wacha demonstrated that the net earnings of the railways were under one per cent. (·91 per cent.) or allowing for the annuities as repayment of capital to at most 1·20 per cent. after 60 years. In the appendix to his remarkable essay on Indian Railway Finance he gives a table showing a net loss of 52 crores from 1848 to 1895, a gain of eleven crores from 1895 to 1910 or a total net loss of 41 crores to 1910. A good deal of money has been made since but, as we say, most of it, for the last four years, has been by raising freights and passenger rates and inflicting considerable loss on the counntry by inability to carry. This loss has been chronic for the last fifteen years and up to the war was the result of ineptitude. As we have said, the best course is to improve the roads and to cease to pretend that the railways are an immensely valuable asset making huge profits in relief of the tax-payer. Six crores of ostensible profit may be obtained by twelve crores of damage to the trader.

Moreover, the profits made in passenger traffic are due mostly to travelling done by third class passengers, who are accommodated and treated like beasts. The State has no right to make moneys in this way. And during the war, profits in goods traffic have meant simply the debiting of certain sums in the account books of the war departments for carriage of coal, munitions, &c., and crediting the same in the account books of railways.

If the huge sums sunk in railways had been spent on educating the people, in improving their health by proper sanitation and thus increasing their working and earning capacity, in teaching them better means and methods of agriculture and financing agriculture, in technological and industrial education and the financing of industrial enterprises, in the extension of irrigation works, &c., it is absolutely certain that the state revenues would have gained much more than they have by capital expenditure on railways. We intend to show in future to what extent irrigation works have been profitable. Mr. (now Sir D. E.) Wacha said in his evidence before the Welby Commission :

"But I may be permitted to observe that in the present deteriorated condition of Indian Agriculture when there is not enough food grain produced to fully suffice for the entire population per annum, it is of greater importance to construct irrigation works than Railways. It should be remembered that even protective Railways against famine, however largely constructed, would give no help to the people in famine-stricken districts; whenever a serious famine of the intensity now prevailing may occur, if there be not adequate surplus of grain to carry from one province to another. What is more essential is to stimulate the food supply."

As regards the reasons why railways

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in India are being built at a breathless pace the same authoriry says in his paper on Indian Railway Finance :—

"In short, as in many other matters, so in connection with Railways, it is the foreign exploiter who calls the tune, but it is the indigenous taxpayer who is called upon to pay the piper. A policy so flagrantly unjust demands complete condemnation. It is another of those minor acts of financial injustice which create dissatisfaction and aggravate the sullenness prevailing in the land."

"It is much to be wished that our far-sighted and sober Indian politicians will now turn attention to the problem of economic salvation of the country. At present India is the slave of British capitalists. Is the slavery to last for ever ?"

In the construction and upkeep of Irrigation and Sanitary works, so much British-manufactured material is not required, as in railways, nor do Irrigation and Sanitary works bring so much profit to British exploiters of India as railways do. This is one of the reasons why the British mercantile classes at home and in India exert great pressure on Government to construct railways, to the neglect of irrigation, sanitation, etc.

In the United States of America railways promote agriculture by means of demonstration trains, etc., and thus also increase their own incomes by having more food to carry. In New Zealand railways help forward education. In Australia they help in many ways in the development of the country's resources, as the following paragraphs quoted from the *Mahratta* will show :

"In addition to the purely commercial aspect of the figures relating to the revenue and expenditure of the Commonwealth railways, it is of great importance that the object with which many of the lines were constructed should be kept clearly in view ; then anticipated advantage in building these lines has been the ultimate settlement of the country rather than the direct returns from the railways themselves, and the policy of the State. Government has been to use the railway systems of the Commonwealth for the development of the country's resources to the maximum extent consistent with the direct payment by the customers of the railways of the cost of working and interest charges. Further, the money has been spent in developing immense agricultural, pastoral, and mineral resources, which add to the wealth of the community while the benefits conferred in providing a cheap and convenient mode of transit, and in generally futhering trade and the best interests of the Commonwealth, are incalculable."

"The story of State management of railways in New Zealand reads like a romance. The railways are used to aid the cause of education. Children in the preliminary grades are carried free to school. Older children are given season tickets at merely nominal rates. Solid concessions are given to children and teachers for excursions. The Minister of Railways figures that the department loses on these trips, but he justifies the low rates on the ground that "from an educational point of view very marked and beneficial results must follow," thus subordinating the lower forms of wealth to the higher. Books are carried to and from libraries at one-fourth the parcel rates. Passenger fares and freight rates are reduced involuntarily and the service is greatly improved. Railways are used at cost or less to redistribute the unemployed and to settle the people on the land. The Railway Department works in harmony with the labour department in securing work for the workers. A definite effort is made to relieve congestion in cities and to attract the slum dwellers to healthy homes in the suburbs. Factory and holiday excursions are encourged in every possible way as a matter of public policy. Railway construction is arranged so as to be most vigorous in dull seasons. In the farmers' busy season work on the railways is slackened. This New Zealand record is of great interest for the admirable illustration of the railway usefulness under enlightened management, which is possible only when the railway system of a country is owned and managed by the State."

The first extract is taken from the official Year Book of the Australian Commonwealth.

Had railways in India been as useful to the indigenous population of the country as they are in other countries to their population, there would have been less objection to the sinking of capital in them in the present state of the country.

As we have observed before, railway expenditure is the second biggest item in the budget for 1919-20, consisting of £17¾ millions of capital expenditure for construction and £6½ millions for renewals from revenue,—total £24·2 millions, or more than 36 crores of rupees. It is true that during the last three years, the capital outlay on railways was not very heavy, but that is no reason why the expenditure should be so lavish in the coming year. It will be seen from extracts from Mr. G. K. Gokhale's speeches given below that there was a time when very much smaller expenditure on railways was objected to.

The capital sunk in railway should not be supplied out of the current revenues of the country. Generations yet unborn are to reap the advantages of railways. Hence, if necessary, they as well as ourselves should pay for them. This may be equitably arranged by building railways out of capital obtained by loans, the interest on these loans, so long as they are not repaid, being paid by us and our children and their children, &c.

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But if railways are built from current revenues, only the living generation pays for them, which is not just. If the railways prove very paying, they can, after paying interest, also provide for a sinking fund by means of which in course of time the loans are entirely repaid. Our views are supported by what Mr. G. K. Gokhale said in some of his Budget speeches. In 1909 he said :

"The present year is a year of deficit, but the Hon'ble Member includes the small surplus, for which he budgets for next year, among the ways and means of meeting capital expenditure. This means that even if the expected surplus is not realised, the estimated amount will be devoted to railways construction out of cash balances. Again, as I have already pointed out, this year's deficit includes a sum of ¾ million under railway charges, which represents the portion of an unity payments devoted to the redemption of capital. Thus our surpluses, whenever they are realised, are to go to railway construction, and in addition to that, a sum of ¾ million a year out of current revenues is to be devoted to the redemption of railway capital ! My Lord, I protest respectfully but with all the emphasis at my command against this policy. It is, in the circumstances of India, unjust and unjustifiable, and even from the standpoint of sound financial administration, it is wholly unnecessary."

Mr. Gokhale's budget speech in 1907 contains the following passage :

"I know there is the standing pressure of the European mercantile community to expend every available rupee on railways, and these men are powerful both in this country and in England. But, my lord, the Government must resist this pressure in larger interests, so far at any rate as the surpluses are concerned. Time was, not long ago, when the Government never thought of spending more than four or five crores a year on railways. And ten years ago Sir James Westland protested sharply against the manner in which programme after programme of railway construction was being pressed on him in breathless succession, It is true that in those days the railways were worked at a net loss to the state, and that in that respect the position has now undergone a change. Still 13½ crores is a very large amount to spend in any one year on railways and yet the Hon'ble Member has thought it necessary to be apologetic in making the announcement ! My lord, I have no objection to the Government using its borrowing powers as freely as possible to push on railway, which now rest on a sound commercial basis. But it seems to me most unfair that the loans thus raised should be supplemented by the proceeds of taxation."

In 1919-20 a loan of £10 millions will be raised. But it is not expressly for railway construction, and even if it were, it would not meet even half the railway expenditure, the balance having to be met from the proceeds of taxation.

The same speech from which an extract has been made above, contains the following passage.

"Coming now to larger questions, I find that I must renew my earnest and emphatic protest against the manner in which our surpluses still continue to be expended as capital outlay on Railway construction. My lord, I have spoken repeatedly on this subject in previous years, but I feel the injustice of the present arrangement so strongly that I must ask the council to bear with me while I urge once again, as briefly as I can, my reasons why a change of policy is immediately called for in this matter. This is the ninth successive year when a substantial surplus of revenue over expenditure has been realised, and it is clear that the era of surpluses has not yet come to an end. The total of these surpluses during these nine years stands at the high figure of 37 crores of rupees, or about 25 millions sterling, and nearly the whole of this amount has been spent as capital on railways. [Nearly the same amount is going to be spent in the *one* year, 1919-20, *not in nine years*, against which Mr. Gokhale raised his voice !—Ed., *M. R.*] Now a surplus is so much more money taken from the people, either through miscalculation or in other ways, than was needed for the requirements of Government. And, as it is not possible to return this money to the taxpayers in a direct form, what the Government is bound to do with it is to apply it to purposes which are most calculated to benefit the mass of the people. And the question that we must consider is this—what is the most urgent need of the mass of our people at the present day ? Judging from the manner in which the surpluses are applied year after year to Railway construction, one would conclude that, in the opinion of the Government, what the people needed most was a vigorous extension of railway facilities. Now, my lord, I respectfully submit that such a view of the situation is not justified by the circumstances of the country. The claims, for instance, of Sanitation on the attention of the Government are at the present day infinitely stronger and more urgent than those of railway construction. Already an enormous sum has been spent on railways in India, while next to nothing has so far been expended on the construction of sanitary works. With so many towns in the country decimated by plague year after year, with cholera and malaria committing their havoc in other parts, with the death-rate of the country as high as 35 per thousand as against 16 per thousand in England, I do not see how the Government can continue to leave sanitation practically to take care of itself. Let the council consider what difference it would have made to the country, if the surpluses of the last nine years—37 crores of rupees—had been devoted to sanitary works instead of to Railway construction !.....My lord, it will not do for the Government to say that sanitation is the concern of Local Bodies and it is for them to find the money required to improve it. Most of our towns are extremely poor and the present distribution of the resources between the Government and the Local Bodies is of a most unsatisfactory character. How unsatisfactory it is may be judged from the fact that, while there has been a plethora of money in the Government exchequer for the last nine years most of our local bodies have all the time been struggling with serious financial difficulties and some of them have been in a state not far removed from bankruptcy. Without substantial assistance, therefore, from the Government in meeting the large capital outlay which modern sanitary works require

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Local Bodies will never be able to grapple with the problem of improved sanitation; and to my mind there can be no more desirable object on which the Government might expend its surpluses. The Supreme Government should call upon the Provincial Governments to assist sanitary projects liberally out of their own ordinary revenues, and whenever a surplus is realised, it should, as a rule, be placed at the disposal of Provincial Governments for pushing on the construction of sanitary works."

In the course of his budget speech for 1902, Mr. Gokhale observed :

"The English mercantile classes have been conciliated by undertaking the construction of railways on an unprecedentedly large scale—programme following programme in breathless succession—sometimes in spite of the protests of the Finance Member—a policy which, whatever its advantages, has helped to destroy more and more the few struggling non-agricultural industries that the country possessed and throw a steadily increasing number on the single precarious resources of agriculture. And this railway expansion has gone on while irrigation, in which the country is deeply interested, has been more or less neglected."

The Relative Importance of Functions of the State.

The budget of the Government of India 1919-20 gives one a clear idea of its conception of the relative importance of the different kinds of work which it has to do. Let us show this by means of a tabular statement of the Imperial allotments for different kinds of work :

Kinds of Work	Allotment in Rs.
Fighting	61,79,25,000
Railways	36,30,00,000
Irrigation	60,00,000
Agriculture	14,53,500
Education	55,15,500
Industries	nil. [could not find out]
Science, etc.,	46,69,500

As we have shown by clear analysis of the objects for which States keep themselves in readiness to fight, the Indian army is intended mainly for Imperial purposes, including the preservation of India's dependence on England. This is the most important object for which the British Government exists in India. Next to it, come railway construction and maintenance. And we have shown that the railways in India are mainly either strategic or commercial. The strategic object is mainly an imperial object. And as commerce, including export, import and distribution, is mainly European commerce, the main benefit accruing from it goes to foreigners. What harm railways have done to indigenous industries has been shown above.

The allotment shown against science is for the scientific and miscellaneous departments.

The Table shows that in the opinion of the Government of India preparedness for fighting and the construction and maintenance of railways are far more important than all the other functions of the State, including education, sanitation, advancement of agriculture and manufacturing industries, irrigation, &c. !

The Tilak-Chirol Case.

The Leader of Allahabad is one of the ablest dailies in India. It is an organ of the Moderate section of Indian politicians, and cannot as such be accused of partiality for Mr. B. G. Tilak. It is for this reason that we give below the observations of the *Leader*. Mr. Tilak has not had justice in its proper sense, of the British or any other variety, and we do not think any the worse of him because he has lost his case.

It can be easily imagined what effect would have been produced on the mind of a British jury by Sir Edward Carson's passionate political and racial appeal to their prejudices, when he 'emphasized the result of a verdict in Mr. Tilak's favour on the Government of India and white officials in India'. Mr. Tilak's countrymen cannot endorse Sir Edward's opinion that he 'had had the most profound British justice'. It is notorious that he has not had it. He was awarded eighteen months in 1897 on a flagrant misinterpretation by the late Sir Arthur Strachey of 'disaffection' as meaning 'absence of affection'. The later sentence of six years' transportation, commuted to one of simple imprisonment, was monstrously severe. On both occasions the Indians who were in the jury returned a verdict of not guilty, and they alone knew the language in which the impugned articles were written. In the present case itself it came out that the defendant received valuable assistance from the Government of Bombay, which gave him access to private documents in the archives of the state and even officials of that Government were virtually placed on special duty to unearth material for him. If it is Sir Edward Carson's opinion that all this is 'the most profound British justice' he is welcome to think so, but then its value will have to be assessed differently. It is an irony that of all people it should have fallen to Sir Edward Carson, the 'Ulster King', who committed atrocious seditious acts, to prevent the wishes of the British Government and Parliament taking effect in Ireland, to conduct the case against Mr. Tilak. If Mr. Asquith's Government had acted with courage and justice and prosecuted Sir Edward Carson, he would perhaps have spoken differently. Instead, that Privy Councillor (!) was rewarded with a seat in the Cabinet—a most curious sequel to the propaganda in which he indulged, and an act that was rightly

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resented by the whole of Nationalist Ireland. Sir John Simon was perfectly right when he pointed out that in the 1897 trial of Mr. Tilak 'not a word was said about the murder of Mr. Rand.' Not only that, but Mr. W. H. (afterwards Mr. Justice) Crowe, the sessions judge who tried Chapekar for the murder of Mr. Rand, almost went out of his way to say from the bench that he had taken particular care to see if there would be any evidence of conspiracy but there was none whatever. He held Chapekar alone responsible for the dastardly deed. Sir John Simon vainly pleaded that 'even the devil should have his due'. That unnameable being might conceivably have it, but Mr. Tilak has not had it and he is far from being a 'devil'. We have many and serious differences with him, but nothing will deter any of his countrymen from acknowledging his great qualities of ability, courage, patriotism, determination, purposefulness. We sympathize with Mr. Tilak in the loss of the suit with costs.

Hunger-strike in Hazaribagh.

We have received information that thirty-one Bengali state prisoners in Hazaribagh Jail had determined to hunger-strike, it is said, on account of the harshness of the Superintendent, on account of their being punished with solitary or separate confinement for slight cause or no cause, on account of their being in rags, on account of the privileges given them after the last hunger strike being taken away from them, and on account of their petitions to the Supreme and Local Governments having proved of no avail. It is said that they received better treatment in Bengal Jails. These men have never had any trial public or *in camera*, and have been kept in confinement on mere suspicion. Their cases ought to be thoroughly enquired into. There must be some reason why of all jails, hunger-striking should be thought of in Hazaribagh jail and that more than once. There is no fun in trying to starve one'sself to death. The ends of justice can be met either by releasing them or bringing them to public trial. And the least that should be done for them is to see that they receive humane treatment.

Release of All Interned Sinn Feiners.

In Great Britain, Government, we learn, had decided to release all Sinn Feiners who had been for so long interned there, and no doubt they are now all free men. These internees are not mere suspects, they actually took part in rebellion against Great Britain and in the agitation in Ireland against the British connection. As a party they are far stronger and better organised than the Indian state prisoners or internees. And yet they have been released! The difference in treatment is easily accounted for. The Sinn Feiners are white men and there is parliamentary representation and almost fully developed local self-government in Ireland. The conditions are different here.

Not one Political Prisoner in the Philippines.

Sir William Meyer, our late Finance Member, recently visited the Philippine Islands in order to study political, economic and other conditions there. He had somehow got the idea in his brain that the jails in the Philippines were full of political prisoners. But on visiting the Prison Bureau, he was, to his keen disappointment, informed that there was no political prisoner in any Philippine jail! *The Philippine Review* writes :—

Sir William called on some of our Government officials and visited some of our public institutions and, we hope, carried away with him ideas that might be of service in the adoption of the new policies and new methods in the newer relationship between Europe and the also newer Orient. To quote an instance: His belief that the Bureau of Prisons was full of political prisoners, because of what has been made to prevail abroad as to our way of living, i.e., as professional insurrectors, etc., was undone by his official visit to the said Bureau and the negative reply of the Director of said institution to his inquiry, *that there was absolutely no political prisoner in that ward.* Such is the difference between the Philippines, allowed to run her own government, and soon to embark into a new, independent, national life, and the life of the so-called European colonies in the Far East held through the force of arms for economic and political reasons. Their jails will continue to be full of political prisoners, while ours, empty of them. The Islands will continue to be, and still grow, content, and happy at the policy of unselfishness here so nobly pursued by America, while the so-called European colonies in the East will continue to be the place of political discontent, of revolutions, of insurrections. The old argument of backwardness, which furnished the chief reason for the colonization of Oriental countries should fall down under the weight of the example given by the Philippines, which was in no better condition than India, and which is making wonderful advance in politics, in education, in commerce, in business, and in many other lines.

The Imperial Budget.

The principal points of the Finance Member's Budget Statement laid before the Imperial Legislative Council on March 1, are :—

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	1918-19.	1919-20.
	£	£
Estimated Imperial Revenue	74,250,000	86,250,000
Actual Imperial Revenue	85,250,000	...
Estimated Imperial Expenditure	71,750,000	85,382,000
Actual Imperial Expenditure	89,750,000	...
Revised Deficit	4,500,000	...
Estimated Surplus		868,000

The causes of the Deficit in 1918-19 as detailed below are accounted for as under in millions of pounds :

Adverse Factors :	
Increased Expenditure under War Gift	12¾
Ordinary Army Increase	2¼
Loss under Land Revenue	1⅛
Propitious Factors :	
Net Profit on Exchange	4¼
Net Railway Improvement	2⅛
Customs Increase	1¾
Mint Increase	1¼

The Surplus in the Budget for 1919-20 is accounted for in millions of pounds as under :

Increased Receipts :	
Customs and Mint	1¾
Reduced Receipts :	
Net Railway Returns (allowing for renewals)	4⅓
Income Tax	½
Increased Expenditure :	
Railways (Capital Expenditure)	13¼
Reduced Expenditure :	
Army	2¾
Political Department	2
Miscellaneous and Refunds	1

The following figures represent the proposed Railway Programme :

Proposed Capital Expenditure	£17,700,000
Renewals from Profits	£6,500,000

The following are the proposed changes in taxation :

Addition :	
Excess Profits Tax, Gross Yield	7½
Remissions :	
Income-Tax abolished for incomes below Rs. 2,000	½
Income-Tax and Super-tax concessions to Excess Profits tax-payers	1½

In presenting the Budget in its final form on the 21st March the Finance Member said the estimated surplus had been reduced from £868,000 to £669,000, provision having been made for larger outlay in Bombay and the Central Provinces for famine reliefs. The preliminary estimates laid before the Council on the 1st March have thus been revised in the light of the latest information. The Financial Secretary's explanatory memorendum has also been checked and brought up to date. The final figures of the revised estimates for 1918-19 and the budget estimates for 1919-20 are given in separate formal statements. The broad results as regards the revised estimates for 1918-19 on the Imperial side are that now the total revenue is expected to stand at £85,298,000, or a deficit of £4,568,000, as compared with £4,320,000 previously estimated. The deterioration of rather over £2,000,000 is due to a number of variations of which a falling-off in the Customs revenue ammounting to £200,000 and in the Land revenue of £140,000 are set off by some small improvements under other heads. It is also expected to spend more on famine relief but this will be met from the Famine insurance grant and it does not affect either surplus or deficit.

For the year 1919-20 the revenue is now expected to amount to £86,375,000 and the expenditure to £85,706,000 taken in the financial statement, or a reduction in the surplus of £200,000. This is mainly due to scarcity in Bombay and the Central Provinces, where the relief grant for the year 1919-20 is already exceeded. They have also included in the budget, since the publication of the financial statement, a sum of £33,000 to form the nucleus of a new public health fund. The Finance Member fully appreciates, he said, the importance attached by non-official members of the Viceregal Council to the necessity of strengthening the equipment of the Government for dealing with epidemic diseases such as the recent disastrous outbreak of influenza and he considers it desirable to emphasise by a small initial grant the Government acceptance of the principle that central machinery for dealing with these matters should be developed. The net result of the modification in the Provincial budgets is that there will be a slight reduction in the collective surplus of the provinces anticipated during the past year from £1,073,000 to £979,000 during the current year. Their estimated drafts on their balances will be increased from £1,641,000 to £1,918,000 mainly due to

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increased provision for civil works expenditure in Burmah and Bombay.

Of the 85·3, millions of pounds the estimated expenditure during the year 1919-20 a sum of 41·20 million of pounds has been set apart for Military Expenditure, 17·75 millions for original capital expenditure on Railways and a sum of 6·50 millions for repairs and replacements of rolling-stock &c.—altogether the provision for Railways thus amounting to 24·25 millions sterling. For Education the allotment is £367,700; for Medicine £135,900; for Sanitation £144,000; for Agriculture £96,900; for Scientific and Miscellaneous Expenditure the sum laid apart amounts to £311,300; while the proposed expenditure on Irrigation and kindred works amounts to £400,000 only.

In a country, where according to Mr. Bonar Law, one of the British statesmen of the first-rank and erstwhile Prime Minister of England, owing to the loyalty of the Indians the British garrison could be "enormously reduced" even during the world-war, such abnormally heavy Military expenditure as 48·28 per cent. of the entire outlay budgeted for can by no means be justified by any argument when many other expenditure heads of the Budget have been almost totally neglected.

We could perhaps find some justification for the proposed heavy outlay on Railways which bring in such a large return to the State in the way of profits arising therefrom. But these profits to the State could be enormously increased, but for the railways in most cases being under the management of the companies the share-holders of which are, moreover, people other than Indians. The Government, however, is quite indifferent in respect of the working of the Railways under the direct control of the State, repeated demands of the public notwithstanding. In reply to a question asked by Mr. Sarma, in the Imperial Legislative Council on the 7th March Sir A. R. Anderson said: "Regarding the future management of the East Indian Railway, the present arrangements will continue till the 31st December, 1924, after which the direction will be transferred to India. In the meantime, an inquiry will be set on foot to modify, as may be deemed best, the future management of State Railways in India." Thus we find that the huge labours of the Committee appointed by the Government of India about a couple of years ago to consider the question of the management by the State of the railways owned by it have resulted in bringing forth the proverbial mouse.

Thus while lavish expenditure has marked the Budget in regard to the Army, Railways, the expenditure proviided for necessary projects of social amelioration and material advancement of the people has been miserably below the mark. The prospect of continued starvation of the schemes for improving the condition of the people cannot but be a source of great distress to them.

While thus the serious and most urgent needs of the people have been neglected in the preparations of Sir James Meston's Budget the Finance Member has been careful enough to make ample provision for the prosecution of the New Delhi scheme—a scheme necessitated by the quite unnecessary and uncalled for transfer of the Imperial capital from Calcutta which from its very inception in 1911 has always been condemned from all sides. According to the estimates a sum of £53,333⅓ will be spent during the current year in sanitation alone in New Delhi while the sanitary needs of the entire India have such a meagre recognition, as indicated above. It will be remembered that with the object of saving money at the crisis of the war the Government had decided to stop work at new Delhi. But this is how it has been saving money. The figures represent initial outlay on the new capital: In 1917-18 they spent £250,543; in 1918-19, £286,700; in and 1919-20 it is estimated to spend £300,000. Lord Hardinge's estimate for building the new Capital was, it will be remembered, £4000,000. Already nearly £3,000,000 has been spent, and the work is scarcely more than begun, and the country will be fortunate if it escapes with less than £25,000,000 if not more on this fad of a new Capital at a time when money is most urgently needed for the amelioration of the unfortunate millions of the people inhabiting this vast Peninsula.

The one and only redeeming feature of Sir James Meston's present Budget is his decision to free incomes below two Rs. 2,000 per annum from income tax. The Finance Member said: "There can be no question that the Rs.1,000 minimum is now a serious hardship, and we have decided to raise the taxable limit of income

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to Rs. 2,000. We estimate that we shall thereby lose 75 lakhs or £500,000; but we shall relieve no fewer than 237,000 petty assessees, out of the total number (381,000) for people who pay the tax now. But the taxable minimum income even in England where the the people are incomparably more prosperous than in India, has never been so low as in this country. The Income tax, it will be remembered, is a war-tax in its origin. It was first adopted in England, by William Pitt in 1798 as an expedient for raising funds to meet the drain imposed by the Napoleonic Wars. Pitt's was a comprehensive tax upon income of every kind, whether it were derived from land, capital or industry. It endured for four years, and was reintroduced as a property tax in 1803. Three years later it was fixed at ten per cent. on all incomes over £150 [= Rs. 2,250] a year, those incomes standing between £50 and £150 being subject to a graduated scale. This tax was abolished in 1816, the year after Waterloo, and remained in abeyance until 1842 when it was revived by Sir Robert Peel. The Act of that year provided for the exemption of all incomes under £150, and those which stood above that sum were subject to a uniform tax of seven pence in the pound. In 1855, the effect of the Crimean War was to raise the tax to one shilling and four pence in the pound. But in 1874 it fell to two pence, and from that low figure it has almost steadily risen, until the tax has become an integral and important feature of the fiscal system in England. India is, however, not England where, besides, the taxable minimum income has until recently been, as we have noticed above, always higher and in a graduated scale. But war or no war we have been paying continuously the Income tax for more than a third of a century now, the minimum taxable income being in the first decade or so Rs. 500 per annum! We are, however, thankful for the smallest mercies and we are certainly grateful to Sir James Meston for raising the minimum taxable income to Rs. 2,000, per annum.

R. M.

The Position of the Press in Different Countries.

The Independent of Allahabad has earned the thanks of all Indian journalists by compiling the following statement of the position of the Press in most of the civilised countries of the world:—

England.—Complete Freedom of the Press.

Scotland.—Press is Free.

Ireland.—Seizure of a newspaper is provided for, but there is nothing like depositing security at the inception of a paper.

U. S. A.—The Freedom of the Press is guaranteed by the very Constitution.

British Colonies.—Press is free.

Hungary.—The constitution of 1867 secures liberty of the press.

Belgium.—By the Belgian Constitution of 7th February 1831 it is declared that the Press is Free.

Brazil.—By Art. 179 of the Constitution of 1824 every one is entitled to publish his thoughts.

Argentine Republic.—Liberty of the Press is one of the rights secured by the Constitution.

Chilli.—Liberty of the Press is secured by the Constitution.

Denmark.—In 1849 the Press was declared free.

France.—With the republic, the Press has been made free.

Germany.—Press Law affirms liberty of the Press.

Greece.—Press is free.

Holland.—Press has been free for very long.

Italy.—B. Art. 27 of the Political Code of Sardinia, granted by Charles Robert, on 4th March, 1848, and still in force the Press is free.

Mexico.—Liberty of writing and publishing is inviolable.

Norway.—Liberty of the Press is secured by the Constitution.

Ottoman Empire.—By Art. 12 of the Constitution of 23rd December, 1876, the Press was recognized as free.

Portugal.—Liberty is secured to the Press.

Rumania.—Liberty is secured by the Constitution.

Spain.—Press is free.

Sweden.—Liberty of the Press is declared to be the privilege of every Swede.

Switzerland.—Liberty of the Press is secured by the Constirhtion.

Both England and India have reason to be proud of the fact that the Press in India is *not* free.

Indian Newspapers which have Suffered.

Some time ago the *Independent* published the following list of the papers in India which have had to furnish security under the provisions of the Press Act:—

		Rs.
The "Bombay Chronicle"	...	2,000
The "Amrita Bazar Patrika"	...	5,000
"New India" ... (Forfeited)	...	10,000
(Fresh Deposit)	...	2,000
The "Mahratta" ...	...	1,000
The "Modern Review"	...	500
The "Dacca Herald"	...	500
"New Times" ...	...	500
The "Home Ruler"	...	500
The "Searchlight"...	...	500
The "Kesari" ...	...	5,000
The "Hindvasi" ...	...	1,000
The "Hindustan"...	...	500

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To this list we may add the name of our Bengali magazine the *Prabasi*, which also has had to furnish a security deposit of Rs. 500. The list would have been still more edifying than it is, if the reasons for demanding security, in every case, could be known and published. So far as the *Modern Review* and the *Prabasi* are concerned, the reason was that formerly they were printed at the Kuntaline Press and now they are printed at the Brahmo Mission Press, which involved new declarations being made; and that occasion was seized by the Magistrate to demand security! Our information is that the Moderate Bengali weekly the *Sanjibani* had to deposit Rs. 1000 as security when its old printer died and a new man had to declare himself as printer. Mr. Bhupendranath Basu used all his influence to avert such a fate, but did not succeed; the *Sanjibani* was not exempted.

New India has corrected the list published by the *Independent* as follows :—

In the list of the Press Penalties, (p.2), imposed on National Papers, the statement as to New India is very incomplete. It should run :

New India (lst Security) Rs. 2000 (forfeited).
" 2nd " Rs. 10,000 (returned by Mr. Pelly on change of proprietorship).
" 3rd " Rs, 2000 (forfeited).
" 4th " Rs. 10,000 (retained by Mr. J. C. Adam, when proprietorship changed after Mrs. Besant's release, and her resumption of Edtorship, Oct. 1917. Mr. Adam still holds Rs. 12,000).

Besant Press, printing *Commonweal* and *New India*. Rs. 2000.

Perhaps the *Independent* and Mr. P. T. Chandra will kindly correct. He might also add :

Vasanta Press (Theosophical). Rs. 5000.

No interest is paid on the Rs. 17,000 held by the Local Government or their agents, and a continuing fine is thus inflicted, outside the law, of Rs. 598 annually, reckoning interest at 3½ per cent.

The figures published by the Allahabad paper were taken from Mr. P. T. Chandra's forthcoming book entitled the "National Cyclopædia." Mr. Tajuddin, superintendent of the central bureau for the help of Muslim internees, Delhi, has sent the Allahabad journal a supplementary list, consisting of the Muslim papers that have been dealt with under the Press Act since 1910. The list is long, but we reproduce it as a matter of public duty.

1. "The Comrade", English weekly, Rs. 2,000 forfeited.
2. "Hamdard", Urdu daily Rs. 2,000, forfeited.
3. "Tauheed", Urdu weekly, Rs. 2,000 demanded.
4. "Hamdard", Urdu daily. Fresh Security of Rs. 2,000 deposited.
5. "The Comrade", English weekly. Fresh Security of Rs. 10,000 demanded.
6. "Rafiq", Urdu daily. Rs.500 forfeited. Rs. 2,000 demanded.
7. "Muslim Gazette", Urdu weekly, Rs. 2,000 demanded.
8. "Zamindar", Urdu daily, Rs. 2,000 forfeited. Rs. 10,000 forfeited with all the Press machines and material.
9. "Al-Hilal", Urdu Illustrated weekly, Rs. 2,000 forfeited. Rs. 10,000 demanded.
10. "Al-Balagh", Urdu Illustrated weekly, Rs. 2,000 demanded.
11. "Tarjuman", Urdu daily, Rs. 500 deposited.
12. "Sadaqat", Urdu daily, Rs. 500 deposited.
13. "Jamhoor", Urdhu daily, Rs. 500 deposited, censor appointed, editor externed and interned.
14. "Naqash", Urdu daily, Rs.500 deposited, censor appointed, editor externed and interned.
15. "Rahbar", Urdu daily, Rs. 500 deposited, censor appointed, editor externed and interned.
16. "Millat", Urdu daily, Rs. 500 deposited, censor appointed, editor externed and interned.
17. "Risalat", Urdu daily, Rs. 500 deposited, censor appointed, editor externed and interned.
18. "Nai-Roshni", Urdu daily, Rs. 2,000 demanded, deposited, Rs. 500 forfeited.
19. "Masawat", Urdu daily, Rs. 2,000 deposited.
20. Iqdam", Urdu daily, Rs. 500 (?).
21. "Oudh Punch", Urdu weekly, Rs.500 forfeited. Rs. 2,000 demanded.
22. "New Era", English weekly, Rs. 2,000 forfeited. Rs. 10,000 demanded.
23. "The Observer", English Bi-weekly, Rs. 2,000 forfeited.
24. "Vakeel", Urdu Bi-weekly, Rs.500, Deposited.
25. "Urdu-l-Moalla", Urdu monthly, Rs. 2,000 demanded.
26. "Punjab", Urdu daily, Rs. 500, demanded.
27. The Ishtaraqi Press publishers of "Inqilab" Urdu weekly, Rs. 500, deposited.
28. N.P. W. publishers of "Congrees", Urdu daily, Rs. 500 deposited.
29. Darvesh Press of "Khatib", Urdu weekly, Rs. 500, deposited.

The newspapers mentioned suffered in one of two ways: either they were called upon to deposit security, or had the security already deposited forfeited and were made to pay fresh and larger security, or, failing to pay the impost demanded had to close down.

Printed and published by Abinash Chandra Sarkar, at the B. M. Press, 211, Cornwall Street, Calcutta.

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MAY, 1919

Vol. XXV No. 5

Whole No. 149

THE LIBRARY MISCELLANY

Editor—J. S. Kudalkar, M. A., LL. B.

A Monthly Review and Miscellany

Edited by Ramananda Chatterjee

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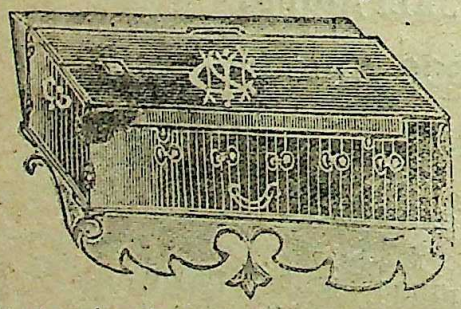

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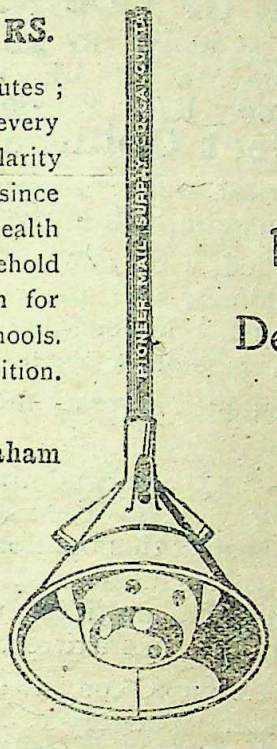

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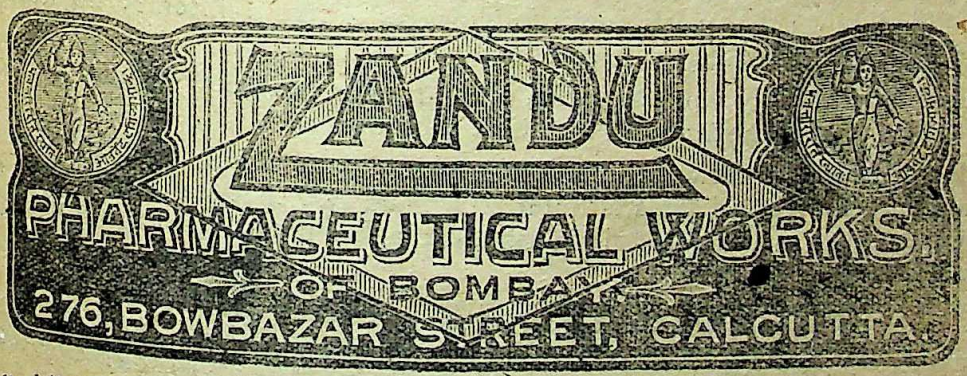

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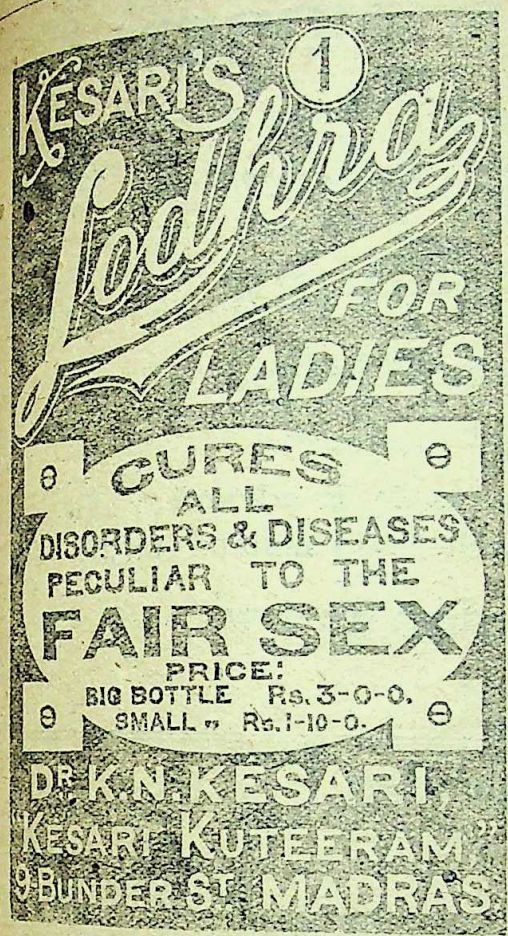

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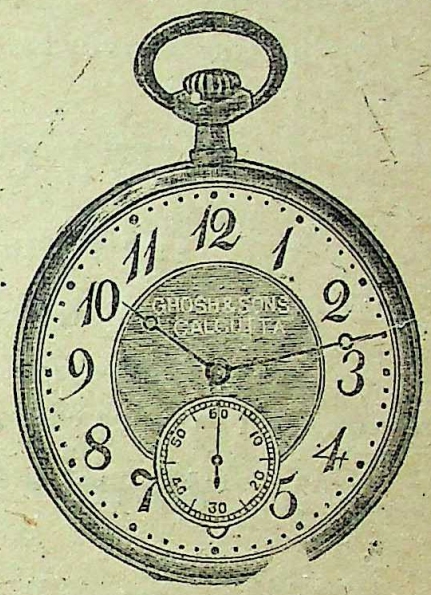

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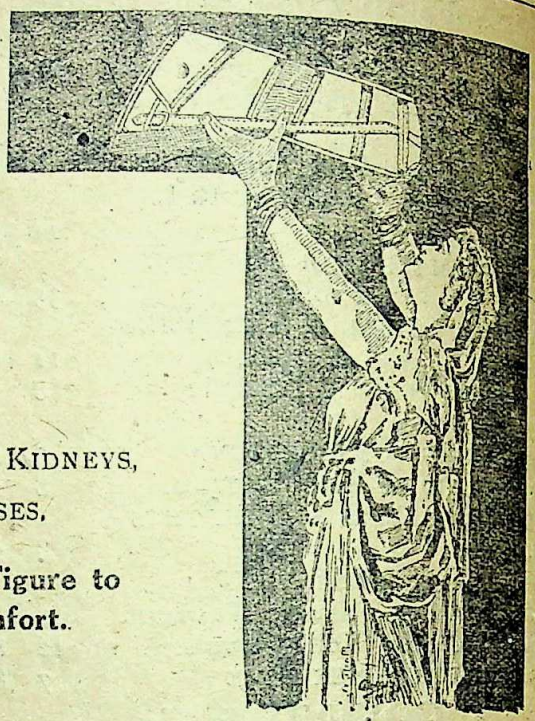

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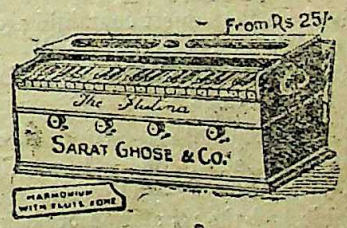

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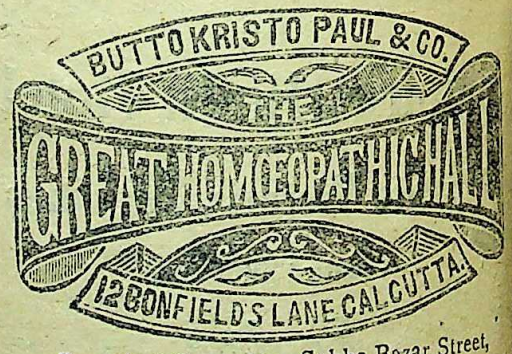

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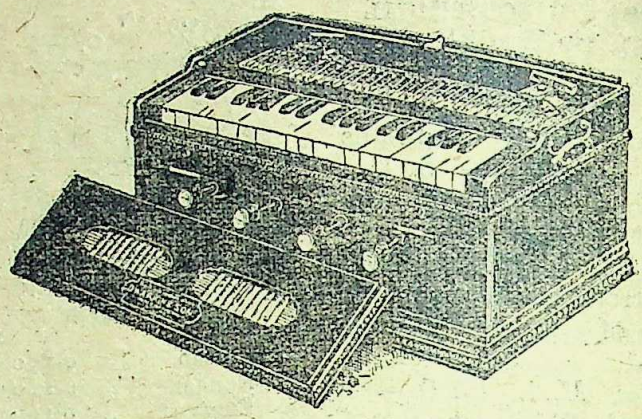

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Parts I, II & III

Edited by Ramananda Chatterjee

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This little book is as fascinating in its simplicity and elegance of language as it is beautiful in plot. The sprightliness mixed with "due humility" of the heroines towards their husbands will be found very refreshing indeed—specially to the stronger sex. We feel sure that every reader of the book will be charmed with "Indira and "Radharani," and will derive a great deal of benefit from Doctor Macrurus. We cannot but congratulate the translator on his ability in bringing in the beauty of the original in the translation.

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—*The Indian Review.*

A word of thanks must first be given to the translator, who has rendered them in charming English. The volume is enriched by two delightful coloured illustrations by Nandalal Bose and Surendranath Kar which are thoroughly Indian in conception and treatment, and add to the Indian atmosphere.

Of the four stories under review, three give examples of the short story at its best. Throughout all these stories, the romantic element holds the first place ; the character drawing is excellent especially in the story of Radharani. 'Doctor Macrurus." the fourth and last tale is less a story than a philosophising on man and best from different points of view. Man, as seen by the Tiger, is a very different object from man as seen by himself. There are many clever reflections in the story.

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The book is embellished with two excellent coloured illustrations. Those who cannot read Bankim in Bengali may do worse than read him in the translation before us which is exceedingly well done.

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It is obvious all through the book that the author's main concern is with his Motherland. It is interest in her needs and the wish to point out to his countrymen a possible solution of her problems that have called forth almost all of that which is here placed before the public.—*The Commonweal.*

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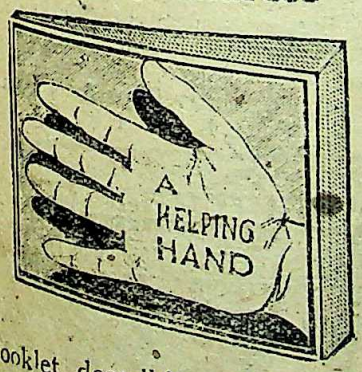

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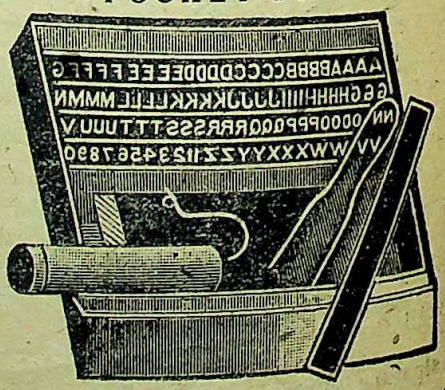

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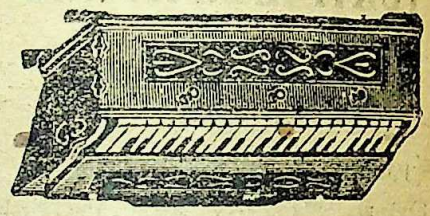

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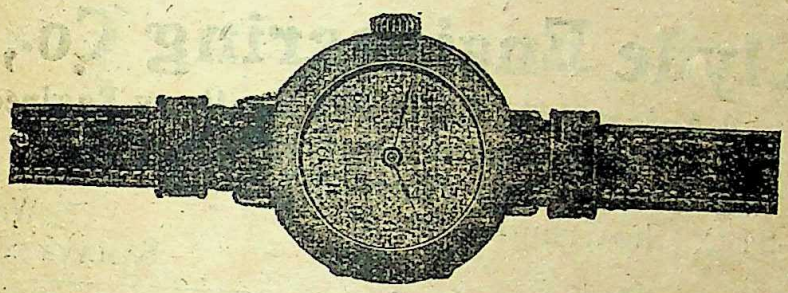

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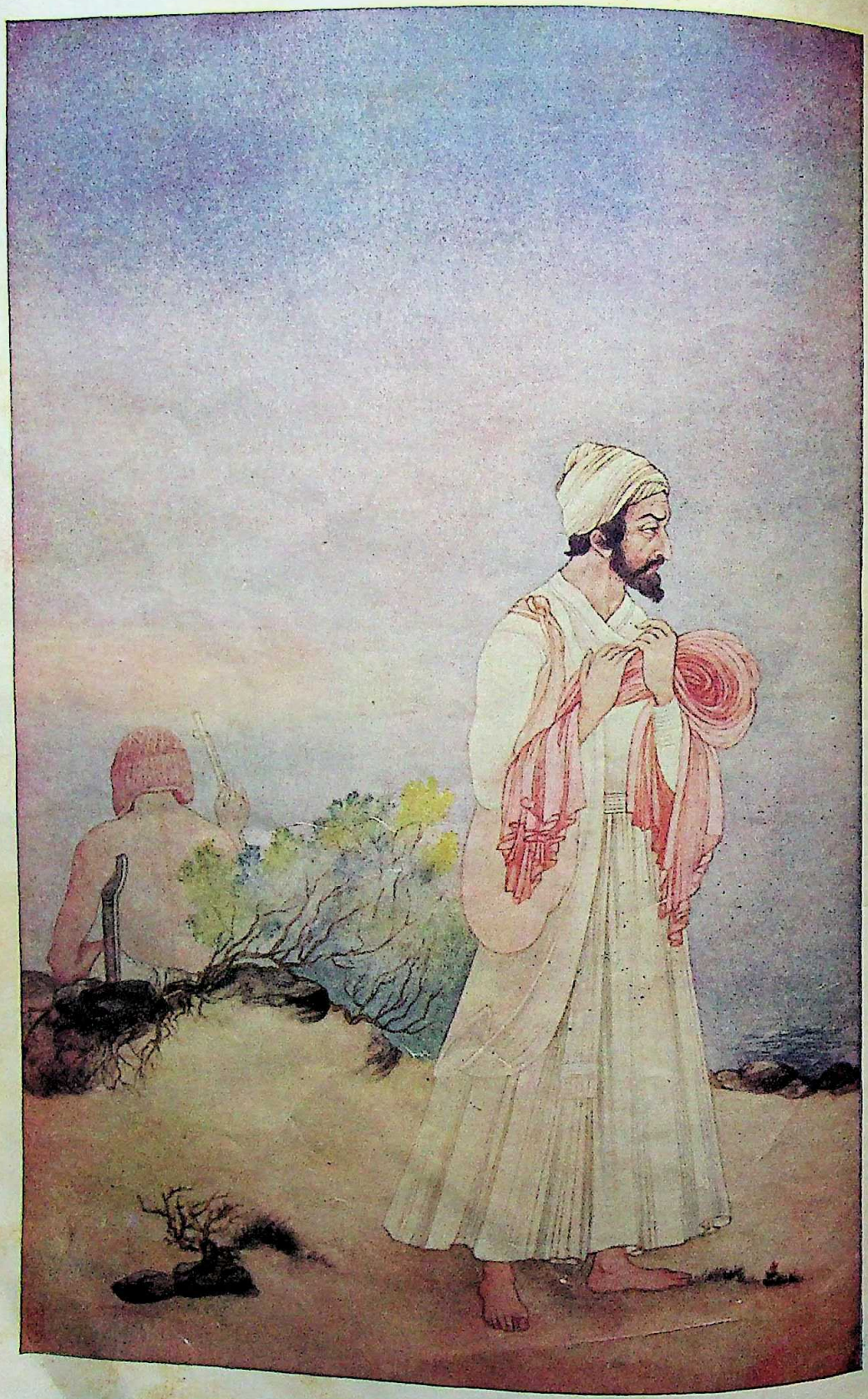

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THE MODERN REVIEW

VOL. XXV No. 5 MAY, 1919 WHOLE No. 149

THE MESSAGE OF THE FOREST

By Sir Rabindranath Tagore.

THE past not only contains, in its depths, the unrealised future, but in part the realised future itself. Everybody admits the truth, that, in the grandfather, lies dormant the potential grandson, who is to carry the growth of his ancestry to a further stage, or in a new direction. But it is also true that the grandson is practically born in the grandfather. New additions are made and modifications effected, but some keynote, that is to dominate the racial life, has already been achieved in the life of the grandfather.

This is the reason, why every race of people has its tradition of the Golden Age in the past, because we never can trust our future, if it does not carry some great promise bequeathed to it. It is not enough for us to know, that our future is growing out clearer from the nebulous adumbration of a primitive age, we must also be assured that it has already shown itself distinct in its achievemnts in the past. Every great people holds its history so valuable because of this, because it contains not mere memories, but hope, and therefore the image of the future. Man has his instinctive faith in heredity. He feels, that, in heredity, that which is to come has been proved in that which has been,—in great heredity, the great conclusion is perpetually present in the process. And all history is man's credential of his future, signed and sealed by his past.

The physical organisation of the race has certain vital memories, which are persistent, which fashion its nose and eyes in a particular shape, regulate its stature and deal with the pigment of its skin. In the ideal of a race, there also run memories that remain constant, or, in case of alien mixture, come back repeatedly, even after the lapse of long intervals. These are the compelling forces, that secretly and inevitably fashion the future of a people and give characteristic shape to its civilization. In our Shastras, it is held that our desires are the creative factors which originate and guide our future births. Likewise every race has its innate desires, of its former days, leading it through the repeated new births of its history. Any people which lacks, in its racial mind, these inherited aspirations, merely drifts, till it sinks in the current of time; it never creates its own history. In a word, it does not renew its birth, but is merged in the amorphous vagueness of a ghostly existence.

Therefore, it is of great importance for us to know, whether, as a people, we carry in our subconscious mind some primal aspiration, which alone can guarantee us a definite future of our own. If we still have that, strong and living, it will save us from extinction, or from the perpetual shame,—worse than death,—of the life of imitation, or parasitism. When we are threatened with loss of self-respect; when our mind is overwhelmed with the idea, that there can be only one type of civilization worth the name, and that a foreign one; when our one conscious desire is to strive with all our might, by begging, borrowing or stealing, towards some ideal of perfection which can only be related to us, as a mask to a face, or a wig to a head,—then our only hope lies in discovering some profound creative desire persistent in the heart of our race, in the subconscious mind of our people. For, in the long run, it is our sub-conscious nature which wins, and it is the deeper unseen current of the mind which secretly cuts its own path and reaches its own goal,—not the conscious waves on the

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surface, which clamorously make themselves obvious and vigorously storm at the present time.

I have said elsewhere, that the environment, in which we see the past of India, is the forest, the memory of which permeates our classical literature and still haunts our minds. The legends related in our great epics cluster under the sublime shade of those ancient forests; and, in the forest, the most intense pathos of human life found its background in the greatest of our romantic dramas. The memory of these sacred forests is the one great inheritance which India ever cherishes through all her political vicissitudes and economic disturbances.

But we must know, that these forests were not merely topographical in their significance. We have seen that the history of the Northmen of Europe is resonant with the association of the sea. That sea, also, is not a mere physical fact, but represents certain ideals of life which still guide their history and inspire all their creations. In the sea, Nature presented herself to these men in her aspect of a danger, of a barrier, which seemed to be at constant war with the land and its children. The sea was the challenge of untamed Nature to the indomitable human soul. And man did not flinch; he fought and won; and the spirit of fight continued in him. He looked upon his place in the world as extorted from a hostile scheme of things, retained in the teeth of opposition. His cry is the cry of triumph of defiant Man against the rest of the universe.

This is about the people who lived by the sea, and rode on it as on a wild champing horse, clutching it by its mane and making it render service from shore to shore. But in the level tracts of *Aryavarta* men found no barrier between their lives and the Grand Life that permeates the Universe. The forest gave them shelter and shade, fruit and flower, fodder and fuel; it entered into a close living relation with their work and leisure and necessity, and in this way made it easy for them to know their own lives as associated with the larger life. They could not think of their surroundings as lifeless, separate, or inimical. So the view of the Truth, which these men found, was distinctly different from that of those of whom we have spoken above: and their relationship with this world also took a different turn, as they came to realise that the gifts of light and air, of food and drink did not come from either sky or tree or soil, but had their fount in the all-pervading consciousness and joy of universal life. They uttered quite simply and naturally यदिदम् किञ्च सर्व्वम् प्राण एजति निःसृतम्—"All that is, vibrates with life, having emerged from the Supreme Life."

When we know this world as alien to us then we know it as a thing mechanical, built by a divine mechanic or by a chance combination of blind forces. Then our relation to it becomes the relation of utility, and we set up our own machines or mechanical methods to deal with it and make as much profit as our knowledge of its mechanism allows us to do. Then we are apt to say that Knowledge is power. This view of things does not altogether play us false, for the machine has its place in this world. And therefore, not only this material universe, but also human beings can be used as machines and made to yield results. But the view of the world which India has taken is summed up in one compound word—सच्चिदानन्द. Its meaning is that Reality, which is essentially one, has three aspects. The first is *sat*, the principle of Being, whose first information comes to us through our senses; it relates us to all things through the relationship of common existence. The second is *chit*, the principle of Knowing; it relates us to all things through the relationship of mind. The third is *ananda*—the principle of Enjoying—which unites us with all things through the relationship of love. Our consciousness of the world as that of the sum total of things that exist or that are governed by universal laws is imperfect according to the true Indian view,—but it is perfect when our consciousness realises all things as spiritually one with it and therefore capable of giving us joy. Our text of daily meditation contains the truth of the one and the same creative force appearing in an undivided stream of manifestation in our consciousness and in the world of which we are conscious. They are one as the East and the West are one, which only our self divides into contradictions. For us the highest purpose of this world is not merely living in it, knowing it and making use of it, but realising our own

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selves in it through expansion of sympathy and emancipation of consciousness, not alienating and dominating it but comprehending and uniting it with us in blissful union. The Man whom you only use is a machine; the Man whom you only study is a material for your knowledge. But your friend is neither a machine to you nor a psychological curiosity, (though consciously or unconsciously he does take his part as a machine of work and as an object of study for you), his ultimate value lies in his giving you opportunity to lose your self in his love. This is his aspect of *ananda*—his truest aspect for you, which comprehends his other two aspects in harmony. And to know the highest truth of all existence as that of a friend is truly Indian. This view of the world as the world of life and love, as the manifestation of the Supreme Soul whose nature is to realise his unity in the endlessness of the varied, has come to us from the great peace of our ancient forest.

When Vikramāditya became king, Ujjain a great capital, and Kālidāsa its poet, the age of India's forest retreats had passed. Then we had taken our stand in the midst of the great concourse of humanity, and the Chinese and the Hun, the Scythian and the Persian, the Greek and the Roman, had crowded round us. But even in this age of pride and prosperity, the longing love and awe of reverence with which its poet sang about the hermitage, shows what was the dominant ideal that occupied the mind of India, what was the one current of memory that continually flowed back through her life.

In Kālidāsa's drama *Shakuntala*, also, the hermitage, which dominates the play, overshadowing even the king's palace, has the same idea running through,—the recognition of the kinship of man with conscious and unconscious creation alike.

A poet of a later age, while describing a hermitage in his *Kadambari*, tells of the posture of devoutness in the flowering lianas as they bow to the wind; of the sacrifice offered by the trees scattering their blossoms; of the grove sounding with the lessons chanted by the neophytes, and the *mantras* which the parrots, constantly hearing, had learned to pronounce; of the wild fowl enjoying *Vaishva-deva-bali-pinda*—the food offered to the divinity which is in all creatures,—and of the ducks coming up from the lake, near by, for their portion of the grass-seed, spread in the cottage yards to dry; of the deer caressing with their tongues the young hermit boys. It is again the same story. The hermitage shines out, in all our ancient literature, as the place where the chasm between man and the rest of creation has been bridged.

In the drama of other countries, where the human characters violently drown our attention in the vortex of their passions, Nature occasionally peeps in, but she is almost always a trespasser, who has to submit urgent excuses, or bow apologetically and depart. But in all our dramas, which still retain their fame, such as *Mrichchhakatika*, *Shakuntala*, *Uttara-Rama-Charita* Nature stands on her own right, proving that she has her great function, to impart the peace of the eternal to the human passions and to mitigate their violent agitations which often come from the instability of spiritual lameness.

The frenzied fury of passion, described in two of Shakespere's youthful poems, stands isolated upon its own pedestal of unashamed conspicuity. It is wrenched away naked from the cover of the All; it has not the green earth or the blue sky around it; the many-coloured veil of nature has been impatiently swept away from its face, bringing to our view the fever which is in man's desires, and not the healing balm which encircles it in the universe.

Ritusamhara is clearly a work of Kalidasa's immaturity. The song of youthful love sung in it sounds from the fundamental bass notes of human passion,—it does not reach the sublime height of reticence that there is in Shakuntala or Kumara-Sambhava. But the tune of these voluptuous outbreaks, being set to the varied harmony of Nature's symphony, loses its delirious shrillness in the expanse of the open sky. The moon-beams of the summer evening, resonant with the murmuring flow of fountains, add to it their own melody; in its rhythm sways the *Kadamba* grove, glistening in the first cool rain of the season; and the south breezes waft into its heart the wistfulness of the scent of the mango flowers.

In the third canto of *Kumara Sambhava*, while describing the boisterous emergence of youth at the sudden coming of *Madara*

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(Eros), Kalidasa has been careful to avoid giving this outburst of passion an abnormal supremacy within the narrow field of view of exclusive humanity. His genius basked in the sunshine of the human spirit, where it pervades the spring flower and the harvest of the autumn; and that genius never played at focussing it into a point of ignition upon the naked fluttering heart. Kalidasa has shown a true reverence to the divine love-making of Sati by making his narration of it as a central white lotus floating on the world-wide immensity of youth, in which the animals and trees have their rhythm of life-throbs. It is a sacred flame of longing whose lamp is the universe.

Not only its third canto, but the whole of the *Kumara Sambhava* poem is painted upon a limitless canvas. Its inner idea is deep and of all time. It answers the one question that humanity asks through all its endeavours :—How is the birth of the hero to be brought about,—the brave one who can defy and vanquish the evil demon, when he sweeps upon the scene, laying waste heaven's own kingdom? This is the greatest of all problems for each individual, and it forces itself in ever-new, ever-recurring forms upon each race and nation, and this is the one problem which perists in most of our poet's works,—in his Shakuntala, Raghuvamsha and Kumara Sambhava.

It becomes evident that such a problem had become acute in Kalidasa's time, when the old simplicity of Hindu life had broken up. The Hindu kings, forgetful of their kingly duties, had become self-seeking epicureans, and India was being repeatedly devastated by the Shakas.

But what answer does the poem give to the question it raises?—Not that more armaments were needed, or that a league of powers should be formed, or that some mechanical adjustment of political balance had to be effected. Its message is that the cause of weakness lies in the inner life of the soul. It is in some break of harmony with the Good, some dissociation from the True. When gain is completed by giving up, when love is fulfilled by self-sacrifice, when passion is purified by the penance of the soul, then only is heroism born,—the heroism which can save mankind from all defeat and disater. When the ascetic Shiva—the Good—was lost in the passive immensity of his solitude, heaven was in peril. And when beautiful Sati—the Real—was all by herself, in her unwedded self-seclusion, the demons were triumphant. Only from the union of the exuberant freedom of the Real with the tranquil restraint of the Good comes the fullest strength.

Viewed from the outside, India, in the time of Kalidasa, appeared to have reached the zenith of civilization, excelling as she did in luxury, literature and the arts. Kalidasa himself was not free from the prevailing tone, and the outer embellishment of his poetry is as daintily luxurious as must have been the decorative art of the period. This, however, is only one aspect in which his age influenced the poet.

But what sudden passion for sacrifice, for the austere discipline of the life of aspiration, troubled our Goddess of Poesy amidst the luxury of her golden bower? It was the eternal message of the forest, that can never be silenced, and like a refrain, simple in its purity, comes up again and again, through all noisy distractions of discord,—the message to free our consciousness from the accumulations of desire, to win our immortality, by breaking through the sheath of self, the self which belongs to death. From his seat beside all the glories of Vikramaditya's throne, the poet's heart yearned for the purity of India's past age of spiritual striving. And it was this yearning which took shape and impelled him to go back to the annals of the ancient kings of Raghu's line.

"I fain would sing," says Kalidasa, in his prologue, "of those whose purity went back to the day of their birth, whose striving went forward till attainment, whose empire knew no bounds but the seas, whose adventurous journeys reached up to the high heaven, who offered oblations to the sacred fire in accordance with injunctions, made gifts to the needy in accordance with their wants, awarded punishments in accordance with the crime, and regulated every wakeful activity in accordance with the hour,—who accumulated treasure for the sake of redistribution, tempered their utterance for the sake of truth, desired victories for the sake of glory, entered into wedlock for the sake of progeny,—who practised learning in their childhood, attended to wealth in their youth, took to the hermitage in their old age, cast away their bodies

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when they had attained the supreme union. Of these would I sing, though I lack all wealth of language; for their great merits, entering my ears, have disturbed my heart."

But it was not in a pæan of praise that his poem ended. What had troubled his heart becomes clear, when we come to the end of his Raghuvamsha. What was the life story of the founder of this line of Kings? Where did it begin?

The heroic life of Raghu had its prologue in a hermitage, showing that its origin was in a life of purity and self-restraint, led there by Raghu's royal parents. The poem is not ushered in with the pomp and circumstance befitting the history of a great kingly line. King Dilip, with his consort, Queen Sudakshina, has entered upon the life of the forest. The great monarch is busy tending the cattle of the hermitage. Thus opens the Raghuvamsha amidst scenes of simplicity and self-denial. But it ends in the palace of magnificence, in the wealth and luxury which divert the current of energy from the truth of life to the heaps of things. There is brilliance in this ending, as there is in the conflagration which destroys and devastates. Peaceful as the dawn, radiant as the tawny-haired hermit boy, is the calm strength of the restrained language in which the poet tells us of the kingly glory crowned with the halo of purity,—beginning his poem, as the day begins, in the serene solemnity of its sunrise. And lavish are the colours in which he describes the end, as of the evening, eloquent for a time with its sumptuous splendour of sunset, but overtaken at last by the devouring darkness which sweeps away all its brilliance into the fathomless abyss of night.

In this beginning and this ending of his poem, lies hidden the message of the forest which found its voice in the poet's words. With a suppressed sigh he is saying: "Look on that which was and that which is! In the days when the future glowed glorious ahead, self-discipline was esteemed as the highest path, self-renunciation the greatest treasure, but when downfall had become imminent, the hungry fires of desire aflame at a hundred different points, dazzled the eyes of all beholders." When the lust of self-aggrandisement is unbridled, the harmony between enjoyment and renunciation is destroyed. By concentrating our pride or desire upon a limited field, the field of the animal life, we seek to exaggerate a portion at the expense of the whole, the wholeness which is in man's life of the spirit. From this results evil. That is why renunciation becomes necessary,—not to lead to destitution, but to restoration, to win back the All.

Kalidasa in almost all his works, has depicted this break of harmony between enjoyment and renunciation, between the life that loses itself in the sands of the self and the life that seeks its sea of eternity. And this is characteristically represented by the unbounded impetuousness of kingly splendour on one side and the serene strength of regulated desires on the other. I have already given above an illustration of this from the *Raghuvamsha*. Even in the minor drama of *Malavikagnimitra* we find the same thing in a different manner. It must never be thought that, in this play, the poet's deliberate object was to pander to his royal patron by inviting him to a literary orgy of lasciviousness. The very *Nandi* contradicts this and shows the object towards which this play is directed. The poet begins the drama with the prayer, "सन्मार्गालोकयन् व्यपनयतु स नस्तामसीवृत्तिमीशः" : "Let God, to illumine for us the path of truth, sweep away our passions, bred of darkness." The God, to whom this prayer is uttered, says the poet, is one in whose nature Eternal Woman is ever commingled, in an ascetic purity of love,—who stands in the sacred simplicity of barenness in the midst of his infinite wealth. The unified being of Hara and Parvati is the perfect symbolism of the eternal in the wedded love of man and woman. The poet opens his drama with the invocation of this spirit of the Divine Union. It is quite evident that this invocation carries the message in it with which he greeted his kingly audience. The whole drama is to show in vivid colour the utter ugliness of the treacherous falsehoods and cruelties inherent in all passions that are unchecked. In this play the conflict of ideals is between the king and the queen,—between Agnimitra and Dharini, between the insolent offence against all that is good and true, and the unlimited peace of forgiveness that dwells deep in the self-sacrifice of love. The great significance of this contrast lies hidden in the very names of the hero and

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the heroine of the drama. Though the name '*Agnimitra*' is historical, yet it symbolises in the poet's mind the desolating destructiveness of uncontrolled desire,—just as did the name of *Agnivarna* in *Raghuvamsha*. *Agnimitra*,—'the friend of the fire',—the reckless person, who in his love-making is playing with fire, not knowing that, all the time, it is scorching him black, till the seed of immortality perishes at the core of his being. And what a great name is *Dharini*, signifying the fortitude and forbearance that comes of the majesty of soul! What association it carries of the infinite dignity of love purified by the sacrificial fire of self-abnegation rising far above all insult of base betrayal! Can anybody doubt what effect the performance of this drama produced upon the royal looker-on, what searching of heart, what humility, what reverence for the love that claims our best worship by the offer of its patient worship of service!

In Shakuntala, this conflict of ideals has been shown all through the drama, by the contrast of the pompous heartlessness of the king's court and the natural purity of the hermitage, the contrast of the arrogance displaying itself upon the hollow eminence of convention, and the simplicity standing upon the altitude of truth. The message of the poet is uttered by the two hermit boys, when they enter the king's palace, just before the impending catastrophe of Shakuntala's life, the naked cruelty of which is skilfully hidden by the episode of the curse, though it was unbared a moment before through the shameless self-confession of fickleness by the king, when he listened to the lamentation of Hamsapadika, one of his numerous victims. The message is :—

अभ्यक्तमिव स्नातः शुचिरशुचिमिव प्रबुद्ध इव सुप्तम्
बद्धमिव स्वैरगतिर्जनमिह सुखसङ्गिनम् अवैमि।

"We look upon these devotees of pleasure as he, who has bathed, looks upon the unclean, as the pure in heart upon the polluted, as the wide awake soul looks upon the slothful slumberer, and as the one, who is free to move, looks upon the shackled."

And what is the inner meaning of the curse that follows the hermit girl in this drama, till she is purified by her penance? I am sure, according to the poet, it is the same curse from which his country at that time suffered. There were two guests who knocked at the gate of Shakuntala of whom one was accepted and the other refused. The king, as an embodiment of passion and worldliness, came to her and she readily yielded to his allurements. But when after that the duty of the higher life, the spirit of the forest ideal, stood before her in the guise of an ascetic, she in her absent-mindedness did not notice him. And what was the result? She lost her world of desire for which she had forsaken her truth. And in order to regain that world as her own by right she had to follow through suffering the path of self-conquest. The poet was aware of the two guests who sought entrance into the heart of his country,—the devotee of pleasure and power who comes secretly without giving his real name and insinuates himself into trustful acceptance, and the seeker of spiritual perfection who announces himself in a master's voice, in clear notes, अयमहं भोः—"I am here!" And to his dismay he found his country baring her heart to the former to be betrayed by him. It is evident that kings of that period were deeply drawn into the eddy of self-indulgence and were fighting each other for power, the love of which leads men into the insanity of suicide. The fatal curse of falsehood is always generated when power and success are pursued for their own sake, when our baser passions shamelessly refuse all claims of justice and self-control. The poet had one lingering ray of hope in his heart. He could not but believe that his country had not lost her reverence for her *tapaswi*, the guest who brings to her door the message of everlasting life: only her mind was distracted by some temporary outbreak of temptation. He was certain that she would wake up in sanctifying sorrow, and give birth to her Bharata, the hero who would bring to her life unity and strength of truth. There was a note of assurance in the poet's voice when through his great poems Kumara Sambhava and Shakuntala he called her to come back once again to her purity of life and realisation of soul, the call which is true for other times and other countries also. For the curse still remains to be worked off by humanity for the inhospitable insult offered to the Eternal Man.

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The drama of Shakuntala opens with a hunting scene, where the king is in pursuit of an antelope. This indulgence in sport appears like a menace symbolising the spirit of the king's life clashing against the spirit of the forest-retreat, where all creatures find their protection of love. And the pleading of the forest-dwellers to the king, to spare the life of the deer, helplessly innocent and beautiful, is the pleading that rises from the heart of the whole drama.

न खलु न खलु बाणः सन्निपात्योऽयमस्मिन् ।

मृदुनि मृगशरीरे पुष्प-राशाविवाग्निः ॥

"Never, oh never is the arrow meet for piercing the tender body of a deer, as the fire is not for burning flowers."

The living beauty, whose representative in this drama is Shakuntala, is not aggressively strong like the callous destructiveness of lust, but, through its frailness, it is sublimely great. And it is the poet's pleading which still rings in our ears against the ugly greed of commercialism in the modern age, against its mailed fist of earth-hunger, against the lust of the strong, which is grossly intent upon killing the Beautiful and piercing the heart of the good to the quick. Once again sounds the warning of the forest, at the conclusion of the first act, when the king is engaged in fateful dalliance with the hermit girl :—"O Tapaswis, hasten to rescue the living spirit of the sacred forest, for Dushyanta, the lord of earth, whose pleasure is in hunting, is come." It is the warning of India's past, and that warning still continues against the reckless carnival of the present time, celebrated by the lords of Earth, whose pleasure is in hunting to death with their ruthless machines all that is beautiful with the delicacy of life.

In *Kumara-Sambhava*, the friend and ally of Indra, the king of the Gods, is Madana, the god of desire. And he, in his blindness, imagines that he can unite Shiva and Parvati by the delusion created by the madness of the senses. It is the same as when we try to reach our perfection through wealth and power, through the intensity of boisterous self-seeking. That is not to be. At last Parvati's love was crowned with fulfilment through her penance of self-sacrifice. The moral of the *Kumara-Sambhava* is the same as the teaching of the Upanishat : त्यक्तेन भुञ्जीथा, "enjoy through renunciation". मा गृधः कस्यस्विद्धनम् "Enjoyment must not be through greed."

One thing which we must remember is, that the life in ancient India was not all forest life,—nor is the heart the only organ we possess in our vital organism. But the heart lies in the centre of our body; it purifies our blood and sends our life-current through the ramifications of all the channels in our body to the extremities of our limbs. Our *tapovana* was just such a vital centre of our social body. In it throbbed the rhythm of our life's ebb and flow: it gave truth to our thoughts, right impulse to our feelings, and guiding force to our work. We distinctly see, from the works of our poet, that the teaching of the forest was not towards the inertia of passivity, but towards true heroism and victory. It was not towards suppression of action, but its purification, towards giving it freedom of life by removing obstructions.

We know of other great systems in which there is a special insistence upon sacrifice and resignation. Just as heat is an important factor in the process of creation, so is pain an essential reagent in the formation of man's life. It melts the intractable hardness of his spirit, and wears away the unyielding crust which confines his heart. But the Upanishat enjoins renunciation, not by way of acceptance of pain, but for the purpose of enjoyment of truth. Such renunciation means an expansion into the Universal, a union with the Supreme. It is the renunciation of the cocoon for the freedom of the living wings. So that the ideal hermitage of ancient India was not a theatre where the spirit should wrestle with the flesh, or where the monastic order should try conclusions with the social order,—it was to establish a harmony between all our energies and the eternal reality. That is why the relations of Indian humanity with beast and bird and tree had attained an intimacy which may seem strange to people of other lands. Our poets have told us that the *tapovana* is *shantarasaspadam*,—that the emotional quality peculiar to the forest-retreat is Peace, the peace which is the emotional counterpart of perfection. Just as the mingling of the colours of the spectrum gives us white light, so when the faculties

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of our mind, instead of being scattered, flow in a united stream, in harmony with the universal purpose, then does peace result—the peace which pervaded India's forest retreats, where man was not separate from, and had no quarrel with, the rest of his surroundings.

The two hermitages, which we have in the drama of Shakuntala, serve to give a magnitude to her joy and sorrow. One of these hermitages was on earth, the other on the border of the abode of immortals. In the first, we see the daughter of the hermitage watching in delight the union of the sweet flowering creeper with the mango tree round which it has twined; or busy rearing motherless young deer with handfuls of grass-seed, and picking the spear-grass out from their tender mouths, soothing the pricks with healing oil. This hermitage serves to make simple, natural and beautiful the love of the king for the hermit girl. The other hermitage was on the great cloud-like massive Hemakuta peak, standing like Shiva, with his locks of forest-growths and tangled creepers, lost in meditation, its gaze fixed on the sun. In this, Marichi, the revered preceptor of both Gods and Titans, together with his wife, was engaged in the pursuit of self-realisation. There, when the young hermit boys would playfully snatch from the lioness her suckling cub, its distress would greatly exercise the tāpasa-Mother. The second hermitage, in turn, serves to mellow with a great peace and purity the sorrow and insult which had driven Shakuntala there.

It has to be realised, that the former is of the earth, the region of the mortals, the latter of heaven, the region of the immortals. In other words, the one represents 'what is,' the other 'what should be.' The unceasing movement of 'what is' is towards 'what should be.' It finds its true freedom in that movement. The first is Sati—the Real—the last Shiva, the Good. In the life of Shakuntala, likewise, the 'what is' had to find its fulfilment in the 'what should be.' What was of the earth had to come, through the path of sorrow, to the border of heaven.

Those who have followed the evolution of the principal idea in this drama,—its seed-life in the soil of passion, its deliverance of harvest in the sunlight of the purity of self-abnegation,—will understand the great poet Goethe's criticism of Shakuntala, so tersely expressed in a single verse :—

"Wouldst thou the flower of the spring and fruit of the mature year,
Wouldst thou what charms and enraptures and what feeds and nourishes,
Wouldst thou heaven and earth in one name entwined,
I name thee, O Sakuntala, and all is said."

For in Shakuntala the reconciliation is given, through the penance of pain and sacrifice, to the pair of contraries, that which attracts and that which gives freedom, the limitation of self and the dedication of self to the Eternal. Goethe's own drama Faust, in its first and in its second part, tries to show the same separation and then reconciliation between the Real and the Good, between Sati and Shiva.

However, my point is this, that the scene of such reconciliation is depicted, both in Shakuntala and in Kumara-Sambhava, upon the background of the *tapovana*, showing whence the spring of the ideal harmony welled forth, the harmony between Nature and man, between the life in the individual and life in the All.

In the Ramayana, Rama and his companions, in their banishment, had to traverse forest after forest; they had to live in leaf-thatched huts, to sleep on the bare ground. But as their hearts felt their kinship with woodland, hill and stream, they were not in exile amidst these. Poets, brought up in an atmosphere of different ideals, would have taken this opportunity of depicting in dismal colours the hardship of the forest-life in order to bring out the martyrdom of Ramachandra in the strong emphasis of contrast. But, in the Ramayana, we are led to realise the greatness of the hero, not in an inimical struggle with nature, but in sympathy with it.

Sita, the daughter-in-law of a great kingly house, goes along the forest paths.

एकैकं पादप' गुल्मं लतां वा पुष्पशालिनीम्
अदृष्टरूपां पश्यन्ती राम' पप्रच्छ सावला ।
रमणीयान् बहुविधान् पादपान् कुसुमोत्करान्
सीतावचनसंरब्ध आनयामास लक्ष्मण: ।
विचित्रवालुकाजलां हंससारसनादिताम्
रेमे जनकराजस्य सुता प्रेक्ष्य तदा नदीम् ॥

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She asks Rama about the flowering trees and shrubs and creepers which she has not seen before. At her request, Lakshmana gathers and brings her plants of all kinds exuberant with flowers, and it delights her heart to see the forest rivers, variegated with their streams and sandy bank, resounding with the calls of heron and duck.

सुरम्यमासाद्य तु चित्रकूटम्
नदीञ्च तां माल्यवतीं सुतीर्थाम्
ननन्द दृष्टा मृगपक्षिजुष्टाम्
जहौ च दुःखं पुरविप्रवासात् ॥

When Rama first took his abode in the Chitrakuta peak, that delightful *Chitrakuta*, by the *Malyavati* river, with its easy slopes for landing, he forgot all the pain of leaving his home in the capital at the sight of these woodlands, alive with beast and bird.

दीर्घकालोषितस्तस्मिन् गिरौ गिरिवनप्रियः—having lived on that hill for long, Rama, who was गिरिवनप्रिय, lover of the mountain and the forest, said one day to Sita :

न राज्यभंशनं भद्रे न सुहृद्भिर्विनाभवः
मनो मे बाधते दृष्ट्वा रमणीयमिमं गिरिम् ।

"When I look upon the beauties of this hill, the loss of my kingdom troubles me no longer, nor does the separation from my friends cause me any pang."

When they went over to the Dandaka forest, they saw there a hermitage with a halo round it caused by the sacrificial fires blazing like the sun itself. This ashram was शरण्यम् सर्व्वभूतानाम् ' the refuge of all creatures ; it was enfolded by *Brahmi Lakshmi*, the Spirit of the Infinite.

Thus passed Ramachandra's exile, now in woodland, now in hermitage scenes. The love which Rama and Sita bore each other united them, not only to each other, but to the Universe of life. That is why, when Sita was taken away, the loss seemed to be very great to the forest itself. The extinction of a star is doubtless a mighty event in the world of stars ; and we would know, if we had pure vision, that any infliction of injury in the heart of a true lover gives rise to suffering which belongs to all the world. Sita's abduction robbed the forest of the most beautiful of its blossoms, the ineffable tenderness of human love,—that which imparted the mystery of a spiritual depth to all its sounds and forms.

Strangely enough, in Shakespeare's dramas, like those of Kalidasa, we find a secret vein of complaint against the artificial life of the king's court, the life of ungrateful treachery and falsehood. And almost everywhere, in his dramas, forest scenes have been introduced in connection with some working of the life of unscrupulous ambition. It is perfectly obvious in "Timon of Athens"—but there Nature offers no message or balm to the injured soul of man. In "Cymbeline" the mountainous forest and the cave appear in their aspect of obstruction to life's opportunities —which only seem tolerable in comparison with the vicissitudes of fortune in the artificial court life, as expressed by Belarius :

"Did you but know the city's usuries,
And felt them knowingly : the art o' the court,
As hard to leave as keep ; whose top to climb
Is certain falling, or so slippery that
The fear's as bad as falling :"

In "As You Like It" the Forest of Arden is didactic in its lessons,—it does not bring peace, but it preaches when it says :

"Hath not old custom made this life more sweet
Than that of painted pomp ? Are not these woods
More free from peril than the envious court ?"

In the "Tempest" in Prospero's treatment of Ariel and Caliban we realise man's struggle with nature and his longing to sever connection with her. In "Macbeth," as a prelude to a bloody crime of treachery and treason, we are introduced to a scene of barren heath where the three witches appear as the personification of Nature's malignant forces ; and in "King Lear," it is the fury of a father's love turned into curses by the ingratitude born of the unnatural life of the court, that finds its symbol in the storm in the heath. The extreme tragic intensity of "Hamlet" and "Othello" is unrelieved by any touch of Nature's eternity. Excepting in a passing glimpse of a moonlight night in the love scene in the "Merchant of Venice" Nature has not been allowed in other dramas of this series, including "Romeo and Juliet"

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and "Antony and Cleopatra," to contribute her own music to the music of man's love. In "The Winter's Tale" the suspicious cruelty of a king's love stands bare in its relentlessness, and Nature cowers before it offering no consolation. I hope it is needless for me to say that these observations of mine are not for criticising Shakespeare's great power as a dramatic poet, but to show in his works the gulf between nature and human nature owing to the tradition of his race and time. It cannot be said that beauty of nature is ignored in his writings; only he fails to recognise in them the truth of the interpenetration of human life and the cosmic life of the world. When literature takes for its object the exhibition of the explosiveness of a human passion, then necessarily that passion is made detached from its great context of the universe and is shown in its extreme violence generated by the instability of equilibrium. And this is what we find in Elizabethan dramas,—the clash of passions in their fury of self-assertion. We observe a sudden and a completely different attitude of mind in the later English poets, like Wordsworth and Shelley, which can only be attributed to the great mental change in Europe, at that particular period, through the influence of the newly-discovered philosophy of India which stirred the soul of Germany and strongly roused the attention of other Western countries.

In Milton's "Paradise Lost," the very subject,—Man dwelling in the garden of Paradise,—seems to afford a special opportunity for bringing out the true greatness of man's relationship with Nature. But though the poet has described to us the beauties of the garden, though he has shown us the animals living there in amity and peace among themselves, there is no reality of kinship between them and man. They were created for man's enjoyment; man was their lord and master. We find no trace of the love of the first man and woman surpassing themselves and overflowing the rest of creation, such as we find in the love scenes in *Kumara-Sambhava* and *Shakuntala* and in our Vaishnava lyrics, where love finds its symbols in the beauty of all natural objects. But in the seclusion of the bower, where the first man and woman rested in the garden of paradise,

"Bird, beast, insect or worm
Durst enter none, such was their awe of man."

At the bottom of this gulf between man and Nature there is the lack of the message,—ईशावास्यमिदम् सर्व्वम 'know all that is, as enveloped by God'. According to this epic of the West, God remains aloof to receive glorification from his creatures. The same idea persists in the case of man's relation to the rest of creation.

Not that India denied the superiority of man, but the test of that superiority lies, according to her, in the comprehensiveness of sympathy,—not in the aloofness of absolute distinction.

The love of Rama and Sita, in the *Uttara Rama Charita* has permeated the surrounding earth, water and sky with its exuberance. When Rama, for the second time, finds himself on the banks of the Godavari, he exclaims. यत्र द्रुमा अपि मृगा अपि बान्धवो मे "this is the place even whose deer and whose trees are my friends". When after Sita's exile he comes across some former haunt of theirs, he laments that his heart, even though turned to stone, melts when he sees the trees and the deer and the birds which Sita's own hands used to nourish with water, seed and grass.

In the *Meghaduta*, the exiled Yaksha is not shut up within himself in his grief. The very agony of his separation from his loved one serves to scatter his heart over the woods and streams, enriched by the prodigality of the rains. And so the casual longing of a love-sick individual has become part of the symphony of the universe. And this is the outcome of the spirit of teaching which springs from the ancient forest.

India holds sacred, and counts as places of pilgrimage, all spots which display a special beauty or splendour of nature. These had no original attraction, on account of any special fitness to be cultivated, or lived upon. Here, man is free, not to look upon nature as a source of supply of his necessities but to realise his soul beyond himself. The Himalayas of India are sacred and the Vindhya Hills. Her majestic rivers are sacred. Lake Manasa and the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna are sacred. India has saturated with her love and worship the great nature with which her children are sur-

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rounded, whose light fills their eyes with gladness, whose water cleanses them, whose food gives them life, and from whose majestic mystery come forth constant messages of the infinite in music, scent, and colour, bringing awakening to their souls. India has gained the world through worship,—through communion of soul. And this is her heritage from her forest sanctuary.

Learning does not depend on the school alone. Much more does it depend upon the receptive mind of the pupil. There are scholars who win diplomas, but fail to learn. So do many of us frequent places of pilgrimage, but come away from the door of the invisible shrine, where dwells the Eternal spirit of the place. They imagine that the mere journey to a place held sacred is sanctifying, that some peculiar virtues reside in particular soils and waters. Their minds do not shrink at the unspeakable pollution of the water and the air of those places, the pollution to which they themselves contribute, and the moral filth which they allow to accumulate there. The salutation of worship to the all-pervading divinity in the fire, water and plants, in all creation, has been bequeathed to us by our ancestors in the following immortal verse :

यो देवोऽग्नौ योऽप्सु यो विश्वम् भुवनमाविवेश

य ओषधिषु यो वनस्पतिषु तस्मै देवाय नमो नमः ।

But we seem to have forgotten that all worship has also its duty of service, and in order truly to realise and approach the divine presence in the water and the air we have reverently to keep them clean and pure and healthful. The more our country has lost its powers of soul, the more elaborate have become its outward practices. The inner illumination of consciousness which is not only the object, but also the means of all true worship has, in our case, given place to the grossness of the senses and deadness of mere repetition of habits. But, even in these days of our spiritual sluggishness, I am unwilling to accept these mechanical practices as a permanent feature of India. It is absurd to believe as well-founded the idea, that a bath in a particular stream procures for the bather and millions of his ancestors a more favourable circumstance and desirable accommodation in the after life. Nor am I able to respect such a belief as something admirable. But my reverence goes out to the man, who when taking an immersion, can receive the water upon his body, and into his mind as well, in a devout spirit ;—for him the grimy touch of habit has not been able to tarnish the ever-lasting mystery which is in fire and earth, water and food ; he has overcome, by the sensitiveness of his soul, the gross materialism, —the spirit of contempt, of the average man, which impels the latter to look upon water as mere liquid matter.

So long as man was unable to realise an all-pervading law in the material world, his knowledge remained petty and unfruitful. (But the modern man feels himself united to the universe by physical laws governing all. This is Science's great achievement.

The quest which India set to herself was to realise the same unity in the realm of the spirit, that is to say, in its completeness. Such union enables us to see Him in all who is above all else. And the wisdom, which grew up in the quiet of the forest shade, came out of the realisation of this Greater-than-all in the heart of the all.

Let no one think that I desire to extol this achievement, as the one and the only consummation. I would rather insist on the inexhaustible variety of the human race, which does not grow straight up, like a palmyra tree, on a single stem, but like a banian tree spreads itself in ever-new trunks and branches. Man's history is organic, and deep-seated life-forces work towards its growth. It is hopeless to cater to some clamorous demand of the moment, by endeavouring to fashion the history of one people on the model of another,—however flourishing the latter may be. A small foot may be the sign of aristocratic descent, but the Chinese woman's artificial attempt has only resulted in cramped feet. For India to force herself along European lines of growth would not make her Europe, but only a distorted India.

That is why we must be careful to-day to try to find out the principles, by means of which India will be able for certain to realise herself. That principle is neither commercialism, nor nationalism. It is universalism. It is not merely self-determination, but self-conquest and self-dedication. This was recognised and followed in India's forests of old ; its truth was

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declared in the Upanishat and expounded in the Gita; the Lord Buddha renounced the world that he might make this truth a household word for all mankind; Kabir, Nanak and other great spirits of India continued to proclaim its message. India's grand achievement, which is still stored deep within her heart, is waiting, to unite within itself Hindu, Moslem, Buddhist, and Christian, not by force, not by the apathy of resignation, but in the harmony of active co-operation.

An almost impossible task has been set to India by her Providence, a task given to no other great countries in the world. Among her children and her guests differences in race and language, religion and social ideals are as numerous as great, and she has to achieve the difficult unity which has to be true in spite of the separateness that is real. The best and the greatest of her sons have called us in immortal words to realise the unity of souls in all human beings and thus fulfil the highest mission of our history; but we have merely played with their words, and we have rigidly kept apart man from man, and class from class, setting up permanent barriers of indignity between them. We remained unconscious of the suicidal consequence of such divisions, so long as we lay stationary in the torpor of centuries, but when the alien world suddenly broke upon our sleep and dragged us on in its impetus of movement, our disjointed heterogeneity set up in its lumbering unwieldiness an internal clash and crush and unrhythmic stagger which is both ludicrous and tragic at the same moment. So long as we disregard or misread the message of our ancient forest, the message of all-pervading truth in humanity, the message of all-comprehensive union of souls which rises above all differences and goes deeper than mere expediency, we shall have to go on suffering sorrow after sorrow and endless humiliation, and in all things futility.

LIFE HISTORY OF FROGS AND TOADS

FROGS and Toads are in many respects intermediate between Reptiles and Fishes. From their mode of life they are very appropriately called Amphibians.

Frogs and Toads are distributed all over the world except the polar regions. They are most abundant in the tropical and sub-tropical regions; and as they are not marine in their habits, even a narrow arm of the sea is generally sufficient to limit their habitat. When they occur on islands, it is probable either that their eggs have been carried by birds or that there has been a comparatively recent separation from the mainland. In absolutely desert districts also they are unknown; while in countries where there is a long dry season, followed by a period of rains, they are in the habit of being torpid, during the former; the length of the sleep in one Javan species being upwards of five months. In cold climates they become torpid during winter. They are abundant in India and South America; and it is not a little remarkable that some of the largest forms are inhabitants of islands. They are represented by about a thousand species.

When the autumn sets in Frogs seek out suitable places in which to pass the winter. Moss-lined crannies and hollows in the stumps of trees are the places most favored; and there they remain till the spring recalls them to activity.

During this period of hibernation these creatures are in a state of torpor, the mouth and nostrils are closed and respiration is all but absent, being carried on then entirely by means of the skin. Only healthy Frogs can successfully withstand the rigours of the winter, the weaklings die during their hibernation.

With the advent of the spring these Frogs issue from their hiding places and congregate in considerable numbers in the ponds, and there they commence to spawn. Curiously enough, the same water is chosen year after year, and too the same part of the pond.

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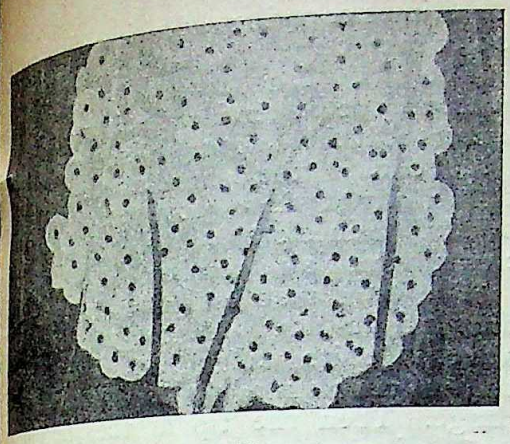


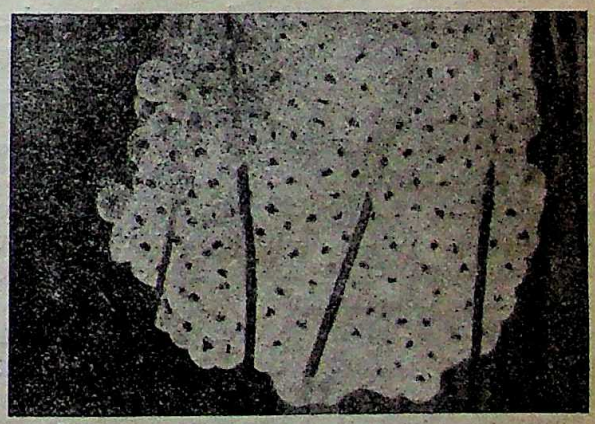
Eggs of Frogs—First stage.

The female frog deposits her eggs in the water in the form of a small black mass, not more than an inch and a half in its longest dimension. The mass is tacky like rubber solution, and consists of a quantity of tiny jet black spheres, all tightly pressed together. The tackiness is due to a minute coating of a sort of gelatine on each sphere. When laid in water this gelatine rapidly absorbs water and becomes a slippery jelly, becoming thereby a very efficient protective covering of the black tiny eggs. This gelatine covering is very porous and allows the water free access, thereby helping the eggs with a constant supply of oxygen dissolved in water, oxygen being an important factor in the healthy hatching of the eggs. The slippery jelly foils the attacks of birds and fishes, which would gladly prey on the black eggs were they not thus prevented. The spawn is always laid in some shallow where it cannot sink more than half an inch or so below the surface; for the eggs require light and heat from the sun to hatch them; and their black color largely aids in this absorption.

In some ten days or more after the eggs are deposited, black bodies appear to unroll and the eggs change their spherical shapes. As the embryo tadpoles develop, the jelly gradually loses its toughness, and becomes slimy and mucilaginous, so that when the young tadpole is ready to leave the spawn it is able to slowly wriggle its way through the jelly out into the water.

The young tadpole is a curious little creature now, jet black and just a head body and stumpy tail; but without a suggestion of limbs. Under its head is a gland which secretes an adhesive substance that causes the tadpole to stick to anything the gland touches. It has no mouth yet, and is incapable of any movement beyond an occasional wriggle. It breathes by means of tiny gills, which at this stage somewhat resemble ears at the side of the head. In a few days the tail lengthens and the gills grow to be feathery, and then the creatures begin to swim freely. Gradually these new gills disappear, for a skin grows over them until they are no longer visible, and a horny beak-like mouth is formed.

Respiration is carried on now by taking in water at the mouth, passing it over the concealed gills and expelling it at the single gill-hole at the left side of the head. Lungs, too, are now beginning to form, and the tadpole frequently visits the surface to exercise its new power. As development proceeds the gills tend to fall into disuse, and the lungs begin to predominate; so that when the creature leaves the water as a Frog the gills will have disappeared altogether. Frogs and Toads have no ribs; and consequently they are unable to breathe in the ordinary way by alternate expansion and contraction of the cavity of the chest: and they, so to speak, swallow air, taking in a large gulp, and then closing the mouth. If the mouth of one of these creatures be kept forcibly open, death must inevitably ensue, owing to the impossibility of breathing while in this state.



Eggs of Frogs—Second stage. In this stage the black dots have become developed and somewhat elongated.

By this time the part of the pond in which the spawn was laid is a seething mass of wriggling black. They are the scavengers of the pond, feeding on anything vegetable or animal and on the re-

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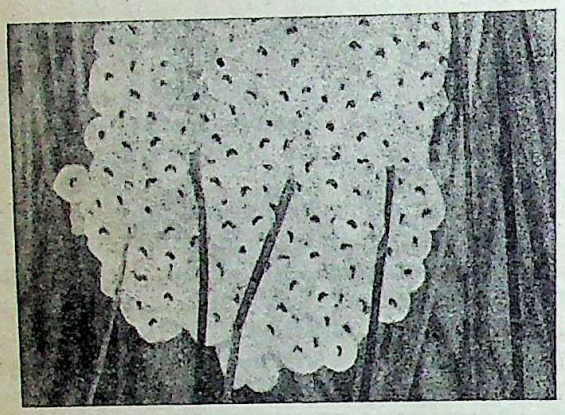
fuse which would decay and poison the water were it not removed by them. These tadpoles also constitute the staple food of the carnivorous creatures which share their haunts, such as fishes, newts and the numerous water insects.



Eggs of Frogs—Third stage. In this stage the larvæ have become more developed.

With the loss of the external gills the black color of the tadpole begins to change: its body becomes closely dotted with minute golden spots, which as time goes on gradually expand, and give the creature the familiar brown color. This admirably protects it from unwelcome observations while lying at the bottom of a muddy pond.

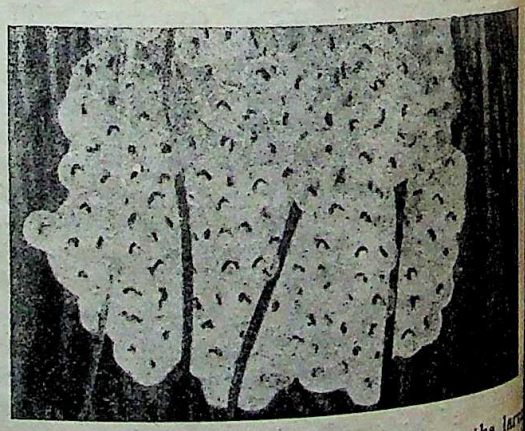
The tadpole grows very rapidly, and after a few weeks the hind toes become visible at the root of the tail, and the front legs begin to develop within the gill chamber although as yet invisible from outside. Steadily these legs lengthen and grow stouter and by the middle of June the hind pair become folded in the position so characteristic of a Frog. Then the left fore-leg suddenly pushes its way out through the gill-hole, but the right one has to forcibly make an exit in the skin, and consequently appears some hours later. The little creature is now a veritable Frog, but with a tadpole's tail. But as soon as it is the proud possessor of four legs the tail begins to wither. A sort of inflammation sets in at the tip and gradually the tail shortens to a stump, and in three or four days is absorbed and so vanishes altogether.

The number of toes in the frogs and toads is always five. In a few frogs the toes are furnished with claw-like nails; the toes are often connected by webs, sometimes carrying adhesive discs on the lower surface.

The little frog now wanders into the grass at the waterside feeding on the tiny insects it meets with. A summer shower will cause the simultaneous exit of thousands of these young frogs from the ponds. Henceforth it is a terrestrial creature, not an aquatic one.

The frog restricts itself to an animal diet and its food must always be taken alive. He sits with great stolidity until the moving small creature comes within range. Then the tip of the long sticky tongue is shot out with lightning rapidity and returned instantly as if by magic with its quarry adhering. The tongue is well-developed and thick, filling the whole space between the jaws and being capable of a large amount of very quick motion; it is fixed to the inner side of the front of the lower jaw, with its tip pointing down the throat. The tongue is more an organ for holding its prey than an organ of taste. It is wanting in one group of frogs. In some the tip of the tongue is notched.

In Frogs and Toads the lower jaw is very generally toothless; but the upper jaw and even the palate may be armed with teeth. The teeth are small, simple and pointed, being adapted for holding and not for masticating.



Eggs of Frogs—Fourth stage. Now the larvæ are about to come out by biting through the tough egg shells.

The brain of Frogs and Toads is of a very low type. Their eyes are large and very highly developed, generally possessing two lids, of which the lower one is larger and thinner than the upper, and more or less transparent. In some the

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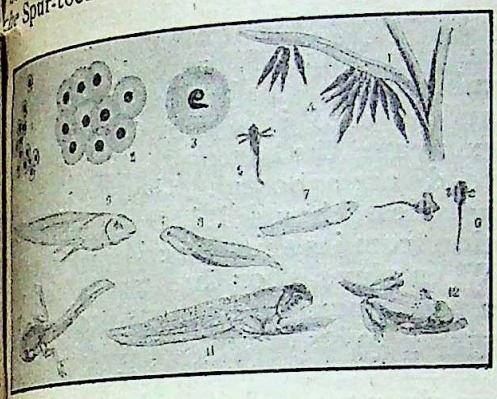
pupil of the eye is horizontal; and in some vertical; the pupil of the eye of the Fire-bellied Frog is triangular, and that of the Spur-toed tongueless Frog, circular.

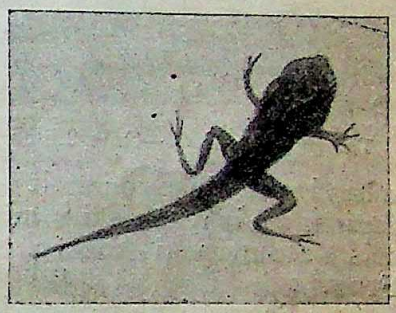


The Evolution of the Frog.—(1) Newly laid eggs. (2) Developed eggs. (3) The developed larvæ within the egg. (4) Newborn tadpoles. (5 and 6) Tadpoles with branching gills. (7 to 12) Several stages in the evolution of the frog from its tadpole stage to a two-footed frog stage.

The skin of frogs and toads are porous, and they do not drink water through their mouth, but imbibe moisture through the pores of their integument. Moisture is essential to their existence, and if they are confined in a dry atmosphere they soon perish. Such members of the class as inhabit dry localities are mostly nocturnal avoiding sunshine and wandering abroad when they can obtain moisture from dew. In about three seasons, if it escapes the claws of its many enemies, our Frog will be full-grown and able to breed; and then, if the Fates are still kind, it may live on until it reaches the age of seven or eight years or even more. Toads live up to twenty years.

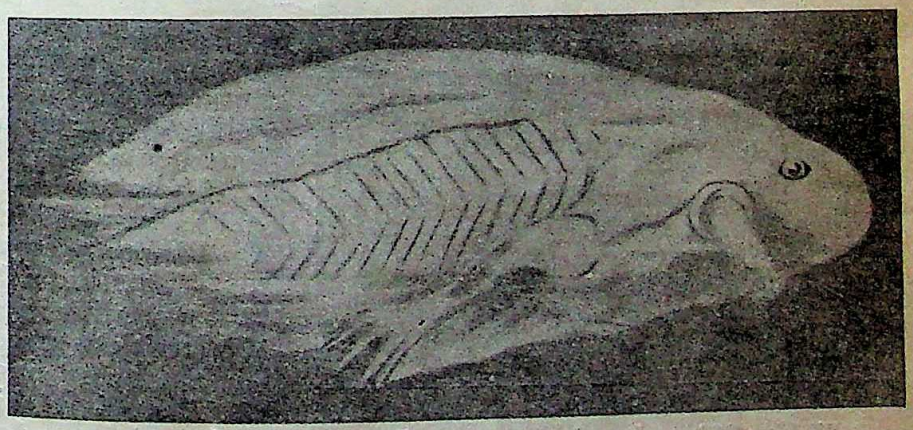
A young frog.

During the breeding season the croaking of the frog is principally uttered. The males have a globular sac on each side of the head opening by a slit behind the angle of the mouth, which produces the croaking. The croaking of a number of frogs can be heard from long distances. The croaking of the Bull-frog is considerable in volume, as other frogs are mere dwarfs compared to their big forms. Their croaking can be heard for a distance of several miles. The Bull-frog is upwards of 9 inches in length exclusive of the legs. It takes two years to attain its full growth.



A well-developed tadpole.

There is a class of frogs called Piping-frogs from their loud pipe-like croaking. The Grasshopper Frog derives its name from its piercing strident cry, which resembles the noise of its insect name-sake; it is fond of resting on the leaves of aquatic plants.



A tadpole of the Paradox Frog—10 inches long, the tail being 7 inches.

The male frogs croak in order to make known their presence to the female.

A kind of Frog of South America in the tadpole stage attains the enormous length of ten inches, and of this no less than seven inches is taken up by the tail. As the animal nears maturity this tail slowly shrinks, so that by the time the adult tailless stage is attained the total length of the animal does not exceed two and a half inches! Thus this creature grows as it were backwards, that is to say that

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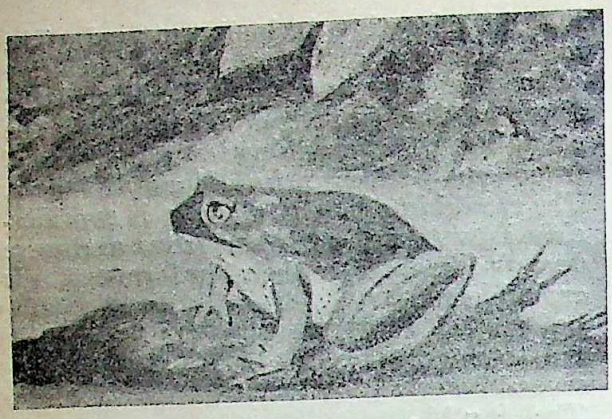
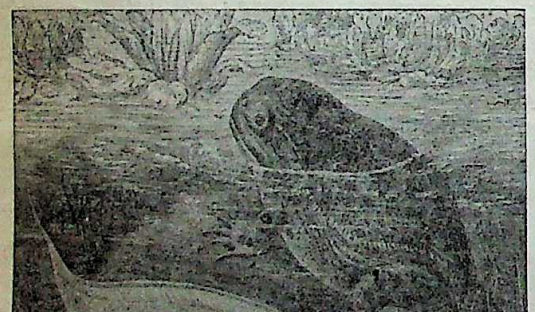


The Paradox Frog—Only 2 inches when full grown.

when it remains young it is bigger in size than when it reaches its adult stage. On this account it is known as the Paradox Frog.

The Frogs display remarkable attention and care to their youngs.

The spur-toed frogs lay large eggs singly. The tadpoles, which at birth have already lost their external gills, on the third day after leaving the eggs, develop



A Whiskered Tadpole and a full-grown Frog.

a pair of barbels hanging down from the corners of the mouth.

The Toad is a small family of the Frog tribe characterized by the disc-like form of the tongue, which may be either free or adherent to the floor of the mouth. Short hind-limbs are the distinguishing characteristic of the Toad. It is also distinguishable by the absence of teeth in both jaws, and by the horizontal pupil of the eye. The Toads have an almost cosmopolitan distribution, with the exception of Madagascar, Australia, New Guinea and the islands of the Pacific. And while the more typical forms are characterised by their terrestrial habits, rough skin, and creeping gait, so unlike that of the frogs, others are burrowing and others again are thoroughly aquatic. Those who are in the habit of burrowing develop a tubercle on the head with a sharp edge and is used in a shovel-like manner to excavate the burrow. The disc-footed toads are arboreal. They are practically harmless, though it is true that the secretion from its skin is acrid and irritating. When alarmed or threatened with danger a toad immediately stops and puffs out its body to its utmost capacity, at the same time causing the acrid secretion to exude from the pores of its skin, and likewise discharging a pure limpid fluid from a special reservoir, and this is not urine as is commonly believed to be.

The eggs of the Toad differ from those of the Frog in that instead of forming an irregular mass with their enclosing jelly they are arranged in a regular, double and alternating series in the form of a string, which may be a yard or more in length. These strings are generally deposited in the water about a fortnight later than the spawn of the frog; and it is not till autumn that the young toads complete their metamorphosis and forsake the water. From that of the frog, the tadpole of the toad is distinguished by its smaller size and blacker color.

The vocal sac beneath the throat of the male is wanting in the common toad.

There are some toads which have gained some distinguishing names from some of their peculiarities, such as the Green Toad, Natterjack Toad, Sharp-nosed Toad; the first-named being the handsomest of all.

There is a kind of Toad, the ground color of the under surface of whose body is either yellow or orange, and is therefore known as the Fire-bellied Toad. The color of the belly depends on the station; the yellow-bellied living in streams at a considerable elevation in the mountains, while the orange-bellied inhabits pools and rivers in the plains. Another peculiar characteristic of this Toad is its death-feigning instinct. When it is afraid of any real or imaginary danger it lies sprawling on its back with its limbs as rigid as though in the grip of death. Another peculiarity of the Fire-bellied Toad is the great size attained by its tadpole, which

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Sharp-nosed Triangular-headed Frog.

is further characterized by the unusual development of its tail-fin. This frog is unknown in the British Isles, but is common in many parts of the European Continent whence it extends eastwards into Asia. The skin of its back is warty and is of olive-brown color, which may or may not be marbled with black; the skin of the under-parts is smooth and either yellow or orange, with black marblings. It is further characterised by the triangular form of the pupil of the eye.

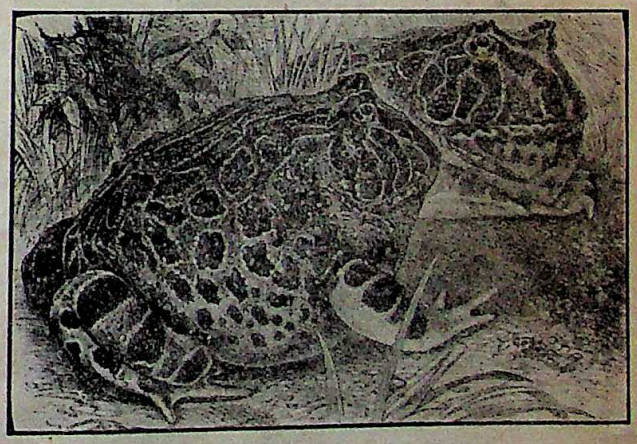
Many kinds of frogs spend their lives in trees, where there is no opportunity for the tadpoles to live in water; but Nature is not to be beaten by trifles of this kind, and we accordingly find that the eggs are much larger than usual, thus permitting the whole of the tadpole-time being passed within the egg, and allowing the young to make their appearance in the world as full-blown frogs. Again, a frog inhabiting dry districts in the Solomon Islands lays eggs of the size of marbles in rocky situations, from which also emerge in due course perfectly formed frogs. Other tree-frogs take advantage of the moisture contained in the cavities of the boughs or leaves of the trees in which they dwell; so that the tadpoles may undergo their development either in little pools or in masses of froth.

The Piping-frogs dig a hole in the ground near water, line it with a layer of scum, upon which the eggs are deposited and left to hatch. The nests seem, however, always to be so placed that at a certain season they will be flooded by the rise of the neighbouring water.

One kind of Brazilian tree-frog makes regular pools of a circular form in the shallow borders of ponds and swamps, such pools being surrounded by a narrow mud wall, about 4 inches in height, and these ponds serve as nests for the tadpoles; but what is most astonishing is the manner in which the frog smooths the mud-wall with its hands, as would a mason with his trowel. The female undertakes the entire task of building.

Another tree-frog of Brazil has acquired the remarkable habit of depositing its eggs in the sheaths of old decaying leaves of bananas, where even during the hot hours of the day sufficient coolness and moisture are preserved. These lumps are enclosed in a frothy white substance. The tailed larvae are seen struggling in this frothy mass; if put into fresh water, all will die in a few hours.

Stranger still is the development of the so-called marsupial frogs of South America, the females of which have a long pouch in the hind part of the back, wherein the fifteen or sixteen eggs are placed by the male, there to hatch and produce tadpoles which undergo the usual course of development.



Spotted Frogs.

These have horns on their heads and poisonous glands in their bodies; their temper is very hot and irritable.

Even this is surpassed in the case of Darwin's Frog of Chili, the males of which take the eggs into a special chamber in their throats, there to remain till they develop into full-formed frogs, which appear to

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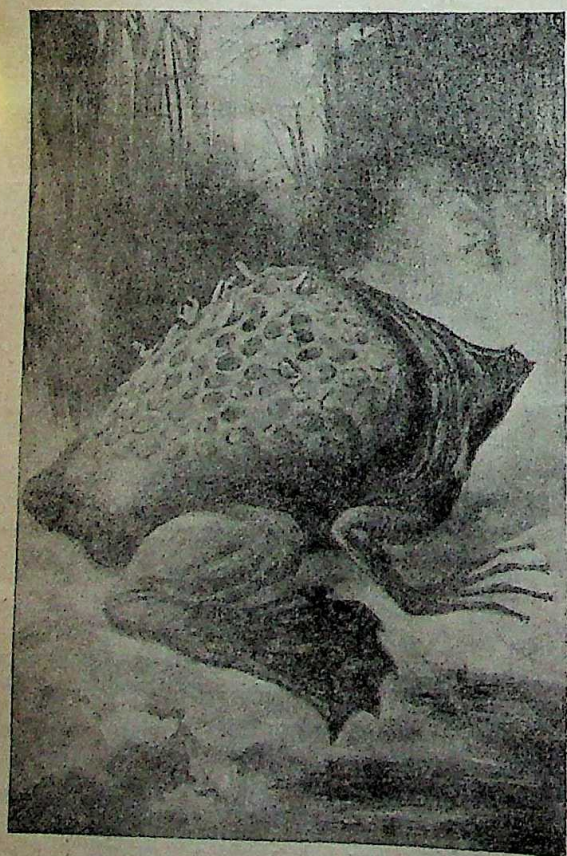
skip the usual tadpole stage, and eventually hop out of their father's mouth to try their own luck in the world. The special breeding pouch in the gullet of the Frog communicates with the mouth by means of a pair of slits in the floor of the mouth, one on each side of the tongue.

The nursery arrangement which obtain in the Surinam Toad, a Tropical South American species, is very peculiar. These toads inhabit the hottest and dampest districts of the Guianas and Brazil and never voluntarily leave the water: during the dry season when many of the ponds and pools give out, they are compelled to bury themselves in the mud. They awake, however, with the coming of the rainy season, and then commence the business of spawning in the flooded forests.

In the spawning season the skin of the back of the female becomes very much thickened and softened. After spawning the female by a special arrangement deposits the spawn on the lower part of her own back. The eggs are then pushed forward, one by one by the male and gradually pressed down so as to cause them to sink into the soft and yielding skin until they become completely buried. When development has taken place the young toad becomes enclosed in a pocket-like cavity furnished with a thin lid of a shining horny substance. In these cells the young toads undergo their full development, not emerging until they are miniature replicas of their parents. As a rule from sixty to seventy offspring are developed in the back of each female, but in some instances the number may be increased to so many as one hundred and twenty; the whole process of development occupying eighty-two days. When ready to emerge, the young toads do not appear to require any assistance, each pushing off the lid of its cell by thrusting forth its head or a leg, and then proceeding to climb out.



The Surinam Toad.—On its back are many cells, which are the nursery of its young.

After the young have come forth, the outer layer of the skin of the back of the female dries up and is shed, while the honeycomb-like cells gradually close up, the position of each being indicated by a small pimple-like elevation.

This is an ugly-looking creature, being one of the larger members of the group. It has a depressed and triangular head with small beady eyes and some protruding flaps or filaments of skin on the upper lip, at the gape of the mouth, and in front of the eyes. It has very distinctive star-like expansions on the tips of the front toes which are quite separate from each other and likewise the fully-webbed hind toes each armed with a claw. The skin covering the back of the broad depressed body, like that of the head, is dark blackish-brown in color and dotted over with small tubercles, but on the under-surface is whitish, sometimes with a brown line along the middle. Each of the tubercles or papillæ on the skin of both surfaces of the head, body and limbs is armed with a minute horny spine, some of them being also provided with a poison gland at the base. There are likewise four rows of larger poison-glands on both aspects of the body.

If the mouth of one of these toads be opened, it will be seen to be completely devoid of both tongue and teeth, although the place of the latter is taken in the adult by horny plates. The lack of a tongue—although not of teeth—is shared by the allied African family of frogs.

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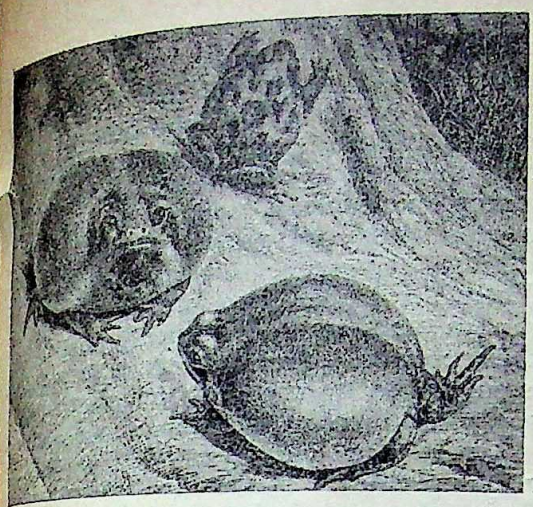


Puffy Frogs.

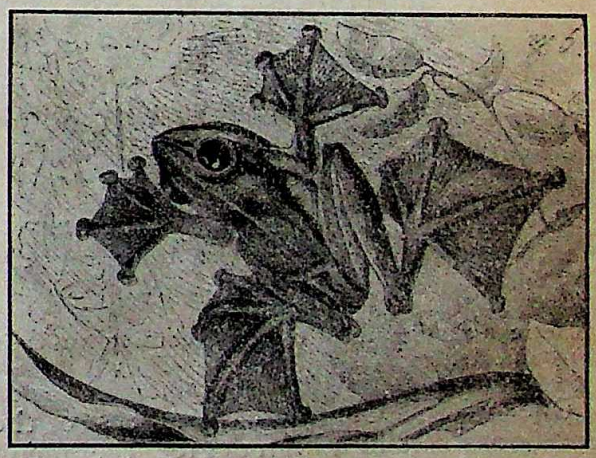
There exists in the island of Ceylon a species of frog belonging to the same group as the Flying Frog of Java, in which the eggs to the number of about a score become attached to the skin of the under surface of the body of the female, on which after hatching they leave small shallow pits.

It is a remarkable circumstance that while in some representatives of the great tribe of frogs and toads the care of the eggs is confided to the female who may develop special structural modification for their accommodation, in other species this office is undertaken by the male alone, who may likewise possess special appliances to aid him in the task. The best examples of this species are Darwin's frogs of Chili described before and the so-called Midwife Toad of France and South-ern Europe.

Unlike the great majority of frogs and toads which deposit their spawn in water, the female Midwife Toad lays a long string of from about twenty to fifty eggs on land in early spring. As she lays them she is closely attended by her partner, who, when the whole string is completed, proceeds to attach the mass to his hind legs by thrusting his feet into the midst. When the packing is completed, the eggs form a grape-like mass covering the upper part of the hind legs and loins. In proportion to the size of the parent toads the eggs, which are bright yellow in color, are remarkably large. When fully laden with this burden, with which however he gets about actively enough, the male Midwife retires to his usual abode, which may be a hole in the ground, or a chink between the stones in a heap or a wall, where he has to get through a period of about three weeks before the tadpoles make their appearance.

In order to prevent the precious eggs from drying up, the careful parent makes most of his peregrenations abroad in search of food by night; and if he finds that even this care does not keep them sufficiently moist, he refreshes them by an occasional bath in the nearest stream or pool.

When the three weeks of probation are over, some instinct impels the burdened father to take to the water; and when once there, the tadpoles bite their way through the tough envelope in which the eggs are wrapped, and make their appearance in the outer world. Whereas ordinary tadpoles are at first provided with branching external gills, in the tadpoles of the Midwife Toad these gills, of which there is only one on each side, are shed before hatching and replaced by internal ones, which again give place in due course to lungs. After the cares of the nursing period are over, the male loses his voice,



The Flying Frog of Java.

They descend from the tree in a slanting direction as if flying, and in this action their webbed feet are of much help to them which serves the purpose of so many wings.

which is not resumed till the following February when it is continued till August.

The arboreal frogs have large discs at the ends of the toes usually; although smaller discs are met with in certain purely aquatic species. One of the most curious and interesting tree-frogs is the Flying Frog of Java and Borneo, which comes down in a slanting direction from a high

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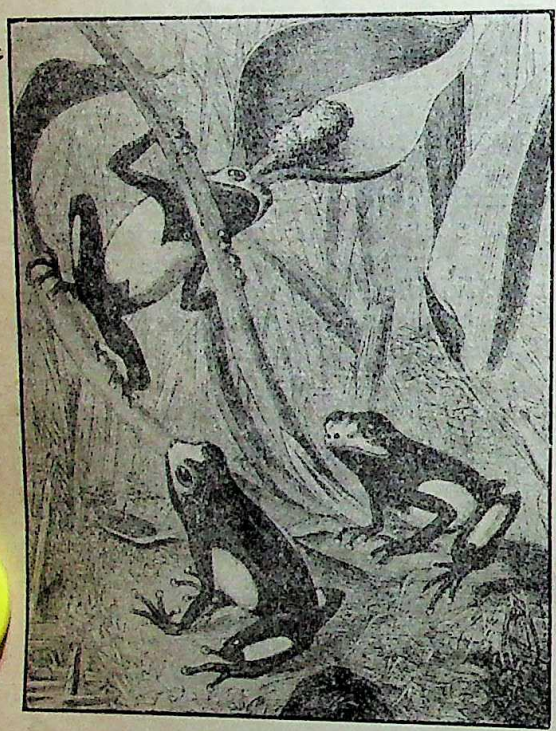
tree as if it flew. Its toes are very long, and fully webbed to their extremity, so that when expanded they offer a surface much larger than that of the body; the fore-legs are also bordered by a membrane, and the body is capable of considerable inflation. The body is about 4 inches long, while the webs of each hind-foot when fully expanded covers a surface of 4 square inches and the webs of all the feet together about 12 square inches.



Tree Frogs.
They can change their colors according to their environments.

One of the Cingalese members of the genus possesses in a high degree the faculty of changing its hues. Where there is the greatest variety and brilliancy of color among the forest trees, the tree-frogs attain their most brilliant and varied tints.

There is a species called Leaf-frogs from their habitation, and the shape and color of their body.

All the Frogs change their colour according to the nature of their habitat; the tree-frogs harmonise with the foliage among which they dwell. In Costa Rica a certain toad simulates to an extraordinary degree the coloratiou of the snakes—both poisonous and harmless—of the same country.

In all the frogs and toads the skin is furnished with glands secreting a more or less milk-like fluid; the viscid milky fluid secreted by these glands is exuded during excitement, and is endued with more or less poisonous properties, being intended to serve as a means of defence. When introduced into the circulation this venom acts as a powerful poison, and the secretion of a South American species is employed by the Red Indians to poison spears and arrows used in killing monkeys.

There are various kinds of frogs of very peculiar forms and names after their characteristics, such as the Narrow-mouthed frogs, Short-headed frogs, the Sharp-nosed frogs, the Horned frogs. In the Narrow-mouthed frogs the mouth is extremely narrow. The Short-headed frogs have very plump bodies, indeed, when the body is puffed out to its fullest extent, they more resemble india-rubber balls than frogs. The Sharp-nosed frog has a very large triangular head, ornamented with prominent ridges, and terminating in front in a pointed flap of skin; similar flaps occupying the eyelids and the mouth have an enormous capacity; in color it is very variable. The Horned frogs or toads are remarkable alike for their large size and brilliant coloration, as well as for the enormous dimensious of their mouths and their fierce and carnivorous habits; the Brazilian horned frog is the largest representative of the genus, which attains as much as 8 inches in length, and is one of the most handsomely ornamented of the genus; in some the upper eyelid is produced into a horn-like appendage, and in some it is triangular and only slightly pointed: the skin is covered with tubercles above and granules below, surmounted by a bony shield on the back; they are exceedingly bold and ferocious, flying fiercely at any one who attacks them and maintaining their hold with the tenacity of a bull-dog, at the same time uttering a kind of barking cry; on other occasions they give vent to a peculiarly deep bell-like note; when in repose they are in the habit of burying themselves in the soil with only the top of the back exposed in which state they are almost invisible; in this position they lie in wait for their prey, which includes other frogs, birds

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and small mammals, and at times they capture and attempt to swallow objects too large for their capacity.

One family may be collectively termed Toad-Frogs, since they come neither under the designation of toads nor of frogs. The family is distributed over Europe, the Oriental region, North America, and New Guinea. When an adult toad-frog is suddenly seized or pinched, it utters a cry like the mewing of a kitten, at the same time emitting a pungent vapour with a strong odor of garlic, which makes the eyes water, both these being apparently intended as a means of defence.

Some frogs are edible.

All these characteristics and peculiarities lead us to acknowledge that frogs and toads are really some of the most marvellous of all animals; for what can be more wonderful than the development of the purely aquatic vegetable-feeding gill-breathing limbless long-tailed tadpole into the amphibious carnivorous lung-breathing four-legged tailless frog or toad? Not less remarkable is the shortening of the intestinal canal as the creature changes its herbivorous for carnivorous habits.*

CHARU BANDYOPADHYAY.

* Compiled mainly from *The Royal Natural History*, *The Marvels of the Universe*, and *The Encyclopædia Britannica*, 10th edition.

PACHMARHI

TO the ordinary untravelled Indian Pachmarhi is a mere name. Every one knows and reads about Darjeeling and Simla, Musourrie, Ootcumund and Mahabaleswar as being the summer capitals of the imperial or one or other of the various provincial governments in India. Pachmarhi is no doubt the summer residence of the chief commissioner of the Central Provinces but that has not made it famous to the lovers of hill-stations in India. Yet this picturesque little town situated on a plateau (altitude 3500 feet) in the Mahadeo hills of the Satpura range possesses some very remarkable scenery and deserves well at the hands of lovers of beauty. Pachmarhi is not a hill-station in the sense in which Darjeeling and Simla are hill-stations, neither can it, I think, compare with the minor Himalayan heights of Solon, Dharampur or Kasauli from the point of view of climate. It only affords a sort of shelter to Europeans during the not too long summer months of the Central Provinces. Its average temperature is only 10° less than that of the Hoshangabad district in which it is situated and in this respect I think the climatic conditions cannot be much different from Tindheria on the Darjeeling-Himalayan Railway. A cool breeze is about the only thing which differentiates Pachmarhi in summer from the surrounding plains, but September and October are said to be particularly cool and bracing. The place is easily accessible by motor from Piparia on the G. I. P. Railway but the

A Beggar, Pachmarhi.

motor charges are rather high (being 8 rupees per head) and this partially accounts for the comparative oblivion into which this station has been thrown.

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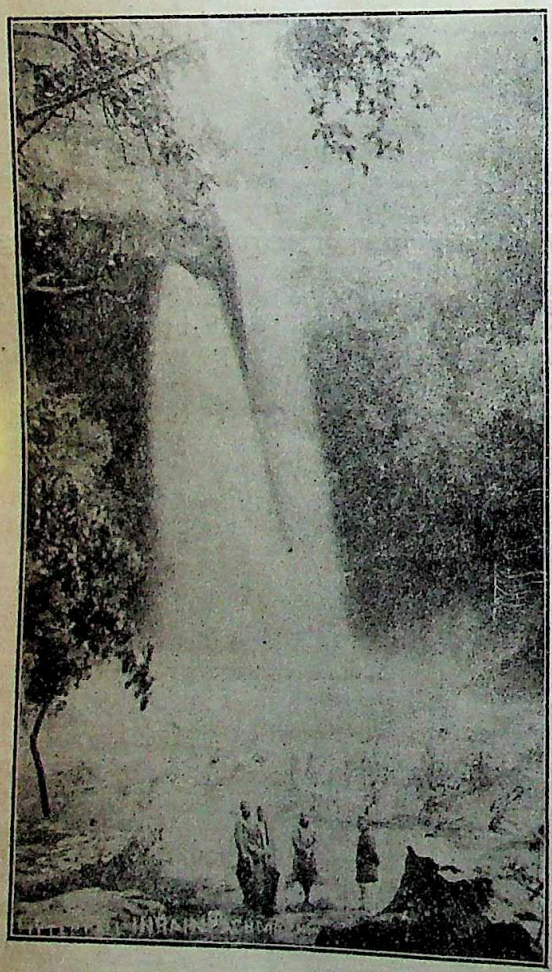
Pachmari contains some ramarkable scenery. The general outlook of the place however is not very prepossessing. Once the town is reached you feel as if you were still in the plains though hills surround you on all sides. The town is situated practically on a flat hill top many square miles in dimensions of which 23 are occupied by this sanitarium. The whole place has the appearance of a big park, extending over many miles, beautifully kept. The roads are nicely laid over a large country covered with green verdure and clumps of Harra (Terminalin chebula) and Jamun (Eugenia Jambolina) trees. The Saj and Sal also abound in the place.



Little Fall During the Rains, Pachmarhi.

If one has been to Darjeeling and seen the Birch-hill park, he has only to stretch the scenery over a flat country in order to get an idea of the general appearance of the parks of Pachmarhi—though it must be admitted that there is nothing of the grandeur of the Birch-hill park in Pachmarhi.

In describing Pachmarhi one cannot miss the caves of Pachmarhi (the Panch Mathi or five huts) from which the place derives its name. These are a group of fine ancient caves hewn in a small hill rising openly from one open part of the plateau. Hindu tradition claims these caves as one of the places where the Pandava brothers sojourned during the period of their secret wanderings, but some claim for them a Buddhistic origin. The caves have been cut out of solid rock and one wonders whether the Pandavas would have taken so much pains over a temporary hiding place!

The outstanding features of Pachmarhi scenery are however its water-falls and Khuds. The water-falls are numerous and imposing and I have not seen the like of them in Darjeeling nor heard of any in the other hill-stations which could compare with these. These falls are perennial, but in the rainy season they are really superb. In summer it is delightful to sit under one of these jets of water and have a refreshing shower bath.

The Khuds of Pachmarhi are however more remarkable than its water-falls or its parks. They are a great deal more than what we understand by the expression in Darjeeling or other hill stations. They are not merely abrupt and precipitous descents on a hill-side. They are vast and unexpected ravines or rather clefts in the solid rock, which seam the edges of the scarp, some of them reaching in sheer descent down to the level of the plains. They look more like ancient stone-built fortresses—so well-hewn and symmetrical the rocks look—than a mere freak of dame nature. You come across one of these on the way from Piparia to Pachmarhi about 10 miles fron the latter place. It is remarkable for its symmetrical appearance and great perpendicular height.

"But the most remarkable is the Andeh-Kho (Handi Kho popularly called) which begins about a mile to the east of the village and runs right down into the Denwa valley. Looking over its edge the eye loses itself in the vast profundity. A few dark indigo-coloured specks at the bottom represent wild mango trees of sixty or eighty feet in height. A faint sound of running water rises on the sough of the wind from the abyss. The only sign of life is an occasional flight of blue pigeons swinging out from the face of either cliff and circling round on suspended

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pinion, again to disappear under the cregs. If a gun is fired the echoes roll round the hollow in continually increasing confusion till the accumulated volume seems to bellow forth at the mouth of the gorge into the plain below."

The grandeur of this ravine has been thus described by Captain Forsyth, the discoverer of Pachmarhi, in "The Highland of Central India."

The Jambu-Dwip is another remarkable ravine on the opposite side of the plateau from Andeh-koh and is considered a sacred place by pilgrims. It is remarkable how these spots of imposing natural grandeur have been marked out by our Hindu-forefathers as sacred places to attract people to them in the name of religion. There is no sacrilege certainly if we of the modern age look upon these heights with only a secular eye. But this too is not possible, for as Pope says,

All are but parts of one stupendous whole,
Whose body Nature is, and God the soul.

I have said that Pachmarhi looks like one big park. It is, I think, a series of parks systematically laid out and the natural effect would be incomplete if there was no lake to supply the aquatic scenery. But nature has provided for this and the lake with its bridge affords a fine panorama. Pachmarhi affords fine facilities to lovers of what Prof. Blackie calls "The breezy Scottish game of golf." From the golf-links you command a good view of one of the lofty crags of Pachmarhi.

I have said that Pachmarhi is more like a city in the plains and this is true in more senses than one. Not only is its general appearance dissimilar to the other well-known hill-stations such as Darjeeling or Simla but judged by its flora and fauna it is more like the terai districts at the foot of the Eastern Himalayas than a hill-station. You find all the tropical trees flourishing there, the Sal, the Jamun, the Harra, the mango, the Kathar (jack fruit) and the total absence of the coniferous trees, the pines and the Jhows of various description, complete the contrast. No doubt a few of these latter variety of trees have been planted near about the Tehsil Court building but the hand of man can be easily seen in them. It is in Olympia alone that these trees would flourish but Pachmarhi is no Olympia though some would feign make it one!

There is also a total absence of those wild flowers which give Darjeeling, for instance, such a gay look. There is none of the Dahlias with their resplendent colour, nor the wild rose, the Foxglove, the Daisy, the Hydrangea or the Bignonia, which abound in every nook and corner of Darjeeling. You find some Dahlias and Orchids in the public garden at Pachmarhi

Mahadeo Fair at Pachmarhi.

but they are mostly foreign, only two varieties (of Deurobium and Vanda so far as I could guess) of Orchids were pointed out to me as being native to the Pachmarhi hills. I do not know whether anybody has made investigations in this line and whether a Hooker has been found for the Satpura hills.

I shall now close with a few words about the town of Pachmarhi. The town has no native population, one of the chief attractions of the Himalayan hill-stations and you don't find the picturesque hill-women thronging the streets in their gay attire on market days. Nor do you hear the

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solemn music of the hill-men echoing in the hills in the evening as they return home after the day's work. In Pachmarhi you find the slovenly and ill-clad labourers from the plains doing all the manual work and there is no respectable Indian population except a few Bohra shop-keepers and contractors. In season time you may come across the secretariat "Baboo" or an occasional Indian sojourner from the plains. No well-to-do Indian (with the exception of one or two gentlemen) has built his own house in Pachmarhi and cantonment authorities would not, I am told, encourage private buildings owned by Indians. The Begum of Bhopal has built a residence here but I do not know of any other Indian potentate having done this. You do not find any trace of the aristocracy of C. P. in Pachmarhi. The Bunglows are mostly owned by Europeans and they are neither cheap nor easily available to Indians. The native part of the town (the portion outside the cantonment limits) is insignificant and it would not be worth while for anybody to go and live there. Nor do I think, are decent houses available in this part of the town. The few respectable lodging houses are owned by Bohras who live and have their shops there.

The annual Mahadeo fair draws a large number of people to Pachmarhi hills from the neighbouring plains and the picture reproduced shows a characteristic group of pilgrims.

The kind of bullock carts which ply between Piparia and Pachmarhi have low tops and are drawn by trotting bullocks which go very fast and one very different from the bullock carts one comes across in Bengal. Undoubtedly the Bengal vehicles are better built, more commodious, but they are rather slow-moving vehicles compared with the C. P. carts. There is a type of beggars here found in C. P. alone. These people in their begging uniform go about the streets ringing a bell and get doles of flour and grain unasked from householders. The monk has his cowl and the beggar must have his uniform. Respectability is a veritable fetish !

B. C.

THE ENTANGLED ONE

Lo ! we are treading the broad and soft summer road, strong sunlight surging around us as we go.

Afar we see the glittering ocean, whose glory hath no end, but melteth into the blue of heaven.

Afar we see the splendour of high mountains that shine as eternal signals through the mist of the plains.

And our hearts are so full that our rejoicing ceaselessly overfloweth in song.

Yet thou, dear comrade, art struggling deep in the thorns, whence is no way out of darkness and misery. Fighting the sharp and clutching bonds, thou dost but wound and fetter thyself the more.

Stand where thou art in great hope, and we will cut a way for thee with swords of sunlight.

Wait in good heart and we will bear thee forth and lay thee by a stream on the green wayside, that thou mayst wash away thy pain, and rest, comforted by them that pass by with shining faces.

For if thou canst not look upon that glory of the sea, what availeth our going thither ?

E. E. SPEIGHT.

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INDIAN LABOUR IN FIJI

I expressed in the earlier part of this Report my great regret at not having Mr. W. W. Pearson with me during my second visit to the Islands. It seemed inevitable that the findings of a single individual would bear the marks of one-sidedness and I wished to avoid this as much as possible. From a series of letters which have just reached me from officials and others in Fiji, it is clear to me that my fears in this respect were not unfounded; for while our joint Report, published in February 1916, met with no criticism at all, but rather with approval, the statements which I have recently made in my own name have aroused the bitterest opposition.

As my aim is in no way to seek any controversial advantage, but simply to find out the truth, I think that it will be fair to those who feel most keenly that I have misrepresented the facts, if I give with as few comments as possible the written criticisms which have been sent to me by Dr. Lynch, the Head of the Medical Department, the Governor of Fiji and others. Dr. Lynch writes as follows:

"I have received your letter of the 11th June last, and the portion of your 'report' sent with it, and I say at once that I confess to a feeling of absolute disappointment in your writings, or even of something more than disappointment. You will allow me to recall to your recollection that, when you first came to Fiji on your 'Mission,' you expressly stated that you had come 'to help' the Colony; on reading this report and your other writings on the subject of this Colony and Immigration, one is forced to ponder on what may be your interpretation of the word 'help,' for if the industries of the Colony are ruined or injured, you will have the satisfaction of knowing that it is you that we shall have to thank for taking a large share in the destructive process. Your 'report,' like others which you have written and to which your attention has been called, goes out of its way to ascribe to Fiji by implication the blame for all the diseases which Indians suffer from, or are liable to suffer from: you quote stray figures from my reports and other sources which, by themselves, and without comparison, have little or no significance but which no doubt are eagerly seized upon by your friends in India as further proofs of the iniquities of this Colony. Surely you must know that such figures, barely given, without other data for comparison, are quite without value except to the ignorant. One hardly had imagined that it was to these that you were appealing. Your figures quoted of diseases in Fiji appear to carry the implication that there are no such diseases in India, or at any rate, that conditions in India are infinitely better than they are in Fiji; but you know as well as I do that it is not so, and that there are half a dozen scourges in India, which wipe out thousands of Indians, which are only known by hearsay in Fiji, I allude to Malaria, Plague, Cholera and Small-pox. Dysentery, Tuberculosis, Typhoid Fever are constant in India, and in larger proportion than in Fiji. Lepers there are by the thousand, yet through the 'Report' there runs the implication, or insinuation, that Fiji and Immigration are responsible for these diseases in Indians brought here. You make a considerable point of the lack of medical care and treatment for free Indians: your share in the stopping of labour for this Colony will certainly not go far to improve the condition; for it must be obvious that without labour, industries must be checked, without industries the prosperity of the Colony declines, and consequently its revenue falls; and without revenue, the official staff of the Colony must diminish, and as part of that staff, the Medical Department must be curtailed. How then do you expect that the Government is to be in a position to provide medical care for free Indians? These people will therefore return to the position, which many of them knew before coming to Fiji, namely, that of being without medical care of any sort. You must understand that I do not agree with

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what you say as to lack of medical care. At present, because of the War, (which, it always seems to me, you forget in dealing with your subject; or is it because of it that you anticipate an easier success in your efforts ?) our staff is gravely curtailed and several districts have to suffer the absence of medical care: but Fiji is not the only spot in the Empire that is affected by the War and those here must endure the inconveniences in common with others in other places. Your report implies that medical treatment in India is such that it is within easy reach of all—is that so ? I doubt it. You say that plantation Hospitals are "practically closed" to free Indians. You do not say that by law any District Magistrate may order an Indian to any plantation Hospital, nor do you mention the provincial Hospitals (*i.e.* hospitals for Fijians. C. F. A.) in which many hundreds of Indians are treated. Your letter expresses the hope that you have avoided minor inaccuracies; it appears to me that your Report is an ex-parte statement of an advocate against the Colony, and not the judicial opinion of one who has looked fairly at both sides; an opinion of one who is overanxious to see what is wrong, and equally overanxious to conceal, or at any rate to neglect to show, what is right, or what is of advantage to the indentured people. There are so many points of difference between us, that it is hard to know where to begin or where to leave off.

Immorality—Is there none in India ?—Does not all Indian literature teem with it ? Indians do not learn immorality in Fiji, they are saturated with it before they leave India. Look at a standard Indian Dictionary, and you will find with difficulty a page in which there is not at least one obscene word for translation.

Education (from other reports) Is education so excellently planned in India and so well carried out that you can afford to stand in judgment over the deficiences in Fiji or elsewhere ? How many of the Indians who come here in Immigrant ships can read or write or even make any attempt to speak their own language with any sort of correctness ?

Medical Care—How many thousands of Indians in India are without it, or depend solely on the nostrums of ignorant or dangerous quacks ? How long is it since there has been the institution of lady doctors and nurses for Indian women in India, that you are able to take the lofty standpoint which you do and insist on the immediate provision of such care here ? We know that such an institution in India is of comparatively recent introduction.

No one has ever denied that there are faults, mistakes and grievances; these are to be found in every system and every Government that has ever existed, and I take it that an important duty of Goverments is to correct these as far as they can. I do deny however that all these are due to the fault of the Colony. You must know that all our laws and regulations concerning immigration have always received the sanction of the Colonial Office, and Indian Government before or shortly after being made, that the Indian Government has not been ignorant of any of the conditions under which Immigration has been carried on and maintained, but has approved them, and that one of the main blots on the system, namely, the system of recruitment, has been carried out under the eyes of the Indian Government, and with its sanction: But there can be no doubt that the evils have been gravely exaggerated. Why then is not the blame placed on the right spot, and why is this Colony made to bear the whole reproach of all that is bad in a system which has for years been approved by those under whose eyes it has been carried out ?

You have been good enough to express your approval of the work done by the Department of which I am the Head, and some approval of this work has also been expressed by other reports on Immigration matters. I have therefore less hesitation in replying to your letter as I have done; for it must be obvious that my Department, in common with others, is more than ready to co-operate in measures of reform and improvement, and because my Department, in common with others, recognises evils and is eager to remedy them. But it must be obvious that if you destroy the whole structure your remedies will be too late; you cannot cure a man by killing him, and that you do after his death is to embalm him and have memories of him as pleasant or the reverse as possible; if you want to cure him you must apply the appropriate remedies and strengthen him

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no remedy is of any good after his death. But it may be, and I fear it is, a fact that you and your friends wish for the speedy death of this allegorical man, and you and they have taken every means in your power to see that he is really dead and finished while, at the same time, you think that all sorts of things are to be done for the benefit of the dead body: to what end, if there is no life to benefit?

The question of Nurses for plantation Hospitals has been fully discussed between us and you are aware that it is a project that I should like to see put into practice. It is not, as I believe, a project that can in these times be easily inaugurated for several reasons. These are the difficulties in war time of obtaining Nurses at all: the grave difficulty of obtaining the services of the right kind of Nurses: the difficulty of getting Nurses who will remain and work in plantation Hospitals. These difficulties are not imaginary, they are very real.

On the other side is the point that the indentured people, now remaining to be provided for, are far fewer than they were, and become less in numbers each year, and the employer is thinking that he is not justified in spending money on improvements, when he does not see any chance of new arrivals on whom those improvements are to confer a benefit. Desirable though the provision would be, one cannot lose sight of the practical difficulty of its being properly carried out at the present time.

In your letter you express the hope that you have made no minor inaccuracies. You will forgive me for saying that your reports bear, in my opinion, the stamp of the propaganda of the blind partisan, so eager to show up the evils said to have been wrought in this Colony that you remain purposely oblivious to any benefits or advantages that have accrued to Immigrants in Fiji, or if not oblivious to them, then they are displayed in so grudging a manner, as to make it appear that these benefits have resulted in spite of the treatment meted out, and not because of any desire or effort on the part of those in authority to compass them. Your readers in India are for the most part those who wish to believe the worst; some, because they are of the party which wishes to put an end to evils which they believe to exist, from a genuine wish to improve matters, others from interested motives.

I must not omit to comment on your remarks on the subject of a Medical Officer's report on Venereal Disease in Council paper No. 54. It appears to be fairly obvious, that when the writer says what he does, he says so having in mind the proportion of women to men amongst those who immigrate, ond not that it is his opinion that every Indian woman in Fiji "has to serve three "indentured men" as you wish your readers to think that he means, and by so doing gravely aspersing the characters of many hundreds of decent and respectable Indian women in the Colony.

You say that you have seen the Secretary of State while on his visit. I think that it is a misfortune for the Colony that it is not possible for him or for a representative to come and see for himself how matters stand, for I do not see how he can form judgment from hearing but one side of the question.

I am, Yours faithfully,
G. W. A. LYNCH.

P.S. Please make what use you like of this."

Those who have read my published articles will be able to judge whether they implied about health conditions what Dr. Lynch supposes. With regard to Council paper No. 54, I will simply quote again the words of the Medical Officer which Dr. Lynch himself countersigned. They are as follows:—"When one indentured Indian woman has to serve those indentured Indian men as well as various out-siders." While the words may not mean that *Every* Indian woman has to do so, they do mean that this is customary and normal.

An anonymous writer in the "Fiji times and Herald" calls attention to the fact, that I had not mentioned the remarkably low death-rate among Indians in the Colony. I gladly reproduce the figures he quotes, which are altogether encouraging :—

Death rate.	Per thousand.
1910	25·91
1911	18·24
1912	16·53
1913	14·10
1914	13·43
1915	10·62
1916	8·69
1971	9·61

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It must be remembered that up to the year 1917 large numbers of Indians under indenture were being brought out, in the prime of life, after careful medical examination and that these would naturally keep the death rate low year by year. But, while taking due account of this factor, it is a striking testimony to the work of the Medical Department to find the death rate showing a steady decline. In both Reports published, it had been my own intention to make clear that, with certain exceptions due to moral causes, Fiji was a healthy place for Indians to live in,—much healthier than India itself. I wrote as follows :—

"More and more it has been borne in upon me by what I have seen, that Fiji, as far as the conditions provided by nature are concerned, is a good place for indians to live in. It is surprising to see the change which has come over the physical growth of the people in a place like Nadi—the breadth of shoulder in the growing lads and the increased stature. Both girls and boys seem to be taller than children of their own age in India. Any one coming from India would be struck by the health and prosperity on every side...It was a pleasure to see the chubby little Indian children in the free Indian settlements so different from those we know in malaria-stricken Bengal and in the up-country districts of India."

Many other passages of a similar character may be found in the Reports.

The Fiji Legislative Council have recently passed the following resolution :—

"That this Council regrets and disagrees with the reports concerning the condition of Indians in Fiji being circulated in Australia by Mr. C. F. Andrews,—which reports the Council considers highly-coloured, misleading and, in parts, untrue."

In addition to this official condemnation of the Council, the following statement was published and laid before the Legislative Council of Fiji by the new Governor in November 1918 :—

"I consider that the Reports which Mr. C. F. Andrews has furnished to his leaders in India have cast an unjust and unmerited slur, not only upon the employers of labour and the Government, but upon the European Community of this Colony. I include the European Community, because it is among them that public opinion is formed and I should be very reluctant to think that public opinion would have tolerated a state of affairs such as Mr. Andrews has depicted. At the same time, amid much that is exaggerated and misleading (I abstain from using the word 'disingenuous', for I do not desire to question the writer's honesty of purpose), Mr. Andrews has made certain criticisms which cannot unfortunately be refuted. In his condemnation, for example, of the Indian labour 'lines' as unfit for occupation by married couples and their families, I find it impossible to disagree with him. It would be unwise, and indeed impracticable, to insist upon the immediate provision of separate married quarters. Reasonable time must be allowed. But the change ought to be effected as soon as possible. It must also be admitted that the hospital arrangements for Indians, and their medical treatment generally, require improvement; and that the care and education of Indian children demand more attention than they have received in the past. The disproportion of the sexes is also an urgent problem."

The Governor, after discussing the question of 'free contract emigration', ends as follows :—

"There are many difficulties. Reforms are necessary, especially in the directions which I have above indicated. Employers may have to make sacrifices. The Government of Fiji may have to face increased expenditure. But what is chiefly required, at the moment, is a sane and temperate appreciation of the facts, a frank recognition of existing abuses, and a definite policy for the future such as will satisfy both Indians here and their friends at home that it is the desire and the intention of the administration to introduce the measures necessary for their social and moral, as well as for their material welfare."

The real issue is contained in the words,—"Reasonable time must be allowed."

Nearly six years have now elapsed since that terrible record of murder and suicide in the Fiji coolie 'lines' was published by the Government of India's own official Report. More than three years have gone by since the issue of the Government of India Despatch of October 25, 1915,—one of the most scathing condemnations of indenture ever written. In addition two independent enquiries have been instituted and the conclusions reached by them concerning the moral evils in the coolie 'lines', have been identical with those of the Government of India Despatch. Last of all, the Government of India has

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promised to negociate for the early release of those who are still under indenture, and has recommended to the Fiji Government drastic changes. Yet, up to the present, very little indeed has been done to rectify the moral evil. While privately admitting that the evil exists, any publicity is at once met with the cry of 'exaggeration'; and when it comes to a question of a definite payment of sums of money (in reconstruction) out of the enormous war-profits, which have been amassed, the plea for delay is put forward even by the Governor himself. It is for this very reason that I have been fully convinced that the Fiji Islands should be placed as soon as possible under Australia or New Zealand. The Australian Government has been able to keep a check on the C. S. R. Company with regard to the management of their estates in Queensland, and no delay has been ever allowed where reform is needed; but the weak Colonial Government of Fiji has had very little power of resistance in the face of the Company Directors. The virtual ruler in Fiji for many years has been the C. S. R. Company, with its millions of invested capital and its enormous profits. Planters, officials and Governments alike have had to bow before its sway.

With regard to the repeated charges of 'exaggeration' brought forward by the Governor and his Council, I would simply state the fact that I did my utmost to get my opinions corrected by the authorities while I was in the Islands. I explained personally what my opinions were to the leading men in Fiji, official and non-official alike, and circulated them in type, asking that any errors might be pointed out. But only two definite corrections came to me and these I immediately accepted. I was constantly told by planters and missionaries that what I had written about the morals of the coolie 'lines' could not be denied and that they themselves knew what was going on. One of the oldest residents, who had been engaged in planting interests for thirty six years, told me that every one knew how the things I had mentioned were happening daily and that there was no exaggeration in what I had said. At two large gatherings of Planters (where I put quite bluntly and plainly the evils of the coolie 'lines') not a single voice was raised to dispute the facts. These were acknowledged in the most open manner, and speaker after speaker got up and asked me the one pertinent question,—"How can we get out more Indian women?"

I was urged, at the same time, to make known in India the more encouraging side of Indian life in Fiji and if I have failed in doing this I express regret. I would most gladly bear witness (as I have done both in public and in private a thousand times) that the material prospects and the climatic conditions of Fiji are extremely good and the race prejudice is very small.

But, on the moral side, I cannot, with any truthfulness, make the picture less dark than I have drawn it: and when the Governor of Fiji has had a longer experience, I feel certain that he will come to know what I myself have found to be the truth.

Miss Garnham, the representative whom the women of Australia sent out to make a new independent enquiry, has fully borne out the main facts. Her Report, which has been published, is in some ways stronger than my own in its statements concerning the hopelessly corrupt conditions of the Fiji coolie 'lines' and her recommendations for the improvement of the present situation are almost identical.

Though this corroborative testimony of Miss Garnham is of the greatest value, as confirming the facts, I can only repeat that planters, missionaries and government officials alike have themselves acknowledged to me personally the very same things.

It *is* a fact, that under the conditions of living in the coolie 'lines' it has been, for more than 30 years, practically impossible for an Indian woman, coming out without a husband, to lead a decent life. It *is* a fact, that women who have either come out with husbands, or who have mated themselves with some man on the boats, find it very difficult indeed to remain faithful to one man, and that they are constantly solicited and cohabited with by other men,—their husbands finding themselves unable to prevent this. It *is* a fact, that very young Indian girls in Fiji are in constant danger of contamination, owing to the shortage of women, and that they are constantly being bought and sold in an abominable traffic. It is perfectly useless to deny these facts, or to talk about 'exaggeration' when they are mentioned. The one thing needed is to remedy them.

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I have a definite appeal to make, and I venture to make it to the planters themselves and to the companies, as well as to the general public. It is this. There are now, held down by indenture in the coolie 'lines', a number of women who will not be released, in the ordinary course of things, for another two years. They are bound by law to remain in the coolie 'lines', whether they like it or not. These coolie 'lines' are now being used by unindentured as well as by indentured Indian men. These unindentured labourers come, in a great number of cases, without their wives,—with the full intention of using the women who are bound down by indenture in the 'lines'. These indentured women have complained to me of this very thing happening to them in the past. They have complained to Miss Garnham also. The missionaries know well their fate. This fate is becoming more hateful, year by year. Last September, the lot of these women (who still remain under indenture) was brought before the Government of India and the promise was made by Sir George Barnes in the Imperial Council that negociations should be entered into for their early release. But nothing as yet has transpired.

I had intended to deal fully (in the conclusion of this Report) with the questions of education and franchise, but it seems best to leave the details of these subjects, which are somewhat technical, out of public discussion. I wish, if possible, to concentrate attention on the one main issue, namely, the condition of the life lived in the coolie 'lines' in Fiji and what is still going on to-day.

With regard to education, it may be stated briefly, that after a long delay (which has put Fiji far behind all other Crown Colonies where Indians have settled) education is now being taken up in earnest. The Government has also accepted the principle of grants being given to vernacular schools, which was at first refused.

With regard to the franchise, an important step was taken when one nominated Indian member was allowed by statute upon the Fiji Legislative Council. It should uot be difficult for the Indians in the islands still further to improve their position by obtaining elected instead of nominated Indian members. Such fuller franchise would probably come more rapidly, if Fiji were placed under the jurisdiction either of Australia or New Zealand.

In this connexion, it is a very great satisfaction to be able to place on record, as I have done so many times before, that the social and racial treatment of Indians by Europeans in Fiji is far in advance of that which I have witnessed in Natal and better than the common experience in India itself. Quite recently I met an Indian who had been many years away irom India, resident in Fiji, and he told me, that it had been a very great shock to him to see the treatment of Indians by Europeans in his own country of India. He was astonished to find, in India, the growing aloofness between European and Indian which existed on all sides; he contrasted this with the comparative friendliness of the two races in Fiji and in Australia. The scene which I have related as taking place in Nadi, Fiji, on the Indian Red Cross Day, may be remembered, and it was by no means exceptional.

I return in my last paragraphs, to the one outstanding fact, which must be insisted on, in spite of all attempts to conceal it or to deny it. It is this. The immediate gravity of the situation in Fiji does not lie on the material side, but on the moral side. Until the moral evil due to the shortage of women is seriously and effectively met, until some clear and definite acts of reparation (at whatever monetary cost) have been made, it is wholly and entirely futile and vain for the Fiji Government to plead for an immediate reopening of the emigration question.

On the other hand, if the steps, which each enquiry in its turn has emphasised more and more strongly, be taken,—if the indenture is immediately closed down, if the separate married quarters are erected, if the hospitals are provided with matrons, if Indian education is pressed forward, if passages are provided for Indian men to bring back wives from India,—if these things are undertaken in real earnest, then the question of emigration might be reopened with some chance of a hearing in India, and I should personally welcome it under wholesome conditions for, as I have so often said, there are few places more healthy and prosperous for intending Indian emigrants than Fiji.

C. F. ANDREWS.

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CAUSES OF FREQUENT FAMINES IN BANKURA

THE geology of the district of Bankura makes the region naturally liable to famines. Hardly had the famine-relief measures of 1915-16 been suspended, their accounts adjusted and reports published, when the world-wide scourge of Influenza took its toll of human life, resulting in privations and utter devitalisation of the survivors. The last famine was terrible enough, but with these records of the immediate past what the coming one forebodes imagination shudders to depict. That immediate relief work is imperative will be realised from the following appeal of the District Magistrate of Bankura to the general public :—

You will doubtless have noticed the Government communique which was recently issued, drawing attention to the failure of the winter crop in the Bankura District last year. At present the part most affected is the South and West of the Sadar Sub-division, particularly those portions where there is high land. In these places a great part of the Winter crop withered and what survived was only fit for use as fodder. The estimated outturn of this crop was only 4½ as., and consequently distress prevails in some of the thanas.

You will not have forgotten the great famine of 1915-1916. The majority of the distressed people were then saved by the relief given by the Government and by the charity of the Public. But though good harvest have obtained in the last two years yet the people have not been able to recover altogether from the effects of the famine as much of the surplus has been absorbed by the repayment of loans and arrears of rent, and the price of most necessaries of life as you are aware has been abnormally high.

In order to relieve the present distress the District Board have already opened some centres for gratuitous relief, and are providing work for the labouring classes, with the intention of gradually extending such work to the cultivators and people of the middle class. Government are issuing Takavi loans but there are many who have no land, or whose land owing to the previous famine is already mortgaged. Such people cannot obtain any loan and they are therefore in a helpless condition.

A Public Meeting was held at Bankura on the 18th instant (February 1919) under the Chairmanship of the District Magistrate in which it was resolved to collect additional funds. Subscriptions have been promised by the local public, but we feel that the state of things calls for an appeal to a wider public. The Committee have decided to spend their funds in the following ways :—

1. In giving help to the indigent "Bhadrolok" who otherwise starve in secret as they have too much self-respect to beg.
2. In the free distribution of cloth and medicine.
3. In making advances to artisans, etc., etc.

For these objects the District Board have as yet been unable to make any provision. We therefore appeal to the public.

In surveying the history of Bankura, its prosperous past, and its gradual decline, culminating in the present acute state of distress, one at once realises the thesis of Professor Geddes, of how Place determines the Work, and this in turn the People, who in their turn react on these, which he has explained in his numerous Regional Surveys and in his recent lectures at the Bose Institute.

According to the *Bankura Gazetteer*, the present district formed a part of the old Bishnupur Raj, whose territory included portions of the Santal Purganas in the north, of Midnapur in the south, of Burdwan in the east, and of Chota Nagpur in the west.

Thus the history of the present district of Bankura is identical with the history of the Bishnupur Raj. "The ancient Rajas of Bishnupur trace back their history to a time when the Hindus were still reigning in Delhi. * * Indeed they could already count five centuries of rule over the Western frontier tracts of Bengal before Bakhtiyar Khiliji wrested that province from the Hindus." (R. C. Dutt). Leaving the narration of the decline of the Bishnupur Raj to the historians, let us see what determined the growth and development of the regional industries and agriculture with attendant prosperity and their civic and artistic achievements.

Bishnupur must have been selected for the stronghold and seat of the Raj for its admirable defences, natural and possible. The turbulent Damodar guarded the northern side, the main direction from which invasions were likely to come, while other rivers and extensive jungles protected different sides. The immunity of the region from floods and its hard laterite soil were suited for the construction of a very strong fort. The jungle flood was utilised to the utmost advantage in making a series of artificial lakes, alike for

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defence and for irrigation. The seven lakes, apart from removing the scarcity of water, have long been the pride and beauty of the place. Adequate alluvial deposits being absent, this region could not develop to agricultural importance. Yet through the encouragement of the Raj, with needed irrigation works, the flower and fruit gardens were fostered. Even so late as 1872, over half the adult men were non-agriculturists. But the stretch of extensive jungles produced silk, tussur cocoon, lac, varied kinds of vegetable dyes, medicinal herbs, wax and other forest products, which determined and developed the industries for which the place was famous.

The seat of the Raj established order and security, which must have made the different caravan routes to Ghatal (a big centre of commerce) and Tamluk (the great sea-port of Bengal) converge there. Given law and order, exchange of commodities and ideas, intercourse friendly and competitive, Bishnupur soon grew to a great centre of industry and culture. Thus for the military needs they had a very remarkable gun-foundry, to which the cannon *Dalmadal* of non-rusting wrought iron (12 ft. 5⅛ in. long, diameter of the bore 11⅛ in.), of which a picture has been given in the March issue of this *Review*, bears eloquent testimony. To meet the varied demands of agricultural, domestic, religious and artistic needs, other metal industries flourished. Weaving must have been the chief industry, as could be seen from its survival even up to the present time. Industries were hereditary family occupations in which the different members of the family took their respective parts, according to age and sex. Thus reeling is done by the old women, winding of the reeled silk to different degrees of fineness is done by the boys, women help in dressing and bleaching, while the men do the actual weaving. Similarly with other industries.

Unlike the existing state, when with freedom of occupation all the ability of the literate people is being directed in swelling the already over-crowded ranks of clerks and lawyers, and of the illiterate in increasing the number of peasants, the caste system, despite its limitations, compelled the people to get distributed in different activities.

The up and down traffic secured an extensive market for raw materials and industrial products. New demands stimulated fresh efforts, and each of these secured further income and enterprise. Their prosperity and immunity against hostile attacks afforded opportunity to develop their social and industrial organisation. Art rose to a high degree of perfection. The place is still famous for its artistic silk weaving and clay modelling. In music it still leads Bengal. The numerous temples, which writes Dr. Bloch,* "represent the most complete set of peculiarly Bengali style of architecture", whose photographs have been published in a previous number of this Review, record the religous zeal of the people and their architectural achievements.

Thus we see that it was to the seat of the Rajas, who encouraged the industries and arts and maintained a balanced co-operation between the industrial and agricultural activities of their territory, that the region owed its prosperity. The industries supplied the needs of the agricultural district, while its fertile eastern portion provided against the scarcity of food to which the western region is naturally liable, especially as in those days there was neither the necessity for the export of grains nor the present alluring facilities. The harmonious relation between the landlords and the tenants secured an active interest in increasing the productivity of the land, which fostered irrigation and other agricultural activities. Cows as the indespensable animals of every Hindu household and bullocks for carts and *chhala* (pack-bullocks), the chief means of transit, adequately supplemented the output of manure. The use and hoarding of coin were limited, as experience and even the standard of respectable ability and commonsense demanded every respectable agriculturist to have a granary which contained provisions against failure of crops even for two successive years.

The tenets of religion, then strictly observed, were potent in maintaining a high standard of personal hygiene. The religious merit and social respectability attached to the excavation and repairing of tanks, improvements and conveniences of public thoroughfares by planting shade

* Report, *Arch. Surv. Ind.* for 1903-4.

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trees and digging of wells, encouraged and obtained adequate civic activities. Religious festivities, *jatras* and *kathakatas* popularised the great epics Ramayana and Mahabharata, which had a great cultural influence, alike intellectual, romantic and spiritual.

Thus we see with their growing industries the people were prosperous, and their civic activities increasingly improved the region alike in productivity, health and beauty.

The excessive religious tendency of the saintly Raja Gopal Singh, who reigned between 1730 and 1745, made him neglect his administrative duties and military requirements. He was unable to cope with the ravages of Mahratta invasions, and the lawlessness and disorder that followed.

"Already impoverished by the Mahratta raids, the resources of the (Rajas') family were still further reduced by the famine of 1770, during which more than half of its estate relapsed into jungles. The earlier years of the British administration, instead rather than relieved its difficulties..... Its ruin was completed by family dispute, costly litigation and crushing revenue."*

The fate of the region followed that of its Rajas, since it was to the seat of the Raj that Bishnupur owed its prosperity. To begin with, the passing of the fertile eastern portion of the territory into the hands of the Burdwan Raj destroyed the balance which the Raja maintained between the agricultural and industrial activities, and made the region more liable to famines. The subsequent conditions which developed may be summarised as follows. The bulk of the region passed into the hands of the Burdwan Raj and other non-resident proprietors, of whose effect Mr. O'Malley† writes :—

He (Maharaja of Burdwan) parcelled out his vast estate into tenures known as *patni-taluka*, the grantees of which not only gave him a high premium but covenanted to pay an annual rental in perpetuity. This system left him a mere annuity on the land..... The *patnidars* again sublet on similar terms, and the result has been to create a class of persons living on small fixed incomes and without interest in the tenure. This has caused the disappearance of the old feudal spirit and disintegration of the relation between landlords and tenants, who no longer have that common solidarity of interest which used to exist. The surplus grain in former days was spent in works of public utility, and a large village would have good tanks and bathing *ghats*, while its temples were carefully kept up and religious festivals lavishly observed."

Hitherto all the landlords were resident, and the code of administration, and the old social and religious culture made them responsible for the health and well-being of tenants, for the right of rental. Now the remarkable order and peace established by the British Government has made the realisation of rent very exact, while the corresponding activities of the landlords, which their rental entails, have not been forthcoming. The landlords increasingly becoming non-resident spend their incomes elsewhere in luxuries which do not help any section of the community. The resident ones, such as are still surviving, spend their incomes in fighting law-suits. Thus not only has no fresh irrigation enterprises been undertaken but the existing tanks and bunds are allowed to get silted up and worse,—being definitely filled up where possible for cultivation with diminishing water area every year. Further, for the establishment of two railroads through the district, a considerable portion of good arable land had to be acquired. For each acquisition there has been a definite shortage, from which it could not revive to the former acrage, even with favourable distribution of rainfall. Thus from the Government statistics available we find that the agricultural area has diminished considerably. The average normal net area cropped has diminished by about 16 per cent. since 1890 to 1915.

1890 to 1895, the normal average of net area cropped was	640,680	acres
1910 to 1915.	536,200	,,
Diminution	104,480	acres.

Industries :—The causes of the decline and ruin of Indian industries are too well known for repetition. The belated survivals of such industries as the people's religious beliefs and artistic demands still maintain, and whose limited demand alone does not encourage their production by machinery, are suffering from lack of proper marketting and from the effects of war. The local industries used to supply almost all the demands of the people. Thus in 1813 Warren Hastings, when asked about the probability of demand for European commodities by the Indian population, replied :

* L. S. S. O'Malley—Bengal District Gaz.—Bankura p. 35.
† *Ibid*, p. 62

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"The supplies of trade are for the wants and luxuries of a people. The poor in India may be said to have no wants, Their wants are confined to their dwellings, to their food and to a scanty portion of clothing, all of which they can have from the soil they tread upon."*

In succeeding years the luxuries and wants of the people have increased on the one hand, and their industries been ruined on the other. Of the existing condition of cotton weaving and spinning I have already spoken in a previous article in this *Review*,† and its general condition is well known. In the district, of all the varied industries which once flourished, only silk-weaving, conch-shell, and bell-metal still struggle on. Conch-shell industry is being affected by the introduction of glass bangles. Tin trunks have replaced bamboo and cane *pantras*. Artistic bamboo and cane thatch-workers, who were the better class of *pantra*-makers, have lost their living. The high price of raw materials due to excessive speculations of the capitalists, and the exorbitant profits of the middlemen, the general rise of prices all around on account of the War, the frequent famines, malaria and, lastly, the present epidemic of Influenza have brought on an alarming condition of the industrial people.

The earnings of the silk-weavers of Bishnupur, one of the best class of industrial people of Bengal, has been reduced on an average to 12 as. a day, half of what it used to be in pre-war days. Their present daily expenditure for a family of an average of 3 adults and two children is about annas 12-6 pies, without taking into consideration the doctor's bill, *sradh*, marriages and other items. The daily earnings of the Bankura weavers are barely enough for their food, being on an average as. 9 only. The condition of the tussar workers is worse still, their earnings being reduced from 11 as. to 5 as. per day. The earnings of the brass and bell-metal workers have been reduced by 50 per cent being now as. 4, 5, and 7 only according to the class of workers and this has made about 25 per cent. of these workers to give up their profession.

Thus the number of persons dependent on agriculture is increasing. In the year 1872 less than 50 per cent. of the population were dependent on agriculture, in 1901, 60 per cent. and while in 1911 it has gone up to 73·9 per cent.

While on the other hand, the average net area of cultivation has diminished by 16 per cent. Thus the number of persons depending on agriculture increasing on diminishing area of cultivation has brought on the inevitable consequences.

Railroads:—Acknowledging all the necessities and obvious advantages of the Railways one can not help observing how they have affected the people. With the first establishment of a railroad from Ranigunj to Howrah, though outside the district boundary, the seasonal navigation ceased, and the boat-builders and boatmen, though in a minority, have lost their living. Importation of cheap machine-made goods was facilitated and exportation of grains increased. For the establishment of the Bengal-Nagpur and the Bankura-Damodar Railways through the district, the acquisition of land affected agriculture seriously. Cattle traffic is increasingly diminishing, with loss of occupation of the cartmen and bullock-owners and deterioration of cattle. The railroads have disturbed the natural water-courses of the district and caused the lodgment of necessary water in pools, which is very insanitary. They have not helped the local industries in any way, on the contrary the import of cheap luxuries and export of grains have enormously increased. They have given rise to a new class of speculators who are artificially keeping up the prices of food stuff. Thus the price of fish in town has gone up from 4 as. to 8 as. per seer. Good cow's milk is hardly obtainable. While the speculators buy 6 seers of buffalo milk per rupee, the local retail price is 2 seers per rupee. Undoubtedly the railways could relieve distress by the import of grains provided the people had the means.

Administration. The existing system of settlement of disputes in law-courts situated as they are several miles away from the villages, is not suited to the life and requirements of the people. Besides having to maintain a growing crop of lawyers for the settlement of disputes, the loss of time and money is very great, to say nothing of the vices of litigation and perjury learned in law courts.

To provide against future famine the

* Minutes of Evidence, etc., on the Affairs of the East India Company (1813) p. 3.

† Bengal Weavers and Their Industry—Modern Review,—July, 1918.

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first thing necessary is proper irrigation. The undulated surface of the district and the numerous streams make the reservation of water easy enough by damming the natural water drainage. The re-excavation of the existing tanks, bunds and *khals* should be undertaken at once as a relief work on a larger scale than hitherto-fore. This alike for sanitation and agriculture. Well-irrigation is necessary in certain parts of the district, which will mainly help the aboriginal population of the district, and this should be introduced by the Government. About canal irrigation in general Mr. R. C. Dutt writes :

"The discussion about the comparative merits of canals and railways was carried on..... and as might be expected preference was given to railways, which facilated British trade with India and not cannals, which would have benefitted Indian agriculture.....£225,000,000 were spent on railways, resulting not in a profit, but in a loss of £40,000,000 to the Indian taxpayer up to 1900. And so little were the interests of Indian agriculture appreciated that only £25,000,000 were spent on irrigation up to 1900"*

Since this district is liable to such frequent famines and the population dependent on agriculture is increasing and the average of net area cropped decreasing, the question of canal irrigation ought to engage the immediate attention of the Government, despite the cost. The re-excavation of tanks and ponds should be made compulsory by issuing loans where necessary. The present activities of the District Agricultural Officer are inadequate and require further extension. The export of foodstuffs must be controlled and definitely prohibited till the final forecast of crops becomes available.

The agricultural improvements alone cannot effectively meet the situation. Industries must be revived along with it. For this we require Co-operative Societies with the following definite objects :

(1) To reduce the cost of articles by supply of raw materials at the cheapest possible rates to the workers directly.

(2) To improve the method of production by introduction of such improved machinery and implements as are possible under the existing conditions.

(3) To secure a better market by introducing improved patterns and designs of varying sizes and qualities to meet modern demands, alike Indian and foreign, for useful and artistic purposes.

(4) When necessary, to establish workshops on contract labour system, with improved machinery and methods of production, which would be the best means of their introduction.

They will also have a separate branch for the following purposes. To undertake the re-excavation of such tanks as the proprietors could not or would not undertake. The yield of fish and the produce of the vegetable garden on the excavated silt will give a reasonable return for their investment, subsequently these to be made over to the proprietors as soon as the expenses are realised. They should also start poultry farming on a small scale at the beginning. With the help of the Government cattle breeding should be undertaken by this Society since the breed of cattle of the district is the most deterioted in India, so much so that they do not earn their keep. They should start a Co-operative granary in each village, and deal with the surplus grains. They should export raw materials, such as forest products and hides, which are profitable business. Thus in this organisation there will be scope for the activities of the different sections of the community.

The habit of co-operation, which the life of the people determined and their old society maintained, has been destroyed by the advent of the modern mechanical age. As such Co-operative organisations have to be started by the Government with the help of philanthropic bodies as the Ramkrishna Mission, and the Social Service League, and local public-spirited persons. Once started with forethought and care it will increasingly be able to recruit members from the workers themselves. An experienced and impartial local business man should be in charge to make the undertaking a business success.

The Society has to be registered for a fairly large number of shares of not exceeding Rs. 5, the bulk of which should be reserved for the agricultural and industrial people. To start with, the Government and the landlords should be asked to advance loan to this Society at the minimum possible rate.

The researches of scientific bodies being inaccessible to the people, their conclusions should be popularised in the vernacular and introduced as text-books in the

* R. C. Dutt—*Economic History of British India*, P 312.

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local *pathshalas* and schools. These should contain the fundamentals of agriculture, local method of production, its defects and merits, if any, compared with those of other countries, and the line of possible improvements and also giving a small summary of the work that is being done in India along the line. For these and other real educational purposes every *pathshala* and school should have garden-excursions to the neighbouring fields and gardens would be most helpful. For the existing industries similar text-books should be introduced, with demonstration of the improved methods of production and by taking the boys round the workshops of the best worker of the locality. In this way it will be possible to bring the modern education to some definite relation with the life activity of the people. With the help of the experienced local agriculturist and industrial worker, these could be easily introduced and with very little additional expenditure.

Establishment of industrial and technical schools in large numbers may not yet be possible, but the most practical method of improvement of the industries would be to send experienced local industrial workers to different industrial schools, and to places where improved methods of manufacture have been introduced. These experienced workers will be able to pick up within a very short time the necessary improvements which could be effectively carried out in their local conditions. Moreover the suggestions of one of their own members stand a much better chance of acceptance than those of learned specialists. The expenses and allowances of these people are to be met by the District Board. The Co-operative Society should advance loans for the introduction of improved machinery.

An annual scholarship for the best District report in the vernacular on the industrial and agricultural conditions and their possible lines of development will be the best means of spread of industrial and agricultural information to the workers, and would also create an intelligent interest among the educated people in the activities of the region, which is at present amazingly rare.

Scholarships should be established by the Government for sending students abroad on the merit of their knowledge of the existing local industries and their possible developments by introduction of modern scientific appliances and organisation.

With these enterprises, started on the lines indicated above, the people will begin to realise what the modern age has brought and benefit therefrom. Proper irrigation enterprises will improve agriculture; Co-operative societies will increasingly revive the possible industries with corresponding prosperity, health and happiness. The Regional interest,—initiated in schools, developed through youth by the demands of the Co-operative organisation, and maintained by the experience and wisdom of age, may evolve a new order of life surpassing the little village republics of old in wider interest and intelligent co-operation.

MOTISWAR SEN.

HISTORY OF SHIVAJI, 1671-74

I

THE second sack of Surat and the Maratha ravages in Baglana roused Aurangzib to a sense of the gravity of the situation in the Deccan. As early as 28th November, 1670, he had issued orders transferring Mahabat Khan from Afghanistan to the supreme command in the Deccan. The events of December only deepened the Emperor's anxiety. On 9th January 1671, he sent orders to Bahadur Khan to leave his province of Gujrat and command one of the imperial army corps in the Deccan, Dilir Khan being ordered to accompany him. The Emperor also repeatedly talked of going to the Deccan and conducting the war against Shivaji in person, but the idea was ultimately dropped. Daud Khan was

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instructed to attack Shiva wherever he was reported. Amar Singh Chandawat and many other Rajput officers with their clansmen were posted to the Deccan. Reinforcements, money and provisions were poured into Baglana in Jan. 1671. (*Akhbar*, 13-1, 2, 8, 14, 16 ; *M. A.* 107.)

Mahabat Khan left Burhanpur on 3rd January 1671 with Jaswant Singh, reached Aurangabad on the 10th, paid his respects to the viceroy, Prince Muazzam, and set out to join the army near Chandor. Daud Khan had been appointed his chief lieutenant and commander of his Vanguard ; but he despised this office as below his rank, and begged the Emperor to recall him. (*Akh.* 13-12 ; *Dil.* 102).

We shall now trace the history of the war in the Chandor range. Late in December 1670 Shivaji's men had laid siege to Dhodap, and Daud Khan had started on the 28th of that month to relieve the fort. But the qiladar, Muhammad Zaman, successfully repelled the attack without his aid. Daud Khan had next advanced to the relief of Salhir, but had been too late to save it, as we have already seen. In January 1671, he held a fortified base near the *Kanchana* pass from which he sallied forth in every direction in which the Marathas were heard to be roving. From the Emperor's letters it appears that Daud Khan was under a general order to right everything that might go wrong in Baglana ! Once after a night march he fell on a body of the enemy near Hatgarh and slew 700 of them (*Dil.* 101, *Akhbarat*, 13-15.)

Late in January 1671, Mahabat Khan joined Daud Khan near Chandor and the two laid siege to Ahivant, which Shiva had recently taken. After a month had been wasted in a fruitless exchange of fire, the fort was entered from the trenches of Daud Khan and the garrison capitulated to him. Mahabat Khan became seriously angry at losing the credit of this success. He had been previously treating Daud Khan, a 5-*hazari*, with discourtesy, and now the relations between them became strained to the utmost. Leaving a garrison to hold Ahivant, Mahabat passed three months at Nasik and then went to Parnir (20 miles west of Ahmadnagar) to pass the rainy season (June to September) there, while Daud Khan was recalled to Court (about June).*

There was excessive rainfall that year and many men and cattle perished of pestilence in the camp at Parnir. But while his troops were dying, Mahabat Khan attended daily entertainments in the houses of the nobles by turn. There were 400 dancing girls of Afghanistan and the Punjab in his camp, and they were patronised by the officers. (*Dil.* 106).

II

The Emperor was dissatisfied with Mahabat Khan for the poor result of his campaign in the first quarter of 1671 and his long spell of inactivity afterwards, and suspected him of having formed a secret understanding with Shivaji. So, he sent Bahadur Khan and Dilir Khan to the Deccan next winter. They marched from Gujrat into Baglana, laid siege to Salhir (now in Maratha hands), and leaving Ikhlas Khan Miana, Rao Amar Singh Chandawat and some other officers to continue the siege, proceeded towards Ahmadnagar. (*Dil.* 107 ; *O. C.* 3567.)

From the environs of Ahmadnagar, Bahadur Khan advanced to Supa (in the Puna district), while Dilir Khan with a flying column recovered Puna, massacring all the inhabitants above the age of 9 years, (end of December 1671). Early in January 1672, Shivaji was at Mahad, draining his forts of men to raise a vast army for expelling the invaders from the home of his childhood.* But the pressure on Puna was immediately afterwards removed and Bahadur Khan was recalled from this region by a severe

* Dil. 102-104, 106 ; Sabh. 73. "Mahabat Khan is come as far as Nasik Trimbak and hath taken 4 castles ; Huturnt (=Ahivant) and Salhir are the names of two of them." (*F. R.* Surat 105, Bomb. to Surat, 8 Apr. 1671. But the Mughals did not recover Salhir, though Sabh. (73) says so.

* *F.R.* Surat 106, Bombay to Surat, 13 Jan. and 20 Jan. 1672. The town taken by Dilir Khan is spelt in the English Factory Records as *Puna Chackne* and *Puna Chukna*, and described as "a place of great concern in a very large plain in the heart of all Shivaji's upper country." This description suggests Puna and not Chakan ; but we have no direct evidence that Shivaji got back Puna and Chakan from the Mughals by the treaty of 1665 or that of 1668. The English record rumour, which we know was baseless, that at the capture of this place Dilir Khan killed Kartoji Gujar, the Maratha Lieutenant General, (i.e., Pratap Rao). *Supa*, a few lines above, may easily be a copyist's error for *Puna* in the Persian Ms. of *Dilkasha*, 107, which, however, is silent about this Mughal victory. Chitnis 119 says that the Marathas recovered Chakan by force in 1667 or later.

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disaster to Mughal arms in Baglana. There, the division left to besiege Salhir was attacked by Shiva himself with a large force. After an obstinate battle, Ikhlas Khan and Muhakam Singh (the son of Rao Amar Singh Chandawat) were wounded and captured, with 30 of their principal officers,* while Rao Amar Singh and many other commanders as well as several thousand common soldiers were slain, and the entire siege camp was taken by the enemy. Shortly afterwards Shivaji captured Mulhir, and then putting fresh men, munitions and provisions in the two forts, he hurried back to Konkan unmolested. This took place in the second half of January 1672. Shivaji's prestige and confidence in his own power were immensely increased by these successes. Surat was now in constant terror of him, as he entirely dominated Baglana. (*Dil.* 107 ; Ishwardas, 60 *b* ; *F. R.* Surat 87, M. Gray to Bombay, 15 Feb. Vol. 106, Bombay to Surat, 16 Feb. 1672 ; Sabh. 74 ; K. K. ii. 249.)

From the English records we learn that Shiva now "forced the two generals (*viz.*, Bahadur and Dilir), who with their armies had entered into his country, to retreat with shame and loss."† But the Persian accounts are silent about it. We can, however, be sure that the Satnami rising of March and the rebellion of the Khaibar Afghans in April next, made it impossible for the Emperor to attempt the recovery of his prestige in the Deccan, and Shiva was therefore left the master of the situation throughout the year 1672. (*M.A.* 115-116).

Bahadur Khan returned with failure from Baglana, encamped for some time on the bank of the Bhima, and then went back to Ahmadnagar to canton for the rains. About May 1672 Mahabat left the Deccan for Hindustan, and a month later Prince Muazzam did the same. Bahadur Khan was appointed commander-in-chief and acting viceroy of the Deccan, in the place of these two, becoming substantial *Subahdar* in January 1673 and holding that office till August 1677. (*Dil.* 108-109 ; *M. A.* 121).

III

So greatly was the spirit of the Mara- thas roused by their victory over Ikhlas Khan, capture of Mulhir, and the expulsion of Bahadur and Dilir from Puna that their activity continued unabated even during the hot weather and the rainy season of this year. About 5th June, a large Maratha army under Moro Trimbak Pingle captured Jawhar from its Koli Rajah, and seized there treasure amount- ing to 17 lakhs of Rupees. The place was only 110 miles from Surat, and adjoined the Nasik district, from which it was separated by the Western Ghats. Advancing further north, he threatened the other Koli State of Ramnagar which is only sixty miles south of Surat. The Rajah fled with his family (about 19th June 1672) to Chikli, six miles S. E. of Gandavi. Even Gandavi was deserted by the people in fear of the coming of the Marathas. But the invaders speedily retreated from Ramnagar on hearing that Dilir Khan was assembling his forces for a campaign. Heavy rain stopped the activity of the Marathas for a few days. But soon after- wards Moro Pant, with his army raised to 15,000 men, returned to the attack, and took Ramnagar in the first week of July.

The annexation of Jawhar and Ram- nagar gave the Marathas a short, safe and easy route from Kalian up Northern Konkan to Surat, and laid that port hel- lessly open to invasion from the south. The city became subject to chronic alarms whenever any Marathas were heard of even 60 miles off, at Ramnagar.

From the neighbourhood of Ramnagar Moro Trimbak Pingle sent three successive letters to the governor and leading traders of Surat demanding four lakhs of Rupees as blackmail, and threatening a visit to the city in the case of their refusal. The third of these epistles was very peremp- tory in tone ; Shivaji wrote, "I demand for the third time, which I declare shall be the last, the *chauth* or quarter part of the king's revenue under your government. As your Emperor has forced me to keep an army for the defence of my people and country, that army must be paid by your subjects. If you do not send me the money speedily, then make ready a lodging house for me, for I shall go and sit down

* They were released after a time and returned to Ahmadnagar (*Dil.* 115). On the Maratha side also many soldiers were slain and only one chief of note, Surya Rao Kakre, a comrade of Shivaji's youth.

† *O. C.* 36 33, Surat to Co., 6 Apr. 1672. Ramaji Pangre's heroic battle with Dilir near fort Kanara (Sabh. 73) must be placed here.

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there and receive the revenue and custom duties, as there is none now to stop my passage."

At the first news of the arrival of the Maratha army in Ramnagar, the governor of Surat summoned all the leading Hindu and Muhammadan merchants and proposed that they should subscribe Rs. 15,000 for engaging 500 horse and 3,000 foot to defend the town for two months. Officers were immediately sent to make a list of all the Hindu houses in the town for assessing this contribution. But no soldiers were enlisted, and the governor pocketed whatever money was actually raised for the defence.

On the receipt of the third letter from Shiva, the helpless citizens were seized with a panic. The rich went to the governor that very night and wanted permission to remove their families to Broach and other towns for safety. He kept them waiting till after midnight, gave them the permission, but retracted next morning, when he held a second conference with the townsmen, asking them to raise the black-mail demanded,—the merchants paying one lakh and the Desais raising two lakhs from the cultivators of the villages around. After a discussion lasting a day and a night, in which he reduced his demand to Rs. 60,000, the people finally refused to pay anything, as they knew too well that he would appropriate the money instead of buying the enemy off with it. Therefore, every time that there was an alarm of the approach of Shivaji's troops, the citizens of Surat hastened to flee from the town, but the governor shut the gates to keep them in!*

IV.

From their base in the Koli country of Jawhar and Ramnagar, a Maratha force under Moro Trimbak easily crossed the Ghats into the Nasik district, in the middle of July 1672, plundered and occupied it. Sadhu Rao Deccani, a great-grandson of Sakhji Jadav (the maternal grandfather of Shivaji) with 4000 men, was the Mughal thanahdar of Nasik-Trimbak. He was defeated and captured after losing many of his troops in battle. Siddi Halal, the thanahdar of Vani-Dindori (or North Nasik), was also defeated and his charge looted by the Marathas. For this failure, both officers were sharply reprimanded by Bahadur Khan, and in anger they deserted to the Marathas, with two other officers and all the men of their "four great regiments of horse" (October.) Other desertions were apprehended, and Dilir Khan was left in great danger with a weakened army to defend the province of Gujrat against the exultant enemy. (*Dil.* 116; *F. R.* Surat 87, Surat to Bombay 20 July 1672, Vol. 3, Surat, 26 October; Bombay to Surat, 18 October, in *F. R.* Surat 106 *T. S.* 33 *b* for the 2 deserters.)

On 25th October, a large Maratha army appeared at Ramnagar again, and Surat trembled in alarm, especially as a party of Shivaji's horse advanced past Gandavi to Chickli, 12 miles further towards Surat. But that city was not Shivaji's objective now. He made a lightning raid into a different corner of the Mughal Empire.

He sent his light cavalry to plunder Berar and Telingana.* The viceroy Bahadur Khan, on hearing of it, set out from Ahmadnagar due eastwards, left his heavy baggage at Bir (70 miles to the east) and Qandahar, and arrived as fast as he could near the fort of Ramgir (18.35 N. 79.35E) in pursuit of the raiders. But they had been two days beforehand with him, looted the village at the foot of the fort, and carried off the families of most of the inhabitants for ransom. So the baffled Mughal general returned by way of Indur (95 miles due west.) Entering the Qutb Shahi teritory, he ravaged the land of the instigation of Dilir Khan. The Marathas in their retreat divided into two bodies; one escaping south into the Golkonda State and the other turning northwards to Chanda, and thence west-wards into Berar proper. Dilir Khan was sent off to pursue the first division, while Bahadur Khan tried to cut off the retreat of the second.

Sending his heavy baggage back to Aurangabad from the neighbourhood of the village of Khair, (?) the viceroy hastened by way af Partur, Shellode and Peedola, and arrived near the pass of Antur (38 miles north of Aurangabad). Here the

* Conquest of Koli country: *F. R.* Surat, Vol 3, Bombay, 21 and 25 June, 1672; Vol. 87, Surat to Bombay, 8 July; *O. C.* 3649; *F. R.* Surat, Vol, 87, Surat to Persia, 1 November 1673. Sabh. 72.

* *Dil.* 116, 120-122 (full).

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Marathas turned at bay, and attacked the Mughal Van under Sujan Singh Bundela. But they were repulsed and pursued till evening, many of the horses of traders and other kinds of booty were recovered from the enemy and restored to their owners. Next day the Mughals crossed the pass and encamped at Durgapur, four miles from the fort of Antur.

The following day, when they were marching to Aurangabad in rather straggling groups, before the time fixed for the starting of the general, one division of 10,000 imperialists was charged by 750 picked Maratha cavalry on the left of the pass of Bakapur, six miles (from Durgapur ?) After an obstinate battle, in which the Mughals were reinforced by their general, the Marathas retreated, leaving 400 of their number dead in the field. The credit of this victory belongs to the Bundelas under Subh-Karn, whose son Dalpat Rao was wounded in the fight.

The division under Dilir Khan headed the other Maratha band off into Bijapur territory, capturing much booty and rejoining Bahadur Khan. That general cantoned his troops at Pathri, 76 miles S. E. of Aurangabad. This Maratha raid into Khandesh and Berar, unlike their first incursion in December 1670, was completely foiled, and the Mughal troops showed commendable mobility and enterprise. (Nov-Dec. 1672).*

To guard against a repetition of these two Maratha penetrations into Khandesh from Balaghat, Bahadur Khan set up gates across the tops of the chief passes † and posted troops with artillery at each of them. Bajaji Nayak Nimbalkar, "a great Deccani zamindar" and father of Shiva's son-in-law Mahadji, with his family, was now won over by the Mughals. (*Dil.* 122-'3, 125).

V.

Maratha activity, thus shut out of Khandesh and Berar, burst forth in another quarter (Jan. 1673.) They next raided the Puna district. Bahadur Khan left his baggage at Chamargunda, hastened to meet the invaders, and defeated them after a severe battle. Then he encamped at Pedgaon, on the north bank of the Bhima, eight miles due south of Chamargunda. This place became the residence of his army for many years afterwards, and here a fort and town grew up from their cantonment, which the Emperor permitted him to name *Bahadur-garh*. (*Dil.* 126.)

Pedgaon occupies a position of great strategic importance. It stands on the plain just clear of the long mountain spur running eastwards from Puna. From this place the Mughal general could at will move westwards along the north of the range to protect the valleys of the Mula and the Bhima (the North Puna district), or along the south of it to guard the valleys of the Nira and the Baramati (the southern portion of the district.) Northwards he could communicate with his great depot of arms and provisions at Ahmadnagar, without having to cross any river (except at the foot of that fort); and southwards he could easily invade Bijapur through the Sholapur district. In short the cantonment at Pedgaon served as the Mughal advanced base for some years after this time, exactly as Aurangzib's camp at Brahmapuri, 90 miles S. E. E of it, did twenty-two years later, when the Mughal empire had extended further south.

It was most probably in this year (1673) that Shivaji met with a sore disappointment. The fort of Shivnir, a mile west of Junnar, was no doubt of strategic importance, as it guarded the Mughal frontier in the north of the Puna district and blocked the shortest road by which he could sally out of North Konkan to overrun Mughal Deccan. But what gave it the greatest value in Shivaji's eyes was that it was his birth-place. The Mughal governor of Shivnir was Abdul Aziz Khan, a Brahman convert to Islam and one of the most faithful and valued servants of Aurangzib. Shivaji promised him "mountains of gold" for surrendering the fort into Maratha hands; and he, pretending consent, received the money, appointed a day for the delivery, and asked Shivaji to send 7000 cavalry to take the fort over. But Abdul Aziz at the

* It is probably this campaign that is referred to in *M.A.* 128, among court news of 1673, in the following terms: "Bahadur Khan had defeated Shiva after a forced march of 120 miles, made large captures of spoils and sent them with Dalpat to the Emperor, who viewed them on 22 Oct".

† They are named in *Dilkasha* as Fardapur, Tundapur, Malkapur, Bararpuri, Rajdhir, Lakanwarah, Deogaon, Rajwara, Dilirpur &c.

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same time secretly informed Bahadur Khan of the plot; the Maratha army fell into an ambuscade planned by the Mughals, and retired in disappointment with heavy loss. (Fryer, I. 339-340.)

VI

In another direction, however, a wide door of conquest was now opened to the Marathas. Ali Adil Shah II. died on 24th Nov. 1672, and in a few months the government of Bijapur fell into disorder and weakness. This was Shivaji's opportunity. On 5th March 1673, he got possession of Panhala a second time, by bribery, and early in September he secured the hill-fort Satara by the same means. In May his men under Pratap Rao Gujar burst into the inland parts of Bijapuri Kanara, looting Hubli and many other rich cities. But they received a great check from the Bijapuri general Bahlol Khan, who repeatedly defeated the Maratha rovers and expelled them from Kanara, and then (in June 1673) took post at Kolhapur, to watch the road and prevent their return. Soon afterwards the rains put an end to military operations, and Maratha activity in this region was checked, but for a time only. (*B. S.* 397—399 : *O. C.* 3779 ; *F. R.* Surat 106, Bombay to Surat 16 Sep. 1673 ; Dutch Records, vol. 31, No. 805; *O. C.* 3800.)

As Mr. Gerald Aungier, the English President of Bombay, wrote on 16th Sep. 1673, "Shivaji bears himself up manfully against all his enemies,...and though it is probable that the Mughal's army may fall into his country this year and Bahlol Khan on the other side, yet neither of them can stay long for want of provisions, and his flying army will constantly keep them in alarm, nor is it either their design to destroy Shivaji totally, for the Umarahs maintain a politic war to their own profit at the king's charge, and never intend to prosecute it violently so as to end it." (*F. R.* Surat, 106).

Shivaji took full advantage of his enemies' moral and political weakness.* Early in October 1673, he was reported to have made 20,000 sacks "ready to convey what plunder he can get, having also a considerable flying army ready for that action." Soon afterwards, this army, 25,000 strong, led by Shiva in person, burst into west Bijapur territory, plundering many rich towns, and then passed into Kanara for more plunder. This work occupied him till the end of December. In the first week of that month he was at Kadra with 6000 men, and stayed there only four days. But his detachments were twice defeated at this time, by Bahlol Khan at Bankapur and by Sharza Khan at Chandragara and forced to quit Kanara.

VII

It was probably in November or December of this year, while Shivaji was compaigning in Kanara, that Bahlol Khan* marched from Bijapur with a large army (12,000 men according to the Maratha chronicle) to protect the Miraj-Kolhapur district, and cut Shivaji's northern line of communication with his dominions by the Satara-Panhala route. If this strategic move had succeeded, the road for Shiva's return from Kanara through the Southern Desh country would have been closed, while the Portuguese State of Goa would have barred the land route west of the Ghats, and he would have been compelled to make the journey in ships or make a wide detour eastwards and try to force his way between Miraj and Bijapur and run the risk of attack on both flanks by the large Adil Shahi forces at these two places.

Pratap Rao Gujar the Maratha commander-in-chief, was detached with a slightly larger force and artillery, to meet the danger. He tried to envelop Bahlol's army near Umbrani, between

* F. R. Surat 106, Bomb. to Surat, 10 Oct. 1673 ; O. C. 3910 ; F. R. Surat 88, Karwar to Surat, 17 Dec.

* Battles of Umrani and Jesari : Sabh. 78-79 ; *B. S.* 399-400 (full, but silent about Jesari) ; Chit. 126 (has *Babse Navari* for Jesari), *Dig.* 271 (meagre). Narayan Shenvi writes from Raigarh, 4 April 1674, "Pratap Rai fell in the encounter of Shivaji's army with Bahlol Khan in a narrow passage between two hills, who with six horsemen more were slain, being not succoured by the rest of the army, so that Bahlol Khan remained victorious." (*F. R.* Surat, Vol. 88.) The place of the first battle is named *Umbrani* in Sabh. and *Umrati* in Chit. The *Indian Atlas* gives neither ; but there is a *Amrut*, 4 m. east. of Jath and 34 m. N. W. of Bijapur, which may have been the place. I have failed to trace *Jesari*. According to Duff's authorities, Pratap Rao's appearance near Bijapur induced the Regent to recall Bahlol from Kolhapur and the latter general was intercepted by the Marathas on the way to Bijapur.

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Miraj and Bijapur, cutting him off from his water supply. The battle raged all day with intense ferocity. Many were slain on both sides, the Marathas suffering less than the Bijapuris. After sunset, Bahlol induced Pratap to grant a truce, while he promised not to commit any further hostility against Shivaji. So, the Maratha army withdrew, instead of following up their success and capturing the whole of the stricken enemy force.

The Bijapuris with their numerous wounded, fell back on Tikota (13 m. west of Bijapur); but being reinforced appeared in the Panhala district again a few months later (Feb. 1674). Shivaji sharply censured Pratap Rao for having let Bahlol Khan escape, when he could have easily crushed him and ended for ever his frequent menace to the Maratha possessions in the Southern Desh tract and the roads leading across the Ghats to South Konkan. Pratap Rao, immediately after the battle of Umbrani, had dashed off to plunder parts of Golkonda, Telingana and Berar. On returning from this raid, which was utterly useless from the military point of view, he found Bahlol back near Panhala and received an angry message from his master saying, "Bahlol has come again. Go with your army, destroy him and win a complete victory. Otherwise, never show your face to me again!"

Stung to the quick by this letter, Pratap Rao sought Bahlol out at Jesari (near Panhala), "in a narrow passage between two hills." Smarting under his master's censure, he threw generalship to the winds, and rushed upon Bahlol followed by only six horsemen, the rest of his army hanging back from the mad charge. The gallant seven were cut down by the swarm of foes, and much havoc was done among the Marathas who were disheartened by the fall of their leader; "a river of blood flowed." Shivaji greatly mourned the death of Pratap Rao and repented of his angry letter. The dead general's relatives and dependents were well provided for, and his daughter was married to Raja-Ram the favourite son of the king.

Anand Rao, a lieutenant of Pratap Rao, rallied the disheartened army of his chief. Shiva appointed him* commander-in-chief in succession to Pratap Rao, gave him the title of Hambir Rao, and ordered him not to return alive without defeating the enemy. At this Hambir Rao went off with the whole body of his cavalry far into Bijapur territory in search of Bahlol. Dilir Khan with the Mughal army advanced promptly to the succour of his brother Afghan, Bahlol Khan. But Hambir Rao, not daring to fight two such large forces, retreated towards Kanara, making forced marches of 45 miles a day. The two Khans, unable to overtake the mobile Marathas, gave up the pursuit and turned,—Bahlol to Kolhapur and Dilir to Panhala, whence, after a 5 days' halt with the intention of besieging it, he fell back on his base [Parnir ?].

Hambir Rao, penetrating further into Kanara, robbed the city of Pench,* 24 miles from Bankapur, in Bahlol's jagir, looting at least 150,000 *hun* worth of booty. Thence he returned with 3000 overloads of plunder. Bahlol and Khizr Khan, with 2000 cavalry and many foot soldiers, tried to intercept him near Bankapur, but were defeated after a desperate battle and put to flight with the loss of a brother of Khizr Khan. Hambir Rao robbed the entire Bijapuri army, captured 500 horses, 2 elephants, and much other prize. (March, 1674.) †

But the Bijapuris had their revenge immediately afterwards. Bahlol Khan, "regarding the loss [of the elephants] as

* I here follow the account of Narayan Shenvi, written at Raigarh, only a month later, on information supplied by Shiva's ministers. The new commander-in-chief's name is given Hasaji (Hanssaji) Mohite by both Sabhasad and Chitnis. The latter adds (p. 126) that Hasaji attacked Bahlol's army when dispersed in pursuit, converted the defeat into a victory, and chased Bahlol back to Bijapur. *B.* 429 names Shiva's general *Anand Rao*, but in 1678.

* The whole of this paragraph and the next is based upon Narayan Shenvi's letter of 4th April 1674 (*F. R.* Surat, vol. 88) and the Dutchman Van Reede's letter of 15th Dec. 1674 (Dutch Records, vol. 32, No. 824), which latter calls the pillaged bazar "*Hospet spent*, situated on the borders of Bijapur near Bankapur." (*Hospet* near the ruins of Vijaynagar cannot be the place meant).

† Sabhasad refers to this campaign on p. 80, but gives other names to the place of battle and the Bijapuri general: "Hambir Rao went with his army to Sampgaon [19 m. s. e. of Belgaum]. Husain Khan Miana, a great Bijapuri general, with 5000 Pathans marched against Hambir Rao. A severe battle took place between them, from noon till next morning. Many men horses and elephants were slain on Husain's army. He was captured with 4000 horses, 12 elephants, many camels and property beyond calculation. His whole army was destroyed." See also Chitnis, 146. *Shiva-dig*, 339.

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a great disgrace to him, became desperate, attacked the robbers again, and being reinforced secured such a victory that the robbers had to abandon 1000 horses and were pursued for a long distance." It was not the Maratha policy during a raid to fight pitched battles. So, Hambir Rao rapidly retreated with his booty to Shiva's dominions, left it there in safety, and then (April) burst into Balaghat. †

VIII

Late in January 1674, a Mughal army tried to descend into Konkan and cause a diversion in that quarter simultaneously with the Bijapuri invasion of the Panhala region. But Shiva stopped the paths by breaking the roads and mountain passes and keeping a constant guard at various points where the route was most difficult. And the Mughals had to return baffled. It was probably this expedition to which the English merchants refer in a letter written at the end of January 1674, in the following words, "Dilir Khan hath lately received a rout by Shivaji and lost 1,000 of his Pathans and Shivaji about five or six hundred men." If so, Dilir Khan had either made a rash frontal attack on one of the entrenched passes or fallen into an ambuscade of the Marathas. Throughout these months, December 1673 to March 1674, Shivaji's wars with Adil Shah and the Siddis were carried on languidly with only occasional outbreaks of vigour. The soldiers on both sides were weary of war and their commanders not in earnest to end this paying business. The winter rains of this year were very heavy and bred pestilence. Shiva in December and January was compelled to distribute his horses throughout his dominions in order to stable them in comfort.*

Soon afterwards, the Mughal power in the Deccan was crippled. The rising of the Khaibar Afghans became so serious that Aurangzib had to leave Delhi (7th April) for Hassan Abdal, in order to direct the war from the rear, and next month Dilir Khan was called to the North-western frontier. Bahadur Khan was left alone in the Deccan with a greatly weakened force. This lull in the war was utilised by Shivaji to crown himself with the greatest pomp and ceremony. (*M. A.* 132 ; *F. R.* Surat 88, Oxinden's *Letter*, 21 May 1674.)

JADUNATH SARKAR.

† Sabhasad, 81, says that Hambir Rao's raid extended over Khandesh, Baglana, Gujrat, Ahmadabad, Burhanpur, Berar, and Mahur, to the bank of the Narmada, and that the tired Mughal pursuers always lagged 30 or 40 miles behind, so that the Marathas returned homes unmolested and with all their booty.

* Narayan Shenvi's letter from Raigarh (*E. R.* Surat, vol. 88) ; O. *C.* 3906 and 3939 ; Dutch Records, vol. 34, No. 840.

THE INTERNATIONAL PHONETIC SCRIPT

THERE are many phonetic alphabets; all else being equal, the one most widely used is clearly the most valuable. We have therefore chosen for this book the alphabet of the International Phonetic Association, which is already well known in England..... It will commend itself by its great simplicity." So writes Mr. Walter Rippmann, M.A., in his *Sounds of Spoken English* (New Version, 1914, p. 23). Why should there be many phonetic alphabets, all based though on the Roman? Would it not be a gain to the world if the leading schools of phonetic writing in Europe and America arrived at a consensus about the representation of simple sounds of human speech by means of small Roman characters and supplementary modified small Roman characters, so that a phonetic system of writing might be devised which could win its way to universal acceptance? On obvious grounds of utility capital letters must be discarded.

The three prominent schools of phonetic writing at present are the following :—(1) Orientalists who follow the system of transliteration which has come down from the time of Sir William Jones, receiving slight modifications from time to time,

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and which has been employed in transliterating Oriental writing and in writing hitherto unwritten languages. (2) Esperantists who follow the alphabet very simply devised by the late Dr. Zamenhof, the founder of Esperanto. (3) The adherents of the alphabet of the International Phonetic Association of Paris.

Lepsius's Standard Alphabet, which in point of time came next after Sir William Jones's system of transliteration, though elaborately devised with a vast wealth of linguistic lore and acumen, has proved a practical failure on account of its complexity.

The Phonetic Association of Paris, which calls itself International, should take the lead in the devising of a phonetic script which may ultimately be accepted as a common script by all the world. Its present script is open to some very serious objections. I mention here certain prominent defects of the script, and give later on a detailed criticism of some of the characters given by Mr. Rippmann on pp. 24-25 of his book.

1. The script has so many as five vowel characters and five consonantal characters for the English language as given by Mr. Rippmann, that are widely different from Roman characters. Why then not give up the Roman characters altogether and have in their place their uncouth broad Romic equivalents, which, however serviceable they may be for a scientific handling of phonetics, cannot answer well for the practical needs of life?

2. It calls itself phonetic, and yet antiphonetically draws from Anglo-Saxon the complex symbol, *æ*, for expressing the simple sound of *a* in the English word *bat*, and this in face of the fact that the same complex symbol very properly expresses the diphthongal sound ae in Latin, as in the word Cæsar (sounded kae-sar).

3. It follows the wrong principle of representing kindred sounds by quite unlike characters in the case of the English s and *sh* sounds. The Orientalists' ś and the Esperantists' s with an angular mark over it are far preferable to the International Phonetic symbol for the English *sh* sound.

4. It makes the sign : indicate full length of a vowel sound and · half length. Could not the three grades of quantity—short, medium or half-long, and long—of the letter a, for instance, be indicated thus —ă a ā? A departure from old venerable usage is justifiable only under absolute necessity. No innovation is admissible which is not clearly an improvement. Another objection to the signs : and · is that a vowel without either of the signs would stand for the short sound of the vowel and be the name of the vowel. The name of a vowel with its short sound is practically very inconvenient.

Simple sounds wanting in the Latin language and so unrepresented by any existing Roman letter must have to be represented by modified Roman small letters. It is difficult to settle how modifications may best be made. It is desirable indeed that the modifications should be of a simple and uniform character. Dotting is historically the oldest method of modification. It is simple enough, but it has been objected to as being inconspicuous.* A far more serious objection is that the use of more than two dots is noway convenient, and two dots cannot satisfy international requirements. An international alphabet must have a stock of letters sufficient for all human languages. It must have symbols besides for indicating Mongolian intonations and Hottentot clicks.

Extension of a method of modification which has been adopted by both the International Phonetic Association and a section of Orientalists may perhaps have a favourable consideration from both the schools. The same symbol is used by the International Phonetic Association and by Orientalists of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for signifying the English *ng* sound in *king*, which is wanting in Latin. Now this symbol is but n with a little curve ending in a dot attached at the end. Nay, the Roman letter a itself has a similar appendage at the top. An extension of this method of attaching a dot-ended curve, as shown below, may not be unacceptable to the International Phoneticians and the Orientalists. The letter d with its dental Italian sound, which is the same as that of the Devanagri द, being taken into consideration, there are, within my knowledge, four other sounds that have to be represented by modifications of it, viz., the sound of the English *th* in *then*, which is the same as that of the Arabic letter called zāl in India and Persia, the sound of the

* The unnecessary dots in i and j are not

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English d (not dental but alveolar); the sound of the Devanagri ड (cerebral or front-palatal and so somewhat different from that of the English *d*); the sound of the Devanagri ड़ (which approaches the sound of the English *r* in *bird* and is transliterated as ṛ or ṛ by Orientalists, though its sound is nearer to that of their ḍ [=ड] than of their r [=र]. By an extension of the dot-ended curve method, *d* with a figure like a comma attached to it, *d* with a figure like a reversed comma attached to it, *d* with a figure like the Bengali letter ড attached to it, and *d* with a figure like the Bengali letter ড reversed attached to it, may respectively represent the four sounds mentioned above. Four appendages can not fully meet all requirements, it may be urged. Requirements beyond the number four can be but few, and they can be met by inserting under the letter concerned, the initial letter of the name of the language to which any peculiar sound may belong.

"There are eleven Latin vowels: ă ā ĕ ē ŏ ō ĭ ī; y; ŭ ū.....y a sound unknown in common Latin and imported into the learned language from Greece; it answers to French u or to German ü in Müller, with, however, a tendency to pass into i."* Letting alone the imported y with its dubious sound, the five Latin vowels, each with its long and its short sound, have not the same powers in all the languages that are written with Roman letters. In the English language, for instance, the letter a has, in addition to the proper long and short Latin sounds, as in the words *father* and *mica*, respectively, so many as five other distinct sounds, as in *any*, *hate*, *hat*, *what* and *all*. In French the simple Latin u sound is represented by on, while u is used for expressing a peculiar French vowel sound. In English, German and French s has sometimes the s and sometimes the z sound; and in German w has always the v sound, and v the f sound. Such divergences can have no place in a system of phonetic writing. Such writing justly demands that the Latin sound of every Roman letter should be recognized as its normal sound and that every variation from this normal sound should be represented by the Roman letter marked somehow.

* Brachet's *Etymological Dictionary of the French Language*, Clarendon Press Series, 2nd Edition, Introduction, p. xlviii.

No country in the world is yet prepared to give up its established system of writing and adopt a purely phonetic system in its place. The International Phonetic Association of Paris very properly, therefore, does not aim at dethroning conventional French or English spelling and seating in its place its own phonetic system. It means its system to be a common instrument for phonetically representing the sounds of all languages for a special end, viz., the proper comprehension of the sounds by learners, native or foreign. But it does not, like Orientalists, deal only with non-European languages written in Oriental character or hitherto not written at all. It deals with the world's foremost languages,—English, French and German—which are written in Roman character (the German Black Letter Alphabet being substantially the same as the Latin and now on the way to yield place to it). It is quite legitimate, therefore, to desire that its system should be as faultless as possible and as well fitted for the daily purposes of life in writing and printing as to induce English-speakers, French-speakers, German-speakers, Spanish-speakers, Portuguese-speakers, and speakers of minor languages written in the Roman character, to give up their particular conventional systems and adopt the phonetic system instead. The International Phonetic Script has, however, numerous faults, and I state below in detail what appear to me to be faults in the "phonetic signs" for "the sounds occurring normally in standard English" given by Mr. Rippmann on pp. 24-25 of his *Sounds of Spoken English*, New Version, 1914.

1. The first fault is that consonants are given together first and vowels afterwards. Vowels, as capable of being sounded by themselves, should certainly come before consonants, which cannot be sounded without the help of vowel sounds. Indian grammarians of a very remote past classed together vowels first in scientific order and consonants afterwards in like scientific order. In Mr. Rippmann's lists of consonants and vowels there is not the good comprehensive scientific order found in the Devanagari alphabet, which drew forth high encomium from the great philologist, Lepsius.

2. The English *d* and *t* have not the same sounds as the Continental *d* and *t*, of which the Italian sounds, corresponding

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to those of the Devanagari द and त, respectively, may be taken as the typical reprssentatives. The English *d* and *t* are not dental, as the Italian *d* and *t* are ; nor are they cerebral or front-palatal like the Devanagari ड and ट. They are alveolar, and so intermediate in sound between the dental and the cerebral. European scholars generally make no distinction between the English *d* and the Continental *d*, and between the English *t* and the Continental *t*. But an alphabet which claims to be phonetic and international is bound to make a discrimination in this matter. Even in English as spoken by Scotsmen, *d* and *t* are given their Italian sounds. The Scotsman's English does not indeed come under the head of "Standard English" ; but one who wants to study English phonetics scientifically is bound to recognise the Scottish sounds of *d* and *t*.

The order in which the letters b and p, d and t, g and k, v and f, etc., are given by Mr. Rippmann, the letters for the voiced sounds preceding the letters for the unvoiced sounds, calls for remark. The order is the reverse of that followed in the Devanagari alphabet. Which is the better order ? The Devanagari order seems to be the better of the two.

3. The symbol for the *ng* sound in *sing* is far from being objectionable. Indeed it is commendable ; it is a deft modification of the practice of dotting. The symbol has been adopted also by the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

4. The *w* in *when* is represented by ʍ (w turned upside down) with the remark that "it is doubtful whether this can be called a sound of standard English". What this supposed sound may be I am unable to guess. As I have heard the word pronounced by Englishmen, it has always sounded to my ears as *hwen*, and I am glad that *wh* "is symbolised by *hw* in the system of respelling in the Oxford English Dictionary."*

5. If v be recognised as the Latin equivalent of the Devanagari व and the English *w*, the English *v*, which is equivalent to व् *plus* ह् or *w plus h*, should be represented by *vh*.

6. Instead of the awkward Anglo-Saxon character, which is quite inimical to facile writing, *d* simply marked somehow, would be a better representative of the *th* sound in *clothe*.

7. Instead of the Greek letter *theta* for the sound of *th* in *cloth*, *t* somehow marked *plus h* would serve better, and this not only for convenience of writing, but also for the reason that this English *th* sound is not a simple sound but a compound of a modified *t* or त sound and an *h* sound. It may also well be emphasised that the Greek letter *theta* cannot well fit into English writing.

8. The symbol given for the sound of *s* in *leisure* is not a newly invented symbol, but it is a big symbol. Z marked somehow would be a handier and so a better symbol.

9. The symbol given for the English *sh* sound is, as has already been remarked very objectionable, as being quite unlike in shape to the letter *s*, which usually expresses a kindred sound but expresses also the same sound in *sugar*.

10. The analysis of the English *ch* sound into *tsh* and of the English j sound into *dzh* is accepted by Mr. Rippmann. 'The analysis has the support of such high authorities as Sir James Murray and Prof. Whitney, and has evidently its origin in the French *tch* and *dj*. "Even though we accept the analysis (which some persons are not inclined to do)," says Mr. J. C. Nesfield, M.A., "it would be very inconvenient to write *tsh* for *ch* and *dzh* for j. Moreover, the sounds in question are of such frequent occurrence in our language, that *j* and *ch*, even if they are dipthongal, deserve a place in our list of consonantal symbols."*

"The compound consonants *ch* and *j* in *church* and *judge*, have also strictly a right," says Prof. Whitney, "to separate representation ; since, though their final element respectively is [s and z with an angular mark over each in the original, for *sh* and *zh*], their initial element is not precisely our usual *t* and *d*, but one of another quality, more palatal."†

If men of such high eminence as Prof. Whitney and Sir James Murray have held *ch* and *j* to be compound consonants, "some persons", we are told by Mr. Nesfield, who is not one of them, "are not inclined" to accept this view. Among Mr. Nesfield's "some persons" must be in

* Guide to Pronunciation in *New International Webster's Dictionary*, 1912, p. lvii.

* *Idiom, Grammar and Synthesis*, 1914. p. 434.

† Language and Its Study, 1880, p. 92.

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cluded, I think, great English philologists from Sir William Jones down to Sir George Grierson, who have identified *ch* with च with its modern sound and the corresponding Bengali and Persian letters, and *j* with ज with its modern sound and the corresponding Bengali and Persian letters. Nay all Englishmen in India who have been concerned with the spelling of such proper names as Cheyt Singh, Chunar, Chittagong, Jai Singh, Jodhpur and Punjab must come under the same category as the great philologists. I know also that a very clear-headed Englishman of high distinction, now spending the evening of his life in his native land after conspicuously meritorious service in India, who holds the view that the *ch* and *j* sounds in English are simple sounds corresponding respectively to particular Bengali and Hindustani simple sounds. I do not mention his name here, because I have not sought and obtained his permission to do so It seems clear that all cultured men who speak English as their vernacular do not pronounce the English *ch* and *j* sounds in the same way. Some pronounce them as simple sounds, and others as compound sounds the elements of which cannot clearly be given, for the English *t plus sh* cannot in any way give the English *ch* sound, and the English *d plus zh* (=*z* in *azure*) cannot in any way give the English *j* sound. Nor is it at all clear to me that the Italian *t* sound or the English *t* sound in *thin*, compounded with the English *sh* sound, could give the English *ch* sound; or that the Italian *d* sound or the English *th* sound in *then*, compounded with the sound of *z* in *azure*, could give the English *j* sound. It is for the English-speaking world to settle how the English *ch* and *j* sounds are to be properly graphically represented. Perhaps c for *ch*, and j marked somehow (to distinguish it from the German j) for j might answer. C is already used by Orientalists for च.

A foot-note on p. 5 of Mr. Rippmann's book contains a pregnant remark. "It might be thought that reference to a dictionary would be sufficient to settle disputed points. However, it may be said that no dictionary—not even the familiar Webster or the great Oxford English Dictionary, now in course of publication—can be implicitly trusted in matters of pronunciation. On the whole our dictionaries strive to record educated southern English speech, with some concessions to Northern English." A standardisation of the pronunciation of English for all English-speaking lands appears to be desirable.

11. J is given its German sound, the sound being said to be the same as that of *y* in yes. But can y be rightly recognised as a consonant in English, and does it not deserve to be rejected as a vowel, on the ground of its being superfluous?

12. Representation of the English *r* sound by the same symbol as the Continental *r* sound and the Devanagari र sound is bad. There should be a differentiating mark for the English *r* sound.

13. A word here about the *f* sound. Is it not a compound of a modified *p* sound and an *h* sound? This modified *p* sound does not indeed exist independently in English, and other languages that have the *f* sound. But this cannot make *f* a simple sound.

Though not connected particularly with Mr. Rippman, a remark I have to make here about the practice in Europe of making ts stand for a simple sound. It is held to be equivalent to the German z, and so the East Bengal ৎ and to च with its ancient sound. The sound of *ts* in *Tsar* is a simple and not a compound sound. So it should be represented by a single letter and not a combination of two letters. There is a close relation between this *ts* sound and the sound which *c* has partially in Italian, as in the name Medici. C with this sound has been appropriated by Orientalits for the representation of च with its modern sound. If *c* stands for this sound, ç would be a very appropriate substitute for *ts*.

Coming now to Mr. Rippman's list of vowels, the first remark I have to make is that in giving pairs of vowels as consisting of a long and a short one each, Mr. Rippman follows a method which is the reverse of that followed by Indian grammarians. The question is a physiological one. Did the long vowels originate first, or the short ones? The short ones appear to have originated before the long ones, as is evidenced by the fact of the earliest alphabets being without vowel symbols. The Indian Grammarians appear, therefore, to have followed the right track.

I come now to details :—

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1. It is not at all clear to me that the first vowel sound in *fairy* is organically different from that of *e* in *bet* and not a lengthening of it, so as to make it necessary to represent it by a new letter.

2. The impropriety of the symbol æ for the vowel sound in *bat* has already been shown.

3. It is not at all clear to me that the first vowel sound in *bite* is not simply the short of *a* in *father*, as is the first vowel sound in *house*, sounded *haus* (German haus), but an organically different sound that requires to be represented by a letter different in shape from *a* in *father*. I see no reason, again, why the historical hooded *a* should not be used in *father*, but be used for the first vowel sound in *bite* while the *a* in *father* should be represented by a new unhooded *a*. The unhooded *a* may well be used for the vowel sound in *pot* and *law*.

4. The vowel, long in *law* and short in *pot*, is represented by a new character quite different in shape from *o*, which in English and also in German has in some cases the sound of *o* in *pot*. Besides the objectionable shape of the letter, there is the further objection against it that it is very ill adapted for writing.

5. The inverted e adopted for representing the second vowel sound in *better* and the supposed long of this vowel sound in *burn* calls for a good deal of comment. Mr. Nesfield, in his *Idiom, Grammar and Synthesis*, 1914, p. 431. calls the inverted e an "awkward-looking symbol," and this awkward-looking symbol and its doubling for indicating its long sound (the doubling not adopted by the International Phonetic Association) have the support of great names—Skeat, Sweet and Murray. But great men do sometimes fail to grasp all aspects of a question. The invention of the inverted e symbol has its origin in the English convention of expressing the sound of the symbol by e. The sound of *e* in the words *gather* and *confer* (Mr. Nesfield's examples) has no affinity to the Latin sound of e, but has affinity to the short sound of the Latin *a* and the English sound of *u* in *hut* or *but*. Instead of an *e* inverted, *a* marked somehow would be a better means of representing the second vowel sound in *better*.

6. As for the new symbol for "the vowel sound" (evidently meant for the first vowel sound) in *butter*, I am unable to understand in what the sound of *u* in butter differs from that of *u* in *bun* and *burn*. Here one is reminded of what Max Müller says about Sir John Herschel's bearing "but the same sound in *spurt*, *assert*, *bird*, *dove*, *oven*, *double*, *blood*," and Sheridan and Smart's distinguishing "between the vowels in *bird* and *work*, in *whirl'd* and *world*".* It is not for a foreigner to venture to say anything about a question like this in which native Englishmen differ among themselves. But the recognition of *e* in *clerk* as having an *i* sound, the transformation of *university* into *varsity* and the vulgar or provincial pronunciation of *sir* being written *sah* and of *sisters* being written *sistahs*,† indicate even to the foreigner that the *e* in *her* and the *i* in *sir* have the short sound of the Latin *a* modified a bit. Mr. Nesfield gives *e* in *confer* as the long of *e* in *gather*. Now the *fer* in *confer* is certainly not the same in sound as *far*. The *e* in *gather* and *confer* can thus be held to have a modified sound of the Latin ă and ā, respectively.

The International Phonetic Association's method of nasalising vowels is the same as that of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The method is exceedingly good.

Who can say that one system of weights and measures, one system of coinage, and one common alphabet would not benefit the world? The world would take time indeed to attain these benefits. The dreams of to-day become the realities of to-morrow. Hope lies in this.

SYAMACHARAN GANGULI

* Max Muller's *Lectures on the Science of Language*, 2nd Series, 1864, p. 112.

† Under the head of "Varieties" in the Calcutta *Statesman* of July 27, 1902.

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SWAMI VIVEKANANDA*

I.

SWAMI Vivekananda, who died in his fortieth year in 1902, is the greatest moral force in modern Hinduism, and though his active life of preaching was confined to the last ten years of his crowded existence, thanks to his speeches, pamphlets, letters, and the books about him by his disciples, of whom Sister Nivedita is the best known, his ideas have now been widely disseminated in India, and this work has been helped by the several organisations established at Belur (Calcutta), Mayavati (Almora), Benares, Madras and other places to carry on his propaganda. The recently completed Life of the Swami in four volumes by his eastern and western disciples is a monumental work in which the story of a noble life has been ably told, and in spite of its obvious defeciencies, chief among which is too great an idealisation of the picture which is common to most biographies, the spiritual side of the Swami's development and activities has been narrated in these volumes with a comprehensiveness and philosophic grasp which make them a standard work of reference for all students of Hindu religion and spiritual culture, Indian and foreign.

The fifty-seventh anniversary of the Swami's birth has recently been celebrated in all the centres associated with his name, and it is a fitting occasion for taking stock of the character of the man and the ideas he stands for in modern Indian thought. As is well known, he imbibed his religious ideas at the feet of his Master, Paramhamsa Ramkrishna, for whom he entertained the highest reverence. From his master he learnt the great lesson of his spiritual life—renunciation of lust and gold. By austere psychic practices, deep and prolonged meditation continued for years, severe thought-control and ascetic self-discipline, he totally crucified his flesh and attained a passionate purity of thought which wonderfully developed his will-power and was the secret of his magnetic personality and of his great influence over men and women all the world over. 'Years of meditation and spiritual austerity were behind him, and hence his very words were living potencies.' One of his western lady-disciples who knew him intimately for years, said: "I never thought it possible for man to be so white, so chaste as he was. It set him apart from other men." Another said that his presence was 'a perpetual benediction.' 'He literally radiated spirituality. Throughout his life, as he says in one of his letters, he strictly observed, the ideal monk that he was, the two great vows of the Sannyasin's life—poverty and chastity.' He was a scholar, mystic, and philosopher. The great American mystic philosopher, William James, was his devoted admirer; Professor Wright of Harvard wrote to him: "To ask you, Swami, for your credentials, is like asking the sun to state its right to shine." The Chairman of the Committee for selecting delegates to the Chicago Parliament of Religions said of him: "Here is a man who is more learned than all our learned professors put together." While his learning attracted men of his type, his character gained the admiration of scientists like Sir Hiram Maxim, the inventor of Maxim guns, and world-renowned actresses, and artistes like Sarah Bernhardt and Madame Calve. He had penetrated more deeply into the ancient scriptures of the Hindus than any other Hindu of the modern times, and could hold learned discourses in Sanskrit with orthodox pundits. (As a wandering monk, who did not know where to lay his head, unburdened with any worldly possessions and enduring the severest privations, he

* The materials for this article have been collected and all the extracts made, from the following books: (1) Life of Swami Vivekananda, by his eastern and western disciples, 4 vols., (2) Epistles, 5 vols., (3) Vartaman Bharata (Modern India), (4) Prachya O Paschatya (East and West), (5) Bhab-bar Katha (Things which should make one think), (6) Paribrajaka (Wanderer), (7) Speeches and Writings of Swami Vivekananda, Nateson & Co., (8) Inspired Talks, (9) The Master as I Saw Him, by Sister Nivedita. Many of the extracts are from the published translations of the Swami's Bengali works, but a few of the translations have been made by the compiler himself.

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traversed the whole of India from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, studying the manners, customs and religion of the people at first hand, and gaining thereby a wonderful knowledge of Indian sociology and of the cultural unity of Hinduism. A brilliant conversationalist and debater, a sweet singer of devotional songs, he was yet the ideal *Karma Yogin*, a born leader and organiser. As a youth he had developed his muscles by gymnastic and athletic exercises. In him strength of character and devotional ardour and soft sympathy were blended in a rare union. He was the patriot saint of Modern India. Certainly none loved India more passionately than he. "My life's allegiance is to my Motherland, and if I had a thousand lives, every moment of the whole series would be consecrated to your service, my countrymen, my friends." He was the interpreter of the soul of India to her own children and to the world, the spirit incarnate of the culture of the Hindu race, the embodiment of its religious ideal before the modern world. By long and intense self-discipline and intimate acquaintance with all the varied aspects of religious India, he had earned his credentials to stand forth as the accredited champion and representative of Hinduism before the powerful and aggressive West.

The Swami was a philosopher, but in him philosophy was not confined to mere book-learning, as is usually the case in the West. Philosophy and religion are one in Hinduism. "Religion is not in books, nor in theories, nor in dogmas, nor in talking, not even in reasoning. It is Being and Becoming." Philosophy is not so much a process of ideas as of experience. It is the doorway to vision, to spiritual illumination. Mystical experience is the only guarantee of spiritual certitude. Religion is realisation. The end of philosophical concentration is insight. The superconscious state of ecstasy, trance, beatitude, is the true goal of religious experience. The training of the spiritual self by intense meditation and philosophic study, the transfiguration of personality, —these are the objects of religious exercises. The wandering monk—the sannyasin—is the apex of the social and spiritual aspirations of the Hindu race.

The mission of Vivekananda was summed up in two words—*Seva* and *Siva*—the life of meditation upon God and service unto man. Of the latter, we will speak fully later on. Renunciation was his watchword in regard to the former. But as Sister Nivedita says: "Towards the end of his life I told him that renunciation (a life of poverty and silence, free, undimensioned, sovereign in its mastery) was the only word I had heard from his lips. And yet, in truth I think that 'conquer!' was much more characteristic of him." Like all great men, he had immense faith in himself. "Really, there is so much power in me, I feel as though I could revolutionise the world." "I shall burst upon society like a bombshell and it shall follow me like a dog." "If I get only five hundred men in all India who understand I shall shake India to its foundations!" "India will hear me!" he used to exclaim. The Ramakrishna Mission embodies his ideal of *seva*, and the Math at Belur was intended to work out his ideal of *Siva*. When the foundation of the Math was laid, Vivekananda said that it "will be the central institution for the practice of religion and the culture of knowledge. The spiritual force emanating from here will permeate the whole world..." Let us hope that he has left worthy successors to carry on this high ideal.

In his posthumous 'India's Message to the world' he said that India's destiny was the regeneration of man the brute into man the God through renunciation. The conquest of the world by Indian spirituality was his favourite aspiration. Expansion is life, contraction is death. As a nation we must either expand or die.

"Up, India, and conquer the world with your spirituality!...Materialism and all its miseries can never be conquered by materialism. Armies when they attempt to conquer armies only multiply and make brutes of humanity, Spirituality must conquer the West...We must go out, we must conquer the world through our spirituality and philosophy. There is no other alternative, we must do it or die. The only condition of national life, of awakened and vigorous national life, is the conquest of the world by Indian thought."

The expression 'Indian spirituality' has often been misunderstood, but the Swami used it in an all-comprehensive sense. As his biographers put it:

"He knew already that the spiritual impetus once given, would diversify itself into many channels of national usefulness and activity, and would unify the Indians into a nation. This he knew would cement the lives of the millions into one common purpose,—the regeneration of the motherland...When

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...When the spiritual shock should have been transmitted, the whole ocean of Indian society would be lashed into a storm of energetic and concentrated purpose, and thus the most advanced and progressive ideals would be realised in a comparatively short time and in the most natural way with the least resistance. By the term spirituality...he meant the life principle of the race, its genius, its aggressive and dynamic potentialities, its struggles to give utterance to its universal ideals, its power to develop the active and energising factors in the transmutation of fossilised traditions and customs into re-empowered and revivified conditions for social enlightenment and unity. He meant its inherent vigour to give birth to new historic epochs, to adjust itself to the needs of the new time and changing environment, for he had learnt that if the heart of a nation is touched, it responds electrically and in manifold ways."

The Vedanta, in its threefold aspect of dualism (Madhvacharya), qualified non-dualism (Ramanuja), and pure monism (Samkara) is the religion of India. The Vedanta Sutras of Vyasa have been much tortured by all these three commentators, but as the Swami used to say, 'texts are not India rubber, and even that has its limits.' In spite of this defect, however, according to the Swami, "it is the Vedanta alone that can become the universal religion of man, and none else is fitted for that role." "No religion built upon a person can be taken up as a type by all the races of mankind." Mahomedanism, Christianity and Buddhism have all been built round a person.

"Now the Vedantic religion does not require any such personal authority; its sanction is the eternal nature of man, its ethics are based npon the eternal spiritual solidarity of man already existing, already attained and not to be attained."

The cardinal doctrine of the Vedanta is that man is eternally free, and that God is not outside man, but that self is God. It is the illusion of Maya nescience, ignorance, which prevents us from perceiving the identity, and in the knowledge of this unity lies Freedom, Mukti (salvation). We are all children of eternal bliss. In his address before the Chicago Parliament of Religions, he struck the note which is the central plank of his philosophy.

"Ye divinities on earth, sinners? It is a sin to call a man so. It is a standing libel on human nature. Come up, oh lions, and shake off the delusion that you are sheep. You are souls immortal, spirits free and blest and eternal, ye are not matter, ye are not bodies. Matter is your servant, not you the servant of matter."

And what is the main theme of the Upanishads, the fountain-head of the Vedanta philosophy?

"Strength, strength is what it talks to me from every page. This is the one great thing to remember; it has been the one great lesson I have been taught in my life; strength, it says strength, oh man be not weak....strength, oh man, strength, say the Upanishads, stand up and be strong aye, it is the only literature in the world where you find "nabhajeth" "fearless" used again and again: in no other scripture in the world is this adjective applied either to God or to man... And the more I read the Upanishads, my friends, my countrymen, the more I weep for you, for there is the great practical application. Strength, strength for us. What we need is strength, who will give us strength? There are thousands to weaken us, stories we have learnt enough, every one of our Puranas, if you press them, gives out stories enough to fill three-fourths of the libraries of the world. We have all that. Everything that can weaken us as a race we have had for the last thousand years. It seems that for the last thousand years national life had this one end in view, viz., how to make us weaker till we have become real earthworms, crawling at the feet of every one who dares to put his foot on us. Therefore, my friends, as one of your blood, as one that lives and dies with you, let me tell you that we want strength, strength and every time strength. And the Upanishads are the great mine of strength. Therein lies strength enough to invigorate the whole world: the whole world can be vivified, made strong, energised. It will call with trumpet voice upon the weak, the miserable, and the downtrodden of all races, creeds and all sects to stand on their feet and be free; freedom, physical freedom, mental freedom, and spiritual freedom are the watchword of the Upanishads. Aye, this is the one scripture in the world of all others that does not talk of salvation but of freedom. Be free from the bonds of nature, be free from weakness!"

The dualistic religions, like Vaishnavism, are usually the religions of the unthinking masses: They breed weakness and foster superstition, and hence, in spite of their numerous excellences, they are not fit to be the religion of modern India.

"Aye, I know what grandeur, what oceans of love, what infinite ecstatic blessings and joy there are in the dualistic love theories of worship and religion. I know it all. But this is not the time with us to weep even in joy; we have had weeping enough; no more is this the time for us to become soft. This softness has been on us till we are dead; we have become like masses of cotton. What our country now wants is muscles of iron and nerves of steel, gigantic wills which nothing can resist, which can penetrate into the mysteries and the secrets of the universe, and will accomplish their purpose even if it meant going down to the bottom of the ocean and meeting death face to face in every fashion. That is what we want, and that can only be created, established, and strengthened by understanding and realising the ideal of *Advaita*, that ideal of the oneness of all."

"Modern science and its sledge-hammer blows are pulverising into powder the porcelain foundations of all dualistic religions everywhere."

Vedanta preaches the grand idea of

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universal toleration, the spiritual oneness of the whole universe. It is wonderfully rationalistic. It exactly harmonises with the aspirations of the age and with the conclusions of modern science.

But the distinguishing feature of Vivekananda's religious message is his insistence on making the Vedanta practically fruitful in life, or his doctrine of Practical Vedantism. India is full of Vedantists who have abjured the world for their own salvation, or who revel in the philosophic vision of the oneness of the Self with the Absolute, without allowing it to affect their notions of ordinary social life, divided into a thousand water-tight compartments by castes, customs and prejudices, by a jot or tittle. It is Vivekananda who taught that, corresponding to the Vedantic ideal of oneness in the abstract, there should be a Vedantic social body, imbued with the doctrines of equality, fraternity and equal privilege, in the concrete. The historian Seely, who was a profound student of the political relations between India and England, pointed his unerring finger to the peculiarity of Hindu civilisation which "arrested and half-crushed" this "gifted race," *viz.*, its predeliction for "reverie and the luxury of unbounded speculation." Vivekananda saw this vital weakness, and tried to apply the necessary corrective.

"Aye, you may be astonished to hear, but, as practical vedantists, the Europeans are better than we are. I used to stand on the sea-side of New York, and look at the emigrants coming from different countries, crushed, down-trodden, hopeless.....And mark you, in six months those very men were walking erect, well-clothed, looking everybody in the face; and what makes this wonderful difference? Say this man comes from Armenia, or anywhere else where he was crushed down beyond all recognition, where everybody told him he was a born slave and born to remain in his low state all his life, and at the least move he made they would crush him out. There everything told him, "Slave! you are a slave; remain there. Hopeless you were born, hopeless remain." Even the very air murmured round him, "There is no hope for you, hopeless and a slave remain"..... And when he landed in the streets of New York, he found a gentleman, well-dressed, shaking him by the hand..... Perhaps he went to Washington, shook hands with the President of the United States, and perhaps, there he saw men coming from the distant villages, peasants, and ill-clad, all shaking hands with the President. Then the veil of Maya slipped away from him. He is *Brahman*, who has been hypnotised into slavery and weakness, once more awake, and he rises up and finds himself a man in the world of men. Aye, in this country of ours, the very birthplace of the Vedanta, our masses have been hypnotised for ages into that very state. To touch them is pollution! Hopeless you were born, remain hopeless; and the result is that they have been sinking, sinking, sinking, and have come to the last stage to which a human being can come. For what country is there in the world where man has to sleep with the cattle? And for this blame nobody else, do not commit the mistake of the ignorant. The effect is here and the cause is here too. We are to blame, stand up, be bold, and take the blame on your own shoulders. Do not go about throwing mud at others; for all the faults you suffer, you are the sole and only cause. Young men of Lahore, understand this, therefore,—this great sin, hereditary and national, is on your shoulders. There is no hope for us. .....until there is that sympathy, that love, that heart, that thinks for all, until Buddha's heart comes once more into India, until the words of Lord Krishna are brought to their practical use, there is no hope for us..... Therefore, young men of Lahore, raise once more that wonderful banner of Advaita, for on no other ground can you have that wonderful love, until you see that the same Lord is present in the same manner everywhere; unfurl the banner of Love. Arise, awake, and stop not till the goal is reached."..... At the present time there are men who give up the world to help their own salvation. Throw away everything, even your own salvation, and go and help others..... here is practical Vedanta before you..... This nation is sinking, the curse of unnumbered millions is on our heads, to whom we have been giving ditch-water to drink when they have been dying of thirst and when the perennial river of water was flowing past, the unnumbered millions whom we have allowed to starve at sight of plenty, the unnumbered millions to whom we have talked of Advaita and whom we have hated with all our strength, the unnumbered millions against whom we have invented the doctrines of *lokachara* [local customs], to whom we have talked theoretically that all are same, that all are the same Lord, without even an ounce of practice..... Our insincerity in India is awful; what we want is character, that steadiness and character that make a man cling on to a thing like grim death. .... What we want is not so much spirituality as a little of bringing down of the Advaita into the material world; first bread and then religion. We stuff them too much with religion when the poor fellows have been starving. No dogmas will satisfy the craving of hunger. There are two curses here, first our weakness, secondly our hatred, our dried up hearts. You may talk doctrines by the millions, you may have sects by the hundreds of millions; aye, but it is nothing until you have the heart to feel, feel for them as your Veda teaches you, till you find they are parts of your own bodies, till you and they, the poor and the rich, the saint and the sinner, all are felt to be parts of one Infinite whole which you call Brahman."

Vedantism teaches self-reliance, it gives man faith in himself:

"Faith, faith, faith in ourselves, faith in God, this is the secret of greatness. If you have faith in all the 300 millions of your mythological gods and in all the gods which foreigners have now and again sent into your midst, and still have no faith in yourselves, there is no salvation for you. Have faith in yourselves, and stand up on that faith and be strong, that is what we need. Why is it that we 300 millions of people have been ruled for the last 1000 years by any and every handful of foreigners who

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those to walk over our prostrate bodies? Because they had faith in themselves and we had not. What I had learn in the West, and what did I see behind those talks of frothy nonsense of the Christian religious sects saying that man was a fallen and hopelessly fallen sinner? There inside the national hearts of both Europe and America resides the tremendous power of the men's faith in themselves. An English boy will tell you, 'I am an Englishman, and I will do anything.' The American boy will tell you the same, and so will every European boy. Can our boys say the same thing here? No, not even the boys' fathers. We have lost faith in ourselves. Therefore, to preach the Advaita aspect of the Vedanta is necessary to arouse up the hearts of men, to show them the glory of their souls... Arise, awake; awake from this hypnotism of weakness. None is really weak; the soul is infinite, omnipotent, omniscient. Stand up, assert yourself, proclaim the God within you, do not deny. Too much of inactivity, too much of weakness, too much of hypnotism, had been and is on our race. O ye modern Hindus, dehypnotise yourselves. The way to do that is to be found in your sacred books. Teach yourselves, teach every one, his real nature, call upon the sleeping soul to see how it rises. Power will come, glory will come, goodness will come, purity will come, and everything that is excellent will come when this sleeping soul is roused to full conscious activity."

Again,

"Would you believe me, you have less faith than the Englishmen and women, thousand times less faith! These are plain words, but I say them, cannot help it..... You are more wise than is good for you, that is your difficulty. It is all because your blood is a pint of tar, your brain is sloughing, your body is weak!"

Vedantism teaches strength, and the first thing it should teach us is to acquire physical strength:

"I must tell you in plain words that we are weak, very weak. First of all is our physical weakness. Know physical weakness is the cause of at least one-third of our miseries. We are lazy; we cannot work; we cannot combine; we do not love each other; we are immensely selfish... That is the state in which we are, hopelessly disorganised mobs, immensely selfish; quarreling each other for centuries, whether a certain mark is to be put this way or that way; writing volumes and volumes upon such momentous questions as to whether the look of a man spoils my food or not! These we have been doing for the last few centuries. We cannot expect anything more except what we are just now, of a race whose whole brain-energy has been occupied in such wonderfully beautiful problems and researches! And we are not benefited..... What is the cause of that? Physical weakness. This weak brain is not able to do anything; you must change that. Our young men must be strong first of all. Religion will come afterwsrds. Be strong, my young friends, that is my advice to you. You will be nearer to heaven through football than through the study of the Gita. Bold words are these. I have to say them. I love you. I know where the shoe pinches. I have got a little experience. You will understand the Gita better with your biceps muscles a little stronger. You will understand the mighty genius and the mighty strength of Krishna better with a little of strong blood in you. You will understand the Upanishads better and the story of the *Atman* when your body stands firm upon your feet and you feel yourselves as men.... You talk of reforms, of ideals, and all these for the last hundred years and when it comss to practice, you are not to be found anywhere... What is the cause? Is it that you do not know? You know too much. The only cause is that you are weak, weak, weak; your body is weak, your mind is weak. You have no faith in yourselves! Centuries and centuries, thousand years of crushing tyranny of castes and kings and foreigners and your own people, have taken out all strength from you, my brethren! Like the trodden-down, and broken, and backboneless worms you are! who will give us strength? Let me tell you, strength, strength, strength, is what we want. And the first step in getting strength is to uphold the Upanishads and believe that I am the soul..... I wish that faith would come unto each of you; and every one of you would stand up a gigantic intellect, a world-mover, a giant, an infinite god in every respect; that is what I want you to become."

To Sister Nivedita the Swami said,

"I preach only the Upanishads. If you look, you will find that I have quoted nothing but the Upanishads. And of the Upanishads, it is only that one idea, strength. The quintessence of the Vedas and the Vedanta and all, lies in that one word." "The longer I live, the more I think that the whole thing is summed up in manliness."

In justification of his strong denunciations of Hindu society, he wrote:

"I have not been imported from foreign parts to do 'good' to you, so that I must perforce invent scientific explanations even for your follies. But what are such considerations to the foreign friend? All that he wants is cheap notoriety what of the fact that whatever blackens your face also covers me with shame?"

It is not our purpose in this article to enter into the spiritual side of the Swami's teaching. We shall now proceed to discuss his social views, which, in our opinion, are the most fruitful part of his teachings, as well as the ones which lay nearest to his heart. Since the swami expressly repudiated politics as having anything to do with his activities, it is by his social exertions chiefly that his title to rank among the foremost of Indian patriots must be justified. His views on social questions are all the more deserving of consideration as they proceed from a fullness of love and knowledge rarely, if ever, equalled by his countrymen. In a fine passage, Sister Nivedita says:

"The thought of India was to him like the air he breathed. True, he was a worker at foundations. He neither used the word 'nationality' nor proclaimed an era of 'nation-making.' 'Man-making', he said, was his own task. But he was born a lover, and the queen of his adoration was his Motherland. Like some delicately-poised bell,

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thrilled and vibrated by every sound that falls upon it, was his heart to all that concerned her. Not a sob was heard within her shores that did not find in him a responsive echo. There was no cry of fear, no tremor of weakness, no shrinking from mortification, that he had not known and understood. He was hard on her sins, unsparing of her want of worldly wisdom but only because he felt these faults to be his own. And none, on the contrary, was ever so possessed by the vision of her greatness....His country's religion, history, geography, ethnology, poured from his lips in an inexhaustible stream.....Like some great spiral of emotion, its lowest circles held fast in love of soil and love of nature; its next embracing every possible association of race, experience, history and thought, and the whole converging and centering upon a single definite point, was the Swami's worship of his own land. And the point in which it was focussed was the conviction that India was not old and effete, as her critics had supposed, but young, ripe with potentiality, and standing, at the beginning of the twentieth century, on the threshold of even greater development than she had known in the past."

Unfortunately for this land, where centuries of slavery to caste and custom have annihilated free thought and freedom of action, the social reform movement inaugurated by Swami Vivekananda, which constitutes, as we have said, his best title to be counted among our greatest patriots, seems to us to be already on the wane; his biographers do not lay that emphasis on it which it deserves, and love rather to idealise the Hindu cult and customs, sometimes beyond recognition; his followers, at anniversary memorial meetings, prefer not to court unpopularity by dwelling too pointedly on the Swami's outspoken observations on social matters; and the general Hindu public, deceived by the fact that "to the customs of his own people, the Swami brought the eye of a poet and the imagination of a prophet," are being left more and more under the impression that the patriotisin of the Swami consisted in his exaltation of Hinduism above other religions, his occasional defence of Indian society, and his denunciations of blind foreign imitation. The Swami realised that "when a man loses faith in his own historic past, he cannot have any self-respect and faith in himself. He realised that conquest is not of the body, or by the sword, but in the infusion of a foreign culture. When the mind of a people is conquered, then is there conquest in fact. And so he used to say that 'India can never become Europe until she dies? And his faith in India's mission and her place in world-civilisation will appear from the following extract from one of his speeches:

"Shall India die? Then from the world all spirituality will be extinct; all moral perfection will be extinct; All sweet souled sympathy for religion will be extinct; and in its place will rule the duality of lust and luxury as the male and female deities, with money as its priest, fraud, force and competition its ceremonies, and the human soul its sacrifice. Such a thing can never be.'

The Swami was of opinion that conservative methods should be employed to bring about radical reforms. Assimilation was good, but mere methinking imitation was to be avoided. "And when," says Sister Nivedita, "he would lose himself, in splendid scorn of apology for anything Indian, in fiery repudiation of false charge or contemptuous criticism, or in laying down for others the elements of a faith and love that could never be more than a pale reflection of his own, how often did the habit of the monk seem to slip away from him, and the armour of the warrior stand revealed!" The average man in the street cannot be blamed if in this 'aggressive Hinduism' of the heroic monk he fails to recognise the ardent social reformer that Vivekananda really was, specially as some of his own utterances tend to obscure our vision in this respect in no small degree. In order to proceed along the line of least resistance, in the hope of obtaining the greatest result thereby, the Swami sometimes exhorted his disciples * not to preach directly against caste and social customs, and sometimes he even said things to suit the temper of his audience which, we know, did not represent his own real attitude. This mental reservation he probably justified by the logical process which he was often fond of quoting—the Arundhati Nyaya, which means adapting the truth to the intelligence of the audience. For instance, in his lecture on 'The Mission of the Vedanta,' he says:

"I must frankly let this audience know that I am neither a caste-breaker nor a mere social reformer. I have nothing to do directly with your castes or with your social reformation."

That the Swami was both a caste-breaker and a social reformer, will be proved to demonstration from his own utterances quoted in the following pages.

* *Epistles*, pp. 36, 51, vol. I.

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Describing the influence of the Swami's wanderings all over India on the formation of his character, his biographers observe :

"He had developed wonderfully. The caste-consciousness had been completely obliterated and the provincial consciousness in him had been superseded by that of the ethnological and racial oneness of the land. The Swami had grown from a Bengali into an Indian."

In the same lecture, again the Swami says :

"Have not one word of condemnation even for the most superstitious or the most irrational of its institutions, for they also must have served to do as good in the past."

It is only necessary to observe with regard to this injunction, that the Swami's own public life was one long contradiction of this precept. Elsewhere the Swami says :

"To the reformers I will point out, I am a greater reformer than any one of them. They want to reform only little bits. I want root and branch reform. Where we differ is exactly in the method. Theirs is the method of destruction, mine is that of construction. I do not believe in reform ; I believe in growth..... There is, then, another great consideration. Here, in India, we have always been governed by kings ; things have made all our laws ; now the kings are gone and there is none left to take their place. The Government dares not ; it has to fashion its ways according to the growth of public opinion. It takes time, quite a long time, to make a healthy, strong, public opinion which will solve its own problems, and in the interim we shall have to wait. The whole problem of social reform therefore resolves itself into this. Where are those who want reform? Make them first.....Therefore, even for social reform, the first duty is to educate the people, and you have to wait till that time comes."

It is undoubtedly necessary to educate the masses in order to foster the growth of a healthy public opinion in favour of social reform, but it is also necessary, at the same time, to prepare the classes, which are equally averse to such reform, by preaching its necessity, and pointing out, as the Swami himself has done, the gross abuses at present prevailing in society. It is moreover true that successful reform can only proceed from true sympathy, from one who passionately loves the people, knows all their failings and the causes to which they are due. But the extreme caution sometimes displayed by the Swami in order not to offend an ignorant mass among whom public opinion is yet to be developed has been mistaken for apathy to social reform on his part, and as the result of this we find orthodoxy exulting over his aggressive advocacy of Hinduism, which the reforms which he preached with such burning eloquence, and without which he considered Hinduism as doomed, are as far off as ever. Following in his wake, we are now having a class of pseudo-philosophic exponents of Hinduism whose stock-in-trade seems to be a mongrel sentimentalism which seeks to clothe in a poetic garb of justification even the most flagrant abuses prevailing in Hindu society under the guise of sympathetic interpretation and who preach the necessity of national evolution in accordance with the genius of the race, unhampered by the superimposition of foreign ideals. The result of all this mystery-mongering is that, what between the Scylla of the deadweight of popular apathy and native inertia, and the Charybdis of the *laissez faire* policy of sentimental nationalists who thought themselves seceders from orthodoxy in their social life are fond of obfuscating the Hindu public by their esoteric interpretations, the cause of social reform has progressed very little since Vivekananda burst upon society like a bombshell and shook India to its foundations, confident that India should hear him. This meagre achievement has convinced us that the Swami's occasional attempts at compromise with the orthodox and unreasoning section of his community by offering them bitter pills of reform in a sugared coating of flattering pictures of ancient glory, largely overdrawn, with a view to evoke their national self-confidence and win their allegiance to the cause of reform, was a mistake, and that had he confined himself in all cases to the truth as he had found it, and allowed it to tell its own sad tale, without being influenced by any questions of policy or expediency in the presentation of the case, his efforts at social amelioration would have stood greater chances of success. For the class whom he wanted to conciliate is represented in Hindu society by the Pundits, the custodians of the ancient culture, of whom, according to his biographers, Vivekananda thought that they "had become mere chatterers of Sanskrit, grammar and philosophy and were only as so many phonographic records of its past, without being possessed of its spirit and of the sense of responsibility as to their adding to that culture the fruits of original, intellectual and spiritual researches." Nor is it the

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fact that Vivekananda had a blind admiration for Hindu philosophy and the Hindu sages.

In one of his letters he says :

"The Hindu mind was ever deductive and never synthetic or inductive. In all our philosophies, we always find hair-splitting arguments, taking for granted some general proposition, but the proposition itself may be as childish as possible. Nobody ever asked or searched the truth of these general propositions. Therefore independent thought we have almost none to speak of....."

"The personality of Krishna has become so covered with haze that it is impossible to-day to draw any life-giving inspiration from that life. Moreover, the present age requires new modes of thought and new life."

Sankara "was a tremendous upholder of exclusiveness as regards caste." He and Ramanuja were dry intellects, without the heart that feels for all. In the Vaishnav reformers "we find a wonderful liberalism as to the teaching of caste questions but exclusiveness as regards religious questions." "Dualists naturally tend to become intolerant.....The Vaishnavs in India, who are dualists, are a most intolerant sect." Even Buddhism itself, of the founder of which Vivekananda always spoke with the greatest reverence, had one great defect. It introduced many wild and uncivilised races into the Aryan fold, who brought their superstitious and hideous worship with them, 'and thus the whole of India became one degraded mass of superstition.' The simple worship of the Vedic times vanished along with the Vedic sacrifices against which Buddha preached, to be replaced by 'the gorgeous temples, gorgeous ceremonies, and gorgeous priests' of the Buddhists. Thus Buddhism created Brahminism and idolatry in India." In a letter to a learned Hindu for whom the Swami had a high regard, he says :

"One absolute *Brahman* without attributes *I* fairly understand, and I see in some particular individuals the special manifestations of that *Brahman ;* if those individuals are called by the name of God, I can well follow, otherwise the mind does not feel inclined towards intellectual theorisings such as the postulated Creator and the like."

Such being some of the views of the Swami, it will be easily understood that in his attempt to walk in company with the orthodox he was soon bound to come at the parting of the ways, and reveal his real self by outspoken denunciations of orthodox customs and hoary abuses.

Let us now examine the views of the Swami, the apostle of modern Hinduism, on the keystone of the faith—the caste system. We shall find that however carefully the Swami tried at times to speak guardedly in order not to give a rude shock to the orthodox section of his co-religionists, both in his speeches and letters and other writings, from which the following extracts have been made, the Swami has made it abundantly clear to every discerning reader capable of penetrating beneath the surface that he considered the caste system to be the greatest stumbling-block to Indian advancement and heartily wished for its death.

"With the question whether caste shall come or go I have nothing to do. My idea is to bring to the door of the meanest, the poorest, the noble ideas that the human race has developed both in and out of India, and let them think for themselves. Whether there should be caste or not, whether women should be perfectly free or not, does not concern me. Liberty of thought and action is the only condition of life, of growth and well-being." Where it does not exist the man, the race, the nation must go down. Caste or no caste, creed or no creed, any man or class, or caste, or nation, or institution which bars the power of free thought and action of an individual—even as long as that power does not injure others—is devilish and must go down." "We preach neither social equality nor inequality, but that every being has the same rights, and insist upon freedom of thought and action in every way."

[To his disciples] "Preach against nobody, against no custom. Preach neither for nor against caste or any other social evil ; preach to let "Hands off," and everything will come right." "In spite of all the ravings of the priests, caste is simply a crystallised social institution, which after doing its service is now filling the atmosphere of India with its stench, and it can only be removed by giving back to the people their lost social individuality. Every man born here [in America] knows that he is a man. Every man born in India knows that he is a slave of society. Now, freedom is the only condition of growth ; take that off, the result is degeneration."

"I believe that the Satya Yuga will come when there will be one caste.....This idea of Satya Yuga is what would revivify India. Believe it."

"I fully agree with the educated classes in India that a thorough overhauling of society is necessary. But how to do it ? The destructive plans of reformers have failed. My plan is this. We have not done badly in the past ; certainly not. Our society is not *bad* but *good*, only I want it to be *better* still.... Now take the case of caste.. .....the original idea of *jati* was the freedom of the individual to express his nature, his Prakiti, his *jati*, his caste, and so it remained for thousands of years. Not even in the holiest books is interdining prohibited ; nor in any of the older books is intermarriage forbidden. Then what was the cause of India's downfall ?—the giving up of this idea of caste.....The present caste is not the real

* Observe the Swami's pathetic attempt to propitiate society by smooth phrases and pleasing mysteries while enunciating new doctrine of caste, which is really the negation of all hereditary caste distinctions.

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jati, but a hindrance to its progress. It really has prevented the free action of *jati*, i. e., caste, or variation. Any crystallised custom or privilege or hereditary class in any shape really prevents caste (*Jati*) from having its full sway, and whenever any nation ceases to produce this immense variety, it must die. Therefore what I have to tell you, my countrymen, is this: That India fell because you prevented and abolished caste. Every foreign aristocracy or privileged class is a blow to caste and is not-caste. Let jati [i.e. individual variation] have its sway; break down every barrier in the way of caste and we shall rise. Now look to Europe. When it succeeded in giving free scope to caste and took away most of the barriers that stood in the way of individuals,—each developing his caste—Europe rose. In America there is the best scope for caste (real *Jati*) to develop, and so the people are great. Every Hindu knows that astrologers try to fix the caste of every boy or girl as soon as he or she is born. That is the real caste—the individuality—and astrology recognised it. And we can only rise by giving it full sway again. *This variety does not mean inequality nor any special privilege.*"

After thus explaining away caste to his own satisfaction, the Swami says:

"This is my method—to show the Hindus that they have to give up nothing but only to move on in the line laid down by the sages and shake off their hernia, the result of centuries of servitude."

Had the Swami been alive today, he should have felt the futility of this method, for it has not gained a single adherent to the cause of reform which he had so much at heart, while it may possibly have strengthened in some minds the authority of the Shastras against the dictates of reason and humanity. Writing later in the same year, the Swami expresses himself much more vigorously and plainly in the following lines:

"Do you mean to say I am born to live and die one of those caste ridden, superstitious, merciless, hypocritical, atheistic *cowards*, that you find among the educated Hindus? I hate cowardice..."

Now and then the Swami emphasised the evils of caste by referring to the activities of the Christian missionaries, specially in Deccan.

"They are converting the lower classes by lakhs; and in Travancore, the most priest-ridden country in India,—where every bit of land is owned by the Brahmins, and where the females, even of the royal family, hold it as high honour to live in concubinage with the Brahmins,—nearly one-fourth has become Christian! And I cannot blame them... When, when O Lord, shall man be brother to man?"

In practical life, the Swami advocated the social equality of Islam:

"...Advaitism is the last word of religion and thought... We believe it is the religion of the future enlightened humanity... Yet practical Advaitism, which looks upon and behaves to all mankind as one's own soul, is yet to be developed among the Hindus universally. On the other hand our experience is that if ever the followers of any religion approached to this equality in an appreciable degree in the plane of practical work-a-day life,... it is those of Islam and Islam alone. Therefore we are firmly persuaded that without the help of practical Islam, theories of Vedantism, however fine and wonderful they may be, are entirely valueless to the vast mass of mankind... For our own Motheriand a junction of the two great systems, Hinduism and Islam,—Vedantic brain and Islamic body—is the only hope. I see in my mind's eye the future perfect India rising out of this chaos and strife, glorious and invincible, with Vedantic brain and Islamic body."

Writing, after his judgment had attained full maturity, to a gentleman and scholar for whom the Swami had the greatest regard and whom he had approached in his younger days for the solution of many doubtful points in our Shastras; he says:

"The conviction is daily gaining on my mind that the idea of caste is the greatest dividing factor and the root of *Maya*,—all caste either on the principle of birth or of merit is bondage... over and above, I come to see from my studies that the disciplines of religion are not for the Sudra, if he exercises any discrimination about food or about going out to foreign lands it is all useless in his case, only so much labour lost... It is in the books written by priests that madnesses like that of caste are to be found, and not in books revealed from God. Let the priests enjoy the fruits of their ancestor's achievement, while I follow the word of God, for my good lies there."

In the Belur Math, the Swami, during the last years of his life, invested many non-Brahmins with the sacred thread. A Kayastha lady-disciple having signed her name as Dasi, which is a humble form of address literally meaning 'maid servant' he replied:

"Why have you signed yourself as .... *Dasi*?... the Brahman and the Kshattriya should write *Deva* and *Devi* [meaning 'god' and 'goddess']. Moreover, these distinctions of caste and the like have been the invention of our modern sapient Brahmans. Who is a servant, and to whom? Every one is a servant of the Lord." The Kshattriyas "are the fathers of all that is noble and beautiful in Hinduism. Who wrote the Upanishads? Who was Rama? Who was Krishna? Who was Buddha? Who are the Tirthankaras of the Jains? Wherever the Kshattriyas have preached religion, they have given it to everybody, and wherever the Brahmins wrote anything, they would deny all right to others."

Turning now to Vivekananda's speeches, we find the same attempt to soothe the susceptibilities of the orthodox, but for a man of the Swami's genius and passionate humanitarianism, it is difficult to maintain the mask long, and his real views are soon apparent.

"Caste is good. That is the only natural way of solving life. Men must form themselves into

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groups, you cannot get rid of that. Wherever you go there will be caste. But that does not mean that there will be these privileges. They will be knocked on the head. If you teach Vedanta to the fisherman he will say, I am as good a man as you, I am a fisherman, you are a philosopher; never mind, I have the same God in me, as you have in you. And that is what we want, no privilege for any one, equal chances for everyone; let everyone be taught the Divine within, and everyone will work out his own salvation. Liberty is the first condition of growth."

"Not the English, no, they are not responsible, it is we who are responsible for all our misery and all our degradation, and we alone are responsible. Our aristocratic ancestors went on treading the common masses of our country under foot, till they became helpless, till under this torment the poor, poor people nearly forgot that they were human beings. They have been compelled to be merely hewers of wood and drawers of water for centuries, so much so that they are made to believe that they are born as slaves, born as hewers of wood and drawers of water.....Not only so, but I also find that all sorts of most demoniacal and brutal arguments, culled from the crude ideas of hereditary transmission and other such gibberish from the western world, are brought forward in order to brutalise and tyrannise over the poor all the more...ye, let every man or woman and child, without respect of caste or birth or weakness or strength, hear and know that behind the story of the weak, behind the high and the low, behind everyone, there is that Infinite soul assuring the infinite possibility and the infinite capacity of all to become great and good."

In the Satya Yuga there was only one caste to start with, and that was that of the Brahman. We read in the *Mahabharata* that the whole world was in the beginning peopled with Brahmans, and that as they began to degenerate they became divided into different castes, and that when the cycle turns round they will all go back to that Brahmanical origin. This cycle is now turning round, and I draw your attention to this fact...The command is the same to you all, and that command is that... from the highest Brahmin to the lowest *Pariah*, every one in this country has to try and become the ideal Brahmin."

The days of exclusive privileges and exclusive claims are gone, gone for ever from the soil of India, and it is one of the great blessings of the British rule in India. Even to the Mahomedan rule we owe that great blessing, destruction of exclusive privilege...The Mahomedan conquest of India was as a salvation to the downtrodden, to the poor. This is why onefifth of our people have become Mahomedans...And one fifth—one half—of your Madras people will become Christians if you do not take care... Yet with all this there ought to be no more fight between the castes. The solution is not by bringing down the higher, but by raising the lower up to the level of the higher...the whole work is to raise the Chandala up to the level of the Brahmin...There are books in which you read such fierce words as these: 'If the sudra hears, fill his ears with molten lead, and if he remembers a line, cut him to pieces. If he says to the Brahmin you Brahmin', cut his tongue out. Diabolical old barbarism no doubt, it goes without saying, but do not blame the law-givers simply for recording the customs of some section of the community.....what prevents any caste from declaring they are Brahmins? Thus caste with all its rigour, has been made in that way—Say there are castes here with ten thousand people each. If these put their heads together and say 'we will call ourselves Brahmins' nothing can stop them; who is to say nay?... those great epoch makers, Sankaracharya and others, were the great caste-makers. I cannot tell you all the wonderful things they manufactured, and some of you may be angry with me. But in my travels and experiences I have been tracing them out, and most wonderful results I have arrived at. They would sometimes get whole hordes of Beluchis and make them Kshattriyas in one minute, whole hordes of fishermen and make them Brahmans in one minute. They were all Rishis and sages and we have to bow down to their memory. Well, be you all Rishis and sages. That is the secret.... I am extremely sorry that in modern times there is so much fight between the castes. This must go. It is useless on both sides on the side of the higher caste, specially the Brahmin, because the day for these privileges and exclusive claims is gone. The duty of every aristocracy is to dig its own grave and the sooner it does, the better. The more it delays, the more it will fester and die a worse death. It is the duty of the Brahmin, therefore, to work for the salvation of the rest of mankind in India.....So this accumulated culture of ages of which the Brahmin has been the trustee, he must now give to the people at large, and it was because he did not give it to the people at large that the Mahomedan invasion happened. It is because he did not open this treasury to the people at first, that for a thousand years we have been trodden under the heels of everyone who chose to come to India..... the Brahmin must suck out his own poison."

Elsewhere the Swami spoke of 'the crushing tyranny of caste,' and he repeatedly pointed out that the soul has neither caste, nor creed, nor sex, and in one of his letters he advocated perfect freedom of marriage as well as food and dress, but it is needless to dilate at greater length on the subject. As there is nothing in the world which is wholly evil, caste has one good point which did not escape the Swami's notice. In his "Modern India" he says: "The sages Vasistha and Narada, who were sons of prostitutes, Satyakama Jabala, the son of a female slave, Vyasa the fisherman, Kripa, Drona, and Karna of unknown paternity, were raised to Brahmanhood or Kshattriyahood on account of their knowledge or heroism, what the communities of prostitutes, slaves, fishermen, or chariot-drivers gained thereby, is to be considered. On the other hand those who had fallen from the Brahman, Kshattriya, and Vaishya castes were constantly accepted in Sudra society. In Modern India, not even a great scholar or a millionaire sprung from the ranks of the Sudras has the right to leave his own society. Consequently the influence of

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their intelligence, learning, and wealth, being confined to their caste is being applied to the improvement of their own social circle. In this way the hereditary castes of India, unable to alter their social status, are slowly raising the individuals within the boundaries of each district caste group."

(*To be concluded.*)

A HINDU ADMIRER.

THE CHOICE BEFORE THE WESTERN WORLD

BY MRS. ST. NIHAL SINGH.

ALLIED Europe, as well as America, is passing through a great moral and spiritual crisis. In essentials they are seeking to get out of the same darkness—they are struggling against narrow-mindedness and selfishness. But outwardly they are attempting to solve problems that, to a casual observer, bear no relation to each other.

For Allied Europe the struggle is to achieve a peace of justice and not of conquest. Her higher impulses tell her, she must not let her land-hunger or vindictiveness dictate the terms. She can either abase her late enemies, increase their hatred for her, and drive them to resort to cunning to encompass her downfall, or she can pave the way for reunion, make reconstruction possible in countries that, not so very long ago, were bent upon destruction as well as in lands that have been wantonly devastated, make it possible for democracy to prevail in communities that have tasted the bitterness of defeat, and help those nations towards the old ideal, rediscovered during the war, of human fellowship and co-operation.

Which alternative will she choose?

The last election in England was fought on such cries as "Kill the Kaiser," "Make the Hun pay," and "Banish the Hun." The same sentiments prevail now though not with quite the same intensity. The same is true of the other Allied countries. Throughout the war Imperialists everywhere in Europe saw the chance to extend their territories, and, under the guise of one pretext or another, or quite openly, agitated for annexations.

The French, not content with "disannexing" Alsace Lorraine, laid claim to the rich Saar coal-fields, to Syria, and to a share of the ex-German colonies in Africa. When reminded of the formula of national rights on which the war was fought, they quickly shifted their ground to economic necessity—the Saar coal-fields might be given to them as a *compensation* for the havoc wrought by the Germans in the French coal-fields under their occupation. In regard to Syria, the expansionist party set up the cry for what it called *La Syrie Integrale*, that is to say, Palestine as well as Syria and based its claims upon "historic grounds" and "community of culture." By historic grounds the expansionists meant that the French had taken part in the Crusades, and by community of culture that they had a few missionaries in the Levant who had established a few churches and schools and converted some of the population. Ever since Togoland was wrested from the Germans in 1914, it has been almost equally divided between the British and the French, while German South West Africa and German East Africa have been administered by the British. The French expansionists desired, no doubt, the extension of their half of Togoland, and slices of the other territories, if not "compensation" for them.

Belgium, too, has pressed her claim for the rectification of her boundaries. She has been anxious not only for slices of contiguous land, but also for bits of Africa.

Italy's ambitions have, likewise, been whetted by the war. Her claims for Austrian territory have brought her into conflict with the Tczecho-Slovaks—a conflict that statesmen are finding it most difficult to settle. Her Imperialists have desired to extend and improve their

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African Empire, and have staked out claims in the Eastern Moditerranean, basing such claims upon historic and other rights.

Signor Girodani says, for instance, in his book, "The German Colonial Empire, Its Beginning and Ending," that the remembrance of "the tradition of Imperial Rome and that of the maritime and colonizing supremacy of" the Italian Republics, has not yet been extinguished in these places. He adds that "until a few years ago the only European language spoken along the whole Asiatic coast and even in upper Mesopotamia, in the Vilayet of Orfa besides Greek, was Italian, and Italian is still the language used by sailors." He further says that Italy has convent schools, hospitals, and religious institutions throughout the Turkish Empire, and that the guardianship of the Holy Land was founded by St. Francis of Assisi and despite French claims to the contrary is entirely Italian. He claims that even more than tradition, religious institutions, military occupation, and industrial concessions, Italy derives her right to the Mediterranean territory from the emigration of her sons to those parts. Italian "Artisans, navvies, masons," he says, have given their hand—badly recompensed for the most part—to the construction of French harbours, the work of English railways and mines, and to the German *Bagdadban*." He further asserts that Italian engineers have given their best talents, and humbler merchants and employees are in every town of the Turkish Empire very indifferently protected." Hence Italy must have a slice of Turkey.

How bitter indeed, is this writer against the Japanese! He exclaims: "Think of the dark and tragic situation created by the Japanese occupation of Kiao Chao, which took place with the moral assistance rather than with the effective participation of England, but which for Japan has been the key, robbed from Europe, for the conquest of the greatest colony of the world—China." He dislikes Japan not because that country is aggressive and expansionist, how could he indeed? but because it is not European, and because the Japanese hegemony in the Far East bodes no good for European influence in Asia.

Greece, from the moment she came into the war, has clamoured for choice bits of Turkey. M Venizelos, her trusted leader, is a "strong man" and the claims that he has put forward certainly show extreme candour.

British Imperialism has not been so blatant as Imperialism on the Continent, but that does not mean that British expansionists are not anxious to get the lion's share out of the scramble. The bulk of the African and Asiatic territories wrested from the enemy has been in their possession. They are pressing for the conversion of Jerusalem into a British Dominion colonized by Jews and governed on the "Crown Colony model" by Jews, preferably British Jews. They desire the new Arab State to be under their protection. Little is said about the future of Mesopotamia, which is, in effect, an "Indian" province, and the claims of the Egyptians who demand that their country be returned to them are condemned by British Imperialists as extravagant.

Perhaps the most illuminating statement that has been made on the subject is contained in an article recently contributed to the *Pall Mall Gazette* (London) by Colonel Sir Francis Younghusband, whom Lord Curzon chose to head his Tibetan Mission. Sir Francis writes that in addition to the satisfaction and pride resulting from the good work done in India and Egypt, the British got considerable material benefits from increased prosperity, which efficient administration brings. Increased production, he says, enables the British to obtain more raw materials and food. The rise in the standard of living and greater purchasing power enable the British to sell more manufactures, espicially cotton goods. Capital investments yield good interest. He urges, therefore, the taking over of Palestine and Mesopotamia, where heavy cost has been incurred upon military operations, roads, and railways.

If Egypt, Palestine, Mesopotamia, and India are considered together, Mr. Francis Younghusband declares, and troops are properly distributed and means of quick transport made abundantly available, the British garrison for all four lands need not exceed the pre-war garrison in India and Egypt.

Unlike Europe, America has no ambition for territorial expansion or for any other sort of aggrandisement or gain.

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She is, however, in the throes of a struggle to look beyond the American Continent.

America waited and watched the course of the war, year after year, hoping against hope that she would not be drawn into the European welter of blood. When Germany made it impossible for her to remain an onlooker, she took up the weapons of war in the spirit of a crusader, to deliver European peoples from militarist madness. Most Americans looked upon it as an adventure noble but limited; and they felt that after it was over their country would be able once again to slip back into that state of lofty detachment from which she had emerged for a specific object.

With the defeat of Germany and her satellites, Americans who believed in keeping America free from the much of the Old World returned to their charge with increased vigour. As the days lengthened into weeks and months after the signing of the armistice, their campaign became more intensified, and at the time of writing Dr. Wilson and all the other Americans who can see beyond the Monroe Doctrine find themselves assailed by these forces.

The President and other far-sighted Americans fully realized, however, that in undertaking a large, honourable, and determining part in the conflict, the United States was committing herself to responsibilities from which it would be impossible for her to extricate herself. Even those who were opposed to the President's way of thinking, not necessarily for party reasons, had a shrewd idea of whither participation in the European war was leading their country; and that this was perhaps the most potent reason why they fought to the last moment to keep the United States neutral.

It was a correct reading of American character that led Dr. Wilson to declare war; and it was an equally correct reading of American character that has made him commit his country to the League of Nations idea. Whether the present United States Congress will or will not endorse the President's policy in this respect is problematical; but it is pretty certain that the American people outside Congress will accept the responsibility to which he has committed them.

Americans are an emotional, idealistic, and imaginative people, and this expansion of what they regarded as a noble but limited adventure into permanent responsibility for the peace of the world will captivate them. While they will undoubtedly insist upon a special guarantee for the perpetuation of the Monroe Doctrine, and also for the preservation of American freedom to deal with such questions as immigration, the agitation against any participation in world-responsibilities whatever will die out in course of time.

Is it not significant that Dr. Wilson, some of whose people are clamouring for isolated existence, should have been the man but for whose influence the Peace Conference at Versailles may not have given precedence to the consideration of ways and means to secure international co-operation and to ensure permanent peace, over the discussion of all other issues? In doing so the American President has shown that he possesses the rare faculty of discriminating between clamant rival interests, and assigning to them values in strict relation to their effect upon human well-being and progress. Had he lacked strength of will, his power of perception would have been of little avail, for friend and foe alike clamoured for the solution of other problems.

The presence of the New World at the Peace Conference has certainly imposed some check upon the European appetite for expansion. The American President, supported by European democracy, has already succeeded in moderating the demand for indemnties, and has been able to prevent conquered territories in Asia and Africa from being annexed by European Powers.

The Conference has, however, refused to arrange for international control of these territories, providing for a system of administration by trustees, each portion of such territories being entrusted for administration and development to one or the other of the Powers (or Dominions), acting as the League's agent. Even that compromise has rendered the expansionists of all nations speechless.

It is now an open secret that the President was not able to persuade the Commission over which he presided to adopt the scheme that the American delegation presented to it. The draft on which the Covenant of the League of Nations, published on February 14th, is

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based was British. It appears to me to be a cross between the scheme propounded by the League to Abolish War, of which Mr. F. Harbet Stead, a younger brother of the late W. T. Stead, is the convener, and the Rt. Hon. George N. Barnes. of the British War Cabinet, is Chairman, and the plan elaborated by the Rt. Hon. General Smuts in the pamphlet that he recently issued through Messrs Hodder and Stoughton. London.

The authorship of the covenant does not matter so long as the machinery designed by it is international and democratic in character, and so long as it is capable of working efficiently and smoothly. Does the covenant fulfil these conditions ?

The Executive Council that will dominate the League, as at present designed, will be unsatisfactory from the international point of view. Only one seat out of nine is earmarked for the United States —all the other American countries are left to scramble for one or more of the four unassigned seats. Similarly, only one seat is set aside for Asia—and that for Japan, whose ambitions lay her open to Asiatic suspicion. Africa has no place whatever in the Executive Council. No definite place has been set aside for Germany, Russia and whatever may remain of Austria-Hungary after the former dual-monarchy has been reorganized. The enemy countries and neutrals have not been debarred, but their election depends upon the votes of the five associated Powers, which, so long as the covenant is not amended, will enjoy a clear majority.

The constitution is, moreover, undemocratic. As at present contemplated, the Executive Council will be composed of Prime Ministers or Foreign Ministers of various nations, and not of representatives specially chosen by the various peoples themselves. Besides, the Council will not be responsible to the body of Delegates, to be composed of representatives of all the nations admitted into the League.

The League of Nations is not prepared to make its own arrangements for the administration of territorries wrested from the Germans and the Turks and not to be returned to them. Some of them are to be organized into States which will be subject to advice and assistance from individual members of the League, while the others will be administered, in nearly every case, as if they were integral parts of territories belonging to one or the other members of the League.

The Covenant does not forbid the manufacture of arms by separate nations, or even compel nations to nationalize such industries. It does not call, with a clear voice, for the reduction of armies, navies, and air forces to mere police establishments. It is silent about the creation of an international police force that would exclusively be responsible to the League, and would be used against recalcitrant nations as it might direct.

Since the constitution adopted for the League follows lines of the British Empire, the League will closely follow the pattern of the Imperial Conference and Imperial Cabinet. It is not to be a real federation, not a supernational authority or World-State. Therein it falls short of the ideal and may fail to be an efficient organ for the management of international affairs, about which the Covenant has very little to say. Democrats all over the western world are pressing for drastic amendment and I hope they will succeed.

REVEIWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

JOHN CHRISTOPHER. *By M. Romains Rolland.*

This remarkable novel is the product of the pen of the celebrated French author M. Romain Rolland, a Nobel Prize winner. A cultured English lady, who has never seen India but whose sympathies are wide enough to embrace the world, thus wrote from Scarborough to an Indian friend sometime ago :—"War is terrible ! No good thing can come out of it, I feel convinced ; but I suppose it must be the natural result of causes we have ourselves set in motion. At any rate it should do us good, one would think. But if it

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trying to introduce a cast-iron military system in Great Britain, it will only have plunged us further into the mire. I don't know what you think of our European civilisation ; it shows how far we have wandered from the teachings of Jesus." The Gospel of love which Jesus taught is indeed utterly repugnant to the spirit of rivalry and hatred which prevails in Christian countries and which was undoubtedly at the root of the recent Armageddon. There was no more earnest champion of Christianity in all Europe than the megalomaniac of Potsdam who brought about the dreadful conflagration ; and it cannot be denied that there was ample inflammable meterial all round him when he struck the match. How is this condition of things to be accounted for ? It may at first sight look as if Christ was in sober earnest when he said : "Think not that I am come to send peace on earth. I came not to send peace, but a sword." But as a matter of fact we know that the whole tendency of his teachings is towards humanity. For the Gospel of Hatred we must indeed turn not to the New but to the Old Testament. The feeling of pity (not unmixed with contempt) for pagans and unbelievers which finds place in the new book can only be regarded as a survival of the baneful teachings of the old Hebrew chroniclers.

The foregoing Paragraph is only intended to draw the reader's attention to an illuminating page in "JOHN CHRISTOPHER", dealing with this subject. Christopher, the German musician, stands for the worship of force, *Faustrecht* ; he is a disciple of Nietzsche and a believer in the power of the mailed fist. He is imbued with the Old Testament spirit and he wants his friend Olivier, the generous young Frenchman to adopt the old device of hate: *Fuori Barbari*, or "France for the French." Olivier is a typical Frenchman to whom all questions of race-superiority are repulsive. He is *en rapport* with all humanity and his emphatic reply is : "No. Such a device is not for the French. Any attempt to propagate it among our people under cover of patriotism must fail. It is good for barbarian countries ! But our country has no use for hatred. Our genius never yet asserted itself by denying or destroying the genius of other countries, but by absorbing them." The book was written and published before the war broke out and to the student of history as well as to the general reader the following dialogue cannot fail to be interesting and instructive :

"There's no blood in your veins," said Christopher, "and on top of that all sorts of Christian ideas ! Your religious education in France is reduced to the Catechism ; the emasculate Gospel, the tame, bloodless New Testament. Humanitarian clap-trap, always tearful. And the Revolution, Jean—Jacques, Robespierre, 48, and, on top of that, the Jews ! Take a dose of the full-blooded Old Testament every morning."

Olivier protested. He had a natural antipathy for the Old Testament, a feeling which dated back to his childhood, when he used secretly to pore over an illustrated Bible, which had been in the library at home, where it was never read, and the children were even forbidden to open it. The prohibition was useless ! Olivier could never keep the book open for long. He used quickly to grow irritated and saddened by it, and then he would close it : and he would find consolation in plunging into the *Iliad*, or the *Odyssey*, or the *Arabian Nights*.

"The gods of the *Iliad* are men, beautiful, mighty, delicious ; I can understand them," said olivier. "I like them or dislike them : even when I dislike them I still love them. More than once, with Patrocles, I have kissed the lovely feet of Achilles as he lay bleeding. But the God of the Bible is an old Jew, a maniac, a monomaniac, a raging madman, who spends his time in growling and hurling threats and howling like an angry wolf, raving to himself in the confinement of that cloud of his. I don't understand him, his perpetual curses make my head ache, and his savegery fills me with horror :

"The burden of Moab.....
"The burden of Damascus.....
"The burden of Babylon.....
"The burden of Egypt.....
"The burden of the desert of the sea.....
"The burden of the valley of vision.....

"He is a lunatic who thinks himself judge, public prosecutor, and executioner rolled into one, and, even in the courtyard of his prison, he pronounces sentence of death on the flowers and pebbles. One is stupefied by the tenacity of his hatred, which fills the book with bloody cries...'a cry of destruction... the cry is gone round about the borders of Moab : the howling thereof unto Eglaim, and the howling thereof unto Beerelim...'.

"Every now and then he takes a rest, and looks round on his massacres, and the little children done to death, and the women outraged and butchered and he laughs like one of the captains of Joshua, feasting after the sack of a town.

"And the Lord of hosts shall make unto all people a feast of fat things, a feast of wine on the lees, of fat things full of marrow, of wine on the lees well refined... The sword of the Lord is filled with blood, it is made fat with fatness, with the fat of the kidneys of rams...'

"But worst of all is the perfidy with which this God sends his prophet to make men blind, so that in due course he may have a reason for making them suffer :

" 'Make the heart of this people fat, and make their ears heavy and shut their eyes. Lest they see with their eyes and hear with their ears and understand with their heart, and convert, and be healed—Lord, how long ? Until the cities be wasted without inhabitants, and the houses without men, and the land be utterly desolate...'

"Oh ! I have never found a man so evil as that ! I am not so foolish as to deny the force of the language. But I cannot separate thought and form and if I do occasionally admire this Hebrew God it is with the same sort of admiration that I feel for a viper, or a.....(I'm trying in vain to find a Shakespearean monster as an example: I can't find one : even Shakespeare never begat such a hero of Hatred—saintly and virtuous hatred). Such a book is a terrible thing. Madness is always contagious. And that particular madness is all the more dangerous inasmuch as it sets up its own murderous pride as an instrument of purification. England makes me shudder when I think that her people have for centuries been nourished on no other fare... I'm glad to think that there is the dyke of the Channel between them and me. I shall never believe that a nation is altogether civilised as long as the Bible is its staple food."

"In that case," said Christopher, "you will have to be just as much afraid of me, for I get drunk on it. It is the very marrow of a race of lions. Stout hearts are those which feed on it. Without the antidote of the Old Testament the Gospel is tasteless and unwholesome fare. The Bible is the

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bone and sinew of nations with the will to live. A man must fight, and he must hate."

Have we here a part of the secret of the white man's race-pride which manifests itself in his relations with "coloured" people all over the world and is probably seen at its worst in the United States of America which lead the van of Christian civilisation?

S. H.

CIVIC AND NATIONAL IDEALS *by Sister Nivedita, second Edition. Price Re. 1. 1918. Udbodhan Office, Calcutta.*

The distinctive quality of Sister Nivedita's writings—that which gives them their peculiar charm—is their intense suggestiveness. Often as we read the sentences one after another, they fail to carry any distinct, definite, clear-cut meaning to the mind. But the impression produced by the whole lingers in the brain, and gradually becomes more and more distinct, and gives an altogether new orientation to our thoughts, radically transforming our entire attitude, our whole outlook, and when, after a considerable lapse of time, we watch the result, we find that we have learnt to judge everything from the *national* point of view. And this national standpoint, at first intensely aggressive, gradually takes on a more sober hue, and on second reading we lay the emphasis on many points which had escaped our notice in the first flush of our enthusiasm, and which show that though the Sister had so strong an admiration for India and her civilisation, she was not, in spite of occasional exaggeration and idealisation, unconscious of the serious drawbacks which must be overcome if India is to take her rightful place among the living nations of the world.

The little book under review is a collection of short essays on civism, nationalism and painting, and like all other writings from the same pen, amply repays perusal. We shall cull a few sentences by way of present to the reader: "The age which is discovering nothing new, is already an age of incipient death. That philosophy which only recapitulates the known, is in fact a philosophy of ignorance. It is because in our country [India] to-day great thoughts are being born because new duties are arising, because fresh and undreamt of applications are being made of the ancient culture, that we can believe the dawning centuries to be before us." "Not in history alone, but in history in common with every form of classical learning, Indian criticism has to be redeemed from the elaborate pursuit of trifles. It is common enough to find that the study of the Bhagabad Gita has become mere hair-splitting about a noun here or a preposition there. But this failure to see the forest for the trees cannot in any true sense be considered knowledge of the Gita. The power and habit of making large generalisations has to be recaptured by the Indian mind. And nowhere more so than in dealing with history." "Buddhism was, in fact, simply Hinduism nationalised, that is to say, Hindu culture plus the democratic idea. Hinduism alone, in its completeness, can never create a nationality, for it then tends to be dominated by the *exclusiveness* of the Brahmin caste. .....And to-day the last trace of religious and social prejudice is to be swept away, and the idea of nationality itself, pure, radiant, and fearlessly secular, is to emerge in triumph, giving meaning and consistency to the whole of the previous evolution." The beneficial influence of caste in the development of art industries has often been dwelt upon, and Sister Nivedita also admits that "caste-education has the advantage of causing accumulation of skill from generation to generation." But she also points out the bankruptcy of creative imagination that resulted from the same cause, and ultimately led to their ruin. "For an art that is followed by a hereditary guild tends to an unendurable sameness tends to become ridden by conventions, till at last the mind of the community revolts, and seeks new ideals." Alluding to the tradition that royal ladies of the Mughul Court used to spend fabulous sums in the purchase of illuminated manuscripts the artistic value of which is appreciated only by trained connoisseurs, the authoress says: "In great ages, woman is always educated, always competent, and often literary. Her ignorance marks the on-coming of national decadence." "It was a Mahommedan who composed the Ascription to the Ganges that every Hindu child in Bengal learns in his boyhood. In doing so, he was the forerunner of a new era in literature. Even now we are only on the threshold of that great age. But many who are young to-day will not have grown old before these things shall come to pass. To Indian hearts, Hindu and Mahommedan alike, high caste and lowly-born, woman and man, there will be no symbol so holy as, firstly, their mother-land, and secondly, their city. The civic life will offer a conception as clear as that of family and home. The duties of citizenship will seem not less precious than those of *jati* and *samaj*."

The getup of this little book is all that could be desired. The paper, binding and letter-press are all excellent, and we have noticed very few printing mistakes. In its present shape, it forms a beautiful prize-book for freshmen in our colleges, especially as the price is quite moderate.

Q.

THE SILKEN TASSEL *by Ardeshir T. Khabardar (Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar).*

Mr. J. H. Cousins in his Introduction to this book says of the author: "He has lived and listened so closely to Keats and Francis Thompson and other masters of lyrical English, and he has made their speech and method so fully his own—in these English poems of his—that it is only on the rarest occasion that a close reader comes on an account which discloses the foreign lip." This is high praise. But the reader of these poems will acknowledge that there is little of exaggeration in it. We have been familiar with some of Mr. Khabardar's productions through the pages of the "East and West." But one can never understand him truly without going through a connected series like the present one. He has tasted of the joy of human love and Divine vision and through these poems he gives ample evidence of his genuine emotions. Like every truly feeling person he wavers between darkness and light, between tears and smiles. He is puzzled by the "Riddle of Life."

"Duty feels but it can move not,
Love appeals but it can prove not;
Hope entreats but Reason hears not,
Hope doth tremble but Truth fears not.
Life is virtue, Life is Duty,
Life is but one painful beauty.
Then in all your circled pleasure
Keep for aye its central measure."

In this mood "When hopeless fancy finds trembling fate and all the world a starless darkness seems" he welcomes "sweet death" to approach

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"Soft as the starry footsteps of the Night." He then feels "What are your smiles of the golden morn" and "what are your strifes for a hope forlorn ?"—"The world is all but a dream !" He looks forward to a release from these prison-walls, to a journey to the "Life Beyond" where "Life is real, Life is true." He thinks of the "King of kings" and remembers the "Flute of Krishna" and the tale of Radhika ; thence he drifts away to thoughts of earthly love and feels that here is ground to take shelter in from the storms of worldly life, that here is "A rainbow bright between a smile and frown". Addressing time, "Love laughs and says ; 'This fleeting world be thine ! It dries and with it all thy running streams, My throne is far above thy measuring clocks'." "Love is unending light", "Love is eternal joy that flowers the sky" ; yet "Love is but grief that breathes a life-long sigh"—This is the poet's philosophy of life and the critic need not pry into it and dissect it further.

Taking some of the individual poems we may say there is a beautiful music in the ringing triplets of the "Wheels of time." "Ode to the Kokil" and "To the Mena" are charming bird-pieces and invite comparisons with similar poems of the greatest masters. "Lines written on a blank leaf of the *Crescent Moon*" are noteworthy because of their connection with a production of *our* poet, the uncrowned king of *our* poesy.—On the whole the volume is one to be read with appreciation and delight.

SHORT STORIES, *by Srimati Swarnakumari Devi. Ganesh & Co., Madras. Price Rs. 2.*

This volume contains fourteen stories of the authoress, translated by herself from their Bengali originals. In the preface she discusses her aim in publishing this volume and says : "The civilisations of the east and the west are in a sense directly opposed to each other"—the tendency of the former has been towards the development of the spiritual life, while the latter has proceeded in the direction of materialism. In presenting these little pictures of the Indian home, the authoress has tried to make her western reader appreciate a little of the quiet-ness of Eastern life and in particular to bring the Hindu woman before the foreigner to whom she has been so long a complete mystery.

Taking the stories individually, we may refer to two of them,—"Immortelles from a daring Hand" and "The Genius of the place"—as having attracted us most. The former gives us a page from a Hindu widow's life, it tells us of a single streak of light which enlivened the gloom of her soul for a day and left it darker than before. It is exquisite in its touches of concentrated pathos, but the effect would probably have beeen heightened if the wedding present episode had been left out. The second of these two tales takes us to Bombay and shows us another melancholy picture of a maiden who has been waiting in vain for her lover, of a sleeping beauty of a lonely village, a spirit animating the desert surroundings. "The sannyasin" is a tragic tale of love taken from ancient Rajputana and the "Lajjavati" is a perfect picture of a Hindu home. None of the other stories rise to the level of these, although "The Gift of the Goddess Kali" has the charm of weirdness. The two stories at the end of the least importance since the aim of the volume is avowedly to bring the life of the East before the eyes of the West, and of this life they tell us but little.

THE POETICAL WORKS OF C. S. RAMANATHA SARMA VOL. I.

The volume contains fourteen poems on some very common subjects, e.g., the Crow, the Pomegranate Tree, the shambaka flower, etc. The subjects of poems should, of course, never affect our appreciation of them and a poet may clothe the most uninteresting object with such exquisite beauty as may touch the inmost chords of our heart. Mr. Sarma has not yet acquired this art of creating beauty and the themes are treated in a more or less colourless way ; and the redeeming charm of the poems is an occasional phrase or a picture of a natural scene.

THE DRIPPING CLOUD, *by M. C. Pillay.*

The interest of this book lies in the fact of its having been written by an inhabitant of Mauritius and Mr. Pillay is said to have opened a new era in the history of Mauritian literature. The most noteworthy pieces are "The Lament of the Pariah", "Dejection", "To Saraswati" and "To a friend on the death of his chiid." The first of these appeals to us because of its subject-matter and a stanza or two is worth quoting.

"Why hast thou shaped me thus, O Lord !
Amidst the wretched pariah horde.
Amidst a shame and sorrow bored
Sea of Misery !
Alas ! 'Tis all, now, a desert dire,
Groaning beneath Brahminic marle and ire
Without e'en one greenish speck or spire
O winkless eye !"

Of genuine poetic inspiration there is little here, but one must not be extra-critical in dealing with a new-born literature.

N.K.S.

PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS FOR TEACHING ENGLISH BY THE PHONETIC METHOD. *Adapted and arranged from the works of Profs. H. E. Palmer and T. F. Cummings. Price—As. 5. To be had of the Clerk, Friends' High School, Hoshangabad, C. P.*

This is an excellent little work which should prove helpful to teachers of English who wish to follow up-to-date lines in language teaching in schools, in which the direct method is combined with a phonetic study of the language. The sounds of English are considered organically, and their differences from similar ones of the vernacular, Hindi, are noted. This comparative way is the only way to impress upon the learner the peculiarities of the sounds of a foreign tongue. The work is thoroughly practical in its scope, being embodied in a scheme of work in the class for six terms. We heartily recommend it for the perusal of people interested in the teaching of English.

THE PIONEER OF SIMPLIFIED SPELLING FOR FEBRUARY 1918. *Published by the Simplified Spelling Society, London.*

This has been sent to us, together with other papers on the subject, by the Honorary Secretary of the 'South Indian Branch' of the Society. There cannot be any difference of opinion as to the necessity for a reform of English spelling, but the system advocated by the S. S. Society, which is only Ellis's Classic System slightly modified, is impossible, although a

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number of distinguished people seem to support it. This system adopts the ordinary English values of the letters and even then it is not consistent—it does not follow the 'one sound one sign' principle. (E.g. *u* has two values, as in *to* and in *tun*, the dipthong sound of [*ai*] is represented by *ie* as well as by *y*, which has a consonantal value as well, and *au* and *o* are both symbols for [ɔ]). It is not based on scientific phonetics, although the S. S. S. rightly enough takes the ear and not the eye as the guide to spelling. The system advocated by the S. S. S. is a most half-hearted compromise between English usage and scientific consistency to the unavoidable detriment of both. The only scientific system of orthography that has come to be recognised among phoneticians and philologists in recent times is that of the International Phonetic Association. The I. P. A. alphabet however requires a study of phonetics in order to be mastered, and the average reader can not be induced to study phonetics so as to be able to spell correctly. The question of spelling reform is still far from a satisfactory solution—at any rate, the solution offered by the S. S. S. has grave defects, to remove which would be to undo it.

S. K. C.

THE ETHICS OF PASSIVE RESISTANCE: *By M. S. Maurice. Ganesh & Co., Madras, As. 4.*

Socrates, Christ, the Christian martyrs, Imam Hussain, Pralhad, Mirabai were all passive resisters; Victor Hugo, Thoreau, and Tolstoy, advocated passive resistance; and the Japanese custom of *Harakiri*, and the Indian *Prayopoveshana* (hunger-strike) are different ways of carrying it into effect. The motto of the pamphlet is: "All truth is safe and nothing else is safe; and he who keeps back the truth, or withholds it from men, from motives of expediency, is either a coward or a criminal, or both." (Max Muller) "If passive resistance on the part of a minority in a State becomes an imperative necessity, then the majority cannot continue strong for long; it is bound to weaken and become effete as to its action in the matter of enforcing its power or its authority against that minority. *Satyagraha* is soul-force, as opposed to the force of arms; it is the religion of *Ahimsa*. It is a panacea for all evils. Fearing God alone, a passive resister is afraid of no other power. Fear of Kings can never make him forsake the path of duty. He discards violence, but his resistance is only limited by his strength to suffer.

The pamphlet is nicely printed and beautifully got-up.

Q.

MARATHI.

NATYARUP BHARATWARSHA OR INDIA IN DRAMATIC FORM *by Mr. V. G. Apte, Editor Anand, published at the Anand Karyalaya, Poona City. Pages 250. Price Re. 1.*

Mr. Apte hardly requires any introduction. He is well-known in Maharashtra as the Children's Friend, and his numerous publications, all written for children, have endeared him to his juvenile readers. Mr. Apte's latest juvenile book is the History of India in a dramatic form, and like its predecessors in the same line, *viz.*, Natya Ramayan and Natya Bharata, will catch the eyes and captivate the hearts of young readers. To make the subject of history attractive no better method could be suggested than to depict the principal incidents of history in the dramatic form so as to make it suitable for being represented by children themselves on the little school stage. Mr. Apte has shrewdly observed the liking of children and carefully adapted the subject of history to their taste.

D. V. JOSHI, B.A.

SANSKRIT.

ADVAITAMODA *by Pandit A. Vasudeva Shastri, Sanskrit Pandit, Fargusson College, Poona. Published by Harinarayana Apte, Anandashrama, Poona. Pp. 190, Price Rs 2.*

The book, *Advaitamoda*, 'The Fragrance of Non-Duality,' is included in the *Anandashrama Sanskrit Series*. It deals with the Vedanta philosophy. Here the author, Pandit A. Vasudeva Shastri first describing the views of both Shankara and Ramanuja and showing clearly the points of their agreement and disagreement, systematically refutes the views of the latter as expounded in his commentary on the *Brahmasutras*, establishing thereby the absolute non-duality doctrine of the former, finally meeting all the objections raised by Ramanuja regarding the *avidyā* of Shankara. The book has been written well by avoiding both much prolixity and brevity.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

URDU.

ARZ-UL-QORAN *by Maulana Syed Suleman. 2 vols. Pp. 575. Published by Shibli Academy, Azamgarh (U. P.) Price Rs. 3 as. 12.*

This is an exhaustive work (the title meaning the "Lands of the Koran") on the Historical Geography of Arabia and the adjoining countries. It deals in a learned way with all the geographical and historical allusions occuring in the Qoran in their archæological, ethnographical, theological and sociological aspects; and embodies considerable research and width of knowledge; and supplements and corrects standard European works like Fouster's.

MABADI-ILM-INSANI *by Professor Abdul Bari. Pp. about 150. Price Rs. 2. Published by Shibli Academy, Azamgarh (U.P.)*

A liberal, yet lucid and readable, translation of Berkeley's "Principles of Human Knowledge", with an interesting preface and a comprehensive glossary.

BERKELEY *by the same author and publisher. Pp. 125. Price Re. 1 as. 8.*

A work on Berkeley, both critical and expository. After giving the interesting events in the famous philosopher's life, the author gives an expository sketch of his doctrines and theories, and then proceeds to examine them. His narrative is entertaining, exposition clear, and criticism judicious. The work on the whole evidence philosophical insight and acumen on the part of the author.

SHER-UL-AJAM *by the late Maulana Shibli Nomani Shamsul-Ulma. Published as above. Vol. V. pp. 2[illegible]. Price Rs. 2.*

This volume brings to a close the compendious "History of Persian Poetry" planned several years ago by one of the greatest Muslim scholars. Maulana Shibli lived to see the four volumes of his stupendous work come out of the press, and he left the manuscript of the concluding volume in the hands of his pupils, who have now published it. This

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volume surveys the non-epic, that is the lyrical, the didactic, and the mystical poetry of Persia. Those who are familiar with any of the author's previous writings need hardly be assured of the exceedingly high quality of the work.

A.M.

HINDI.

1. KRISHNARJUNA-YUDDHA, *by Makhanlal Chaturvedi and published by Sivanarayan Misra, Pratap Press, Cawnpore. 8vo, pp. 102, price 8 annas.*

It is a drama in four acts which can be very conveniently staged. In fact it has already been and was adequately appreciated on the occasion of the Hindi Conference at Jubbulpur. The author has adopted a novel style and deserves to be congratulated on the success of his attempt.

2. UDYOGI-PURUSH, *by Ramesvar Prasad Sarma and published by Sivanarayan Missra, Pratap Press, Cawnpore, 8vo pp. 98, price 6 annas.*

It is a translation of a Gujarati book 'Udyogi Purusho' by Sriyut Narayan Hemachandra and contains sketches of the lives and doings of nine great men—two Indians and seven outsiders, besides a well-written essay on *Sadhana and Siddhi* (endeavour and success). The book is worth reading, the language is felicitous and the ideas are good.

3. RUSA-KA-RAHU, *by Visvambhar Nath Sarma Kausik and published by Sivanarayan Misra, Pratap Press, Cawnpore. 8vo pp. 100, price 6 annas.*

This is a sketch of the life and doing of Rasputin based on a book in French with this difference, as stated by the translator, that whereas the author of the original has tried to prove him a fool when describing events connected with him, the translator has taken a more charitable view. At a time when the recent revolutions in Russia have shocked the whole world, it may be worthwhile to recollect the state of affairs which preceded the present anarchical conditions. This booklet in Hindi offers an opportunity to our countrymen to catch a glimpse of that period of horrible tyranny which has culminated in still more horrible revolutions.

4. BHISHMA, *by Visvambhar Nath Sarma Kausik and published by Sivanarayan Misra, Pratap Press, Cawnpore. 8vo pp. 106, Price 8 annas.*

The main story of this drama in three acts is drawn from the Mahabharata. The language is simple and the style easy. It has been designed for the stage. It would be a happy day when such pieces will take the place of Bagla-Bhagat and similar trash on the Hindi stage.

5. DHOL-ME-POL. *Published by the Lakshmi-Narayan Press, Moradabad, pp. 66, Price 4 annas.*

This little pamphlet contains six humorous essays satirising some of the evils of the present day.

6. PARIKSHAGURU, *by the late Lala Srinivasadas. Published by Motilal Lath (Marwari Trades Association) Calcutta. To be had of the Publishers and the Hindi Pustaka Agency, 126, Harrison Road, Calcutta. pp. 310. Price 12 annas.*

The Marwari Trades Association have rendered a great service to the cause of Hindi Literature by bringing out this cheap edition of the Late Lala Srinivasadas' classic, *Parikshaguru.* The author flourished in the 3rd quarter of the last century and wrote only four books of which *Parikshaguru* is at once the most fascinating being an original romance depicting the life of a Delhi youth of the trader class. Lala Srinivasadas enjoys a reputation among Hindi writers of the past century for his realistic delineation of character and chasteness of expression, and all students of Hindi Literature should procure a copy of this book.

SEVA-SADANA. *By Sriyukta Premchand. Published by the Hindi Pustaka Agency. 126, Harrison Road, Calcutta. Cloth bound, pp. 512, price Rs. 2-8-0 only.*

This charming novel is an original work in Hindi and is of a high standard. The author is well-known in Urdu literature and has already made a mark in Hindi. The printing is excellent. Considering the originality of the book and the excellence of the story, the book is moderately priced and it is expected, will command a speedy sale.

8. SAPTA SOROJA. *By Sriyukta Premachand. Published by the Hindi Pustaka Agency, 126 Harrison Road, Calcutta, pp. 111; price 8 annas.*

It is a collection of seven short stories from the facile pen of Sriyukta Premachand. This is the second edition of the book and the artistic design on the paper cover is very pleasing. The stories are very interesting.

"MULA DEVA."

GUJARATI

1. UDBHIJVIDYA NUN REKHADARSHAN (उद्भिज्ज-विद्या नुं रेखादर्शन) *by Lalilaprasad Shivprasad Dave, B.A., B.Sc., LL.B., printed at the Lakshmi-Vilas Press, Baroda, Cloth bound, pp. 181. Price Re. 1. (1919).*

(2) BRITISH RASHTRIYA SANSTHAO (ब्रिटिश राष्ट्रिय संस्थाओ) *by Harilal Madhavji Bhatt, M.A., Prof. of Logic and Moral Philosophy, Bahauddin College, Junagadh, and Fellow of the Bombay University. Printed at the Aryasudharak Press, Baroda. Cloth bound, pp. 135. Price As. 13. (1919).*

(3) JAGAT NO VARTA RUPE ITIHAS (जगत नो वार्ता रुपे इतिहास) *Vol. II (Parts 4,5) by Gokuldas Mathuradas Shah, B.A., LL.B., Educational Inspector, Baroda. Printed at the Lohana Mitra Press, Baroda. Cloth bound, pp. 248 + 56. Price Rs. 3. (1918).*

These three books are further contributions to the Shri Sayaji Sahitya Mala, inaugurated by the liberality of H. H. the Gaekwar of Baroda. The first is a translation of an English work, Stope's Botany, the Modern Study of Plants. The way in which the translator has handled his subject, together with the glossary given at the end, is sure to make it interesting to those who are interested in the subject, and we think it is a useful addition to the scanty literature in science which we have at present. The third, the history of the world, is a continuation of the former volume, and connected as it is with India and the modern history of England, is likely to find greater

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favour than its predecessor, with its younger readers. The second, which is based on Anna Buckland's "Our National Institutions," is the most remarkable of the three. Its writer is Prof. Bhatt, who has already won his spurs in writing on an allied subject, the constitution of the Indian Government. In thirteen chapters, he has put before the reader, in a popular form. the institutions—political, administrative and constitutional—of our rulers. Beginning with an explanatiou of the foundations on which their liberal institutions are built, he treats of the House of Commons, the House of Lords, the Privy Council, the Army, the Navy, and lastly of the Empire. In a succinct form, the book gives all possible information on this important matter, and as each chapter has been written after close study, it would prove of great assistance to the student in making him familiar with a subject which every Indian should know well.

PUSHTI MARGA NO ITIHAS (पुष्टि मार्ग नो इतिहास) *by the late Thakkar Liladhar Hari, printed at the Hindustan Press, Bank Street, Bombay. Paper cover, pp. 164. Price—As. 12. (1919).*

The first edition of this little book was published about thirty years ago. It contains precious little history of the creed of the Vallabhacharyas, and that too from a popular point of view. But its chief utility, when it was first published, lay in the fact of its having boldly and mercilessly exposed the evil paths into which these Vallabhacharya Maharajas had been leading their lady worshippers under the guise of religion. It required some courage to do so then, as those who were handled in this way, wielded great social powers. The book can still be regarded as an eye-opener for those who are even now blindly giving their all to their so-called religious preceptors.

SHRI GITASINDHU TARANGAVALI (श्री गीतासिंधु तरंगावलि) *by Swami Shri Atmanand Sarasvati of Nandad. Printed at the Lady Northcote Orphanage Priting Press, Bombay. Paper cover, pp, 160. Price—As. 8. (1918).*

In this little book the Swamiji sets to himself the question as to why Arjuna fought after once declining to do so, on the field of Kurukshetra. He tries to answer by referenee to the various verses of the Gita, and thinks he has solved it correctly, by saying that he did so because it was his duty to do so.

BHARAT NO TANKAR (भारत नो टंकार) *by Ardeshir Framji Khabardar. Printed at the Tattva Vivechak Printing Press, Bombay. Paper cover, pp. 74. Price—As. 12. (1919,*

One of our most popular poets, translates the words, with which he has named this book, containing a collection of his latest production, "The Call of India." The leaven of political aspirations which is leavening the mass of our country's mind, the stir and the restlessness that have been lately moving our hearts, these are the themes of the poet's song, and in no uncertain words does he speak. Indeed, when everything is in the melting pot, when we are struggling towards a goal, it is the duty of a poet to encourage his brethren and pour into their ears and their hearts, heartening words, and of all our poets, who could do it so well as Khabardar. The scheme of this work is that he first sees a dream, then cogitates over it, then hears a gentle murmur, and then a clap of thunder, which of course means the present Awakening. The allegory is well chosen. The songs are spirited and still sober. They are thoroughly suited to the heroic vein (वीररस) which runs through them. Patriotism, burning patriotism is their keynote, but they are all kept within the bounds of sanity: nowhere do they overrun the boundary or degenerate into fanatic heroics. His love for Bharat is peeping out from every verse, and though we realise that his is not the first attempt in the direction of patriotic poetry, we have no hesitation in saying that his work stands head and shoulders over that of the lesser lights.

AROGYA NI VARTAO (आरोग्य नी वार्त्ताओ) PART I. *by Dr. Hariprasad Vrajrai Desai, printed at the Sahitya Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Paper Cover. Pp. 59. Price—As. 4. (1919).*

This is a small book but it contains very valuable matter. The importance of cleanliness requires to be inculcated into the minds of juveniles in a way which should impress and appeal to them without boring them, and that has been done here by the writer. As to why the teeth should be kept clean or as to why we should take exercise or live in well-ventilated houses, and many other equally important things have been hid in such a simple way, that they are sure to go home to the readers.

K. M. J.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Notes on the Origin of Civilisation.

We take the following "Notes" from the January—March number of *The Mahabodhi and the United Buddhist World*:

The civilization of Europe began about fifty years ago according to the opinion of scientists. The following quotation is from Harmsworth Popular Science:—"Genuine civilization dawned within the memory of the oldest inhabitant. Sanitary science began to be effective about fifty years ago. Eighty years ago the country was in a state of savagery so far as punishment of crime was concerned. Banishment and degradation from citizenship were among the most dreaded Roman punishments. It was the Teuton—the fierce Saxon, Dane and Northman—who established the most cruel code of retaliatory and vindictive laws.....As late as 1831 forty people were hanged in England for offences other than murder; and

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1833 a child nine years old was condemned to be hanged for poking a hole with a stick through a covered-up window pane, and stealing two-pence-half-penny worth of paint." Vol. V. p. 3528-9.

The Old Testament records the most atrocious and vindictive punishments inflicted on those found guilty according to the principles of jurisprudence instituted by Moses. The uncivilized Europe accepted the Mosaic law.

"Human ingenuity has never been employed for a more barren purpose than that of trying to break the will of man by pain. Death by the cord, by the guillotine, by the axe, by strangulation, by poison, by drowning, by fire, by dismemberment, and by boiling in oil have all been tried as deterrents, and have not deterred. Torture on the wheel, on the rack, by stretching weights, by thumbscrews; and ridicule in the pillory, the stocks, the ducking stool; the branding of cheeks, forehead, and breast; clipping off of the ears, slitting of noses, and whippings innumerable have had a trial for centuries; and the misdeeds have continued. "Harmsworth Popular Science", vol. v., p. 3529.

In the Buddhist sacred scriptures countries outside the sacred Aryavarta are called border countries (pacchantima janapada) whose people are given to un-Aryan habits and pagan practices, and therefore called mleccha. The un-Aryan habits as regards food are eating earthworms and other kinds of flesh, and speaking the mleccha languages, which have not the completeness of the Aryan language. According to Manu no true Aryan should speak the mleccha language.

Let us examine the history of the extinct peoples and their civilizations. Going back to primitive times according to the researches of European scholars there had been historic civilizations in Crete, Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, Persia, China, and in the Sumerian country. Egypt and Crete had a very ancient civilization. It is suggested that the most ancient civilization whose remnants have been found in Egypt indicates an Asiatic origin. The ancient Sumerian civilization shows traces of Chinese influence. Chaldea had a civilization many thousands of years ago. The Mesopotamian country was the cradle of past civilizations. The foundation of the legend of Adam's creation may be traced to Mesopotamia. The spirit of God resting upon the waters and the god rising out of the waters are both Mesopotamian and Babylonianical.

The ancient religion of Egypt may be called Osirism, and the following passages are from the "Book of the Dead":—

"It is however perfectly certain that they believed that Osiris had the power to make men to be born after death into a new life, and that such life was everlasting, and they ascribed to him this power because he had himself suffered death and mutilation and had arisen from the dead." P. xcii.

Similarly the sufferings, death and resurrection of Osiris were well-known in the period of early dynasties, and it is probable that he became the type of the resurrection of man in Egypt.

"The doctrine of immortality and everlasting life and the belief in the resurrection of a spiritual body are the brightest and most prominent features of the Egyptian religion." pxiiv.

Where and by whom the texts of the Book of the Dead were composed is also unknown. There is no good reason for assuming that they are the offspring of the minds of Libyans on dwellers of Central Africa, they cannot be the literary product of savages or negroes, there is no evidence to show that they are of Semitic origin, and the general testimony of their contents indicates an Asiatic home for their birth-place." P. xivi,

The prayer offered by the followers of Osiris is as follows :—

"Behold grant thou that the Osiris Nu may be great in heaven as thou art great among the gods; deliver thou him from every evil and murderous thing which may be wrought upon him by the Fiend and fortify thou his heart." "Book of the Dead." Chap. cxxxvi, p. 220.

The offering of wine and cake was a part of the "Dead" ceremonial, and the office was entrusted to a man "who is clean and is ceremonially pure, one who hath eaten neither meat nor fish, and who hath not had intercourse with women." Book of the Dead. By Wallis Budge.

The first three chapters of the Book of Genesis, record a folklore story of the world that was current in Babylon and Mesopotamia, which the Jews heard when they were sojourning in Babylon after the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar. The story of Noah and the flood was also borrowed from the folklore of the Babylonians. We read in Harmsworth History of the World :—

"But whereas in Babylonia it had been the non-Semitic race from which the civilizing impulse was derived; in Egypt it was the invaders from Asia who had brought with them the elements of a higher civilization." P. 1560.

The legend of the spirit of God resting on the waters may be traced to the Babylonian tradition of the "God Ea who had arisen from the waters of the sea bringing with him knowledge of all the arts." The legends of the resurrection of Osiris, and the sonship of god, were of Egyptian origin; the idea of the conflict between Satan and God was common to Persians and Babylonians and was accepted by the followers of Osiris. The ancient Egyptians were learned in the art of magic. Moses learnt it from the Egyptians; and Jesus during the period he was away in Egypt from his twelfth year to his thirtieth year was initiated in the mysteries of Osirisim. The dogma of the soul being taken before God and judged was a purely of Egyptian origin. Osiris was the god of judgment, and Osirism taught that the soul was weighed by Anubis. The Code of Hammurabi is dated 2000 B.C. The Laws were given by the Sun God to Hummurabi. The Mosaic legend that the ten commandments were given to Moses by Jehovah at the top of mount Sinai may be traced to the Babylonian legend.

Egyptian civilization goes back to 8000 B.C. "The art of Memphis which was as old as 4000 B.C., was supreme. The statue of Khafra the builder of the second pyramid at Gizeh is one of the finest in the world." Harmsworth History of the World. P. 1561.

The Jews were contented with the borrowings from Babylonia. They had no idea of the existence of the more ancient civilization of Egypt. They were in Babylon in captivity, and when they returned to Jerusalem in the reign of Cyrus, the legends which they had collected at Babylon were incorporated in their traditions.

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The forgotten legends and folklore stories of Babylon and Egypt at a later period became the foundations of a religion which kept the European world in darkness for nearly 1500 years.

The birth of Jehovah according to the Mosaic legend was 4004 B.C. But for the Jews there would not have been the Bible; but for the good Cyrus there would not have been a return of the Jews from their captivity to Jerusalem. But for Peter and Paul there would not have been Christianity; but for Constantine Europe would have remained like the ancient Romans and Greek. Ceremonial paganism under the papal hierarchy was transformed into a religion. Roman and Greek wisdom still influence the civilization of Europe. The great authors of Greece and Rome of the pre-Christian era still speak to the progressive peoples of the West. Sophocles, Aeschylus, Aristophanes, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Virgil, Seneca, Ovid, Plutarch, Pliny,. Juvenal, Cicero, etc., are perennial fountains whence Europe derives her inspiration.

When we approach the adytum of the modern scientists the few thousand years of civilization appears insignificant before the majesty of astronomical and geological calculations. Millions and millions of years ago there was life, and the law of progressive evolution was in operation. Countless millions of suns and solar systems following the law of immutability re-evolve and re-dissolve from eternity to eternity. Muddle-headed materialists given to sensual enjoyments fail to comprehend this. In India the ancient religions taught the existence of countless millions of solar systems. They did not count the age of the earth by thousands; but by yugas and kalpas. A day of Brahma was equal to hundred millions of years, and millions of such days went to make a Kalpa.

From Asia's western limits went westward the religion which was first preached to the fisherfolk of a small village. Asia gave the West the religious instinct, and to the east the west daily makes obeisance and pays divine worship to the Semitic god and the four Asiatics who gave them religion.

Politics, Morality and Religion.

In *Everyman's Review* for March 1919, there appears an article under the above heading above the signature of "Politicus", who writes:

The degenerate notion in fashion amongst some half-educated people that politics has nothing to do with morality and that a politician is exempt from all personal and private criticism, should be nailed to the counter and exposed in all its hollowness and absurdity. There are some immoral men and irresponsible youths who would be gladly rid of all moral restraints and checks to viciousness and would seek shelter from public reproof and ridicule for all their nefarious acts of omission or commission within the doors of high built office-rooms or on the preserved asylums of political platforms. There is many a hero of eloquence, whose almost every word of platform utterance is applauded by admiring crowds but whose every action and performance in private life is questionable and suspicious, if not vicious and treacherous. Some blackguards in domestic and personal life have so far advanced in their killing of all conscience and instinctive moral sensibilities that they could not see the necessity, the rhyme or reason for a reference to their private life, in order to establish the truth of their public professions. This is the case with all insincere public speakers and prominent orators, be they politicians or social reformers, Varnasramadharmites or vedantic cosmopolitans. "Leave alone personalities and incidents of private life," say they, and the grotesqueness of such a statement becomes very palpable only when in the next breath they begin to declaim about Absolute Truths, Universal Principles, Perfection, Purity, Unity, Co-operation, Home-Rule, Passive Resistance and what not.

"Politicus" concludes his article with the following wise words:

When we preach one thing in public and practise another in private, we can never improve our moral standard, still less climb to the heights of spirituality. There is but one Law, one Dharma, the realisation of which is possible for each and every one of us by fulfilling our immediate and indispensable duties to the fulness of our feeling heart and knowing mind. It is more of intensity, earnestness of application and particularisation we want. We want individuals to exemplify ideals and when we live in full to the height of all our inward ambitions and outward professions we become one with the Universal. This is the truest religion and the noblest morality. The end of all politics is the same—the well-being of all those who constitute the political body, and in all general affairs of men the higher we aim, the deeper we plough and the broader we sow, the Moral grows the more and more important. The greatest moral law is Sincerity, which is only another name for God Reality.

Indian Culture and External Influence.

There appears an interesting article under the above caption, in the March number of *Arya* edited by Mr. Aurobindo Ghose, published from Pondichery from which we take the liberty, of making the following extracts.

Any attempt to remain exactly what we were before the European invasion or to ignore in future the claims of a modern environment and necessity is foredoomed to an obvious failure. However much we may deplore some of the characteristics of that intervening period in which we were dominated by the Western standpoint or move away from the standpoint back to our own characteristic way of seeing existence, we cannot get rid of a certain element of inevitable change it has produced upon us, any more than a man can go back in life to what he was some years ago and recover entire and unaffected a past mentality. Time and influences have not only passed over him, but carried him forward in their stream. We cannot go backward to a past form of our being, but we can go forward to a large repossession of ourselves in which we shall make a better, more living, more real, more spiritual possessed use of the intervening experience. We can still think in the essential sense of the great spirits and ideals of our past, but the form of our thinking

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speaking, our development of them has changed by the very fact of new thought and experience; we see them not only in the old, but in new lights, we support them by the added strength of new view-points, even the old words we use acquire for us a modified, more extended and richer significance. Again, we cannot be "ourselves alone" in any narrow formal sense, because we must necessarily take account of the modern world around us and get full knowledge of it, otherwise we cannot live. But all such taking account of things, all added knowledge modifies our subjective being. My mind, with all that depends on it, is modified by what it observes and works upon, modified when it takes in from it fresh materials of thought, modified when it is wakened by its stimulus to new activities, modified even when it denies and rejects; and even an old thought or truth which I affirm against an opposing idea, becomes a new thought to me in the effort of affirmation and rejection, clothes itself with new aspects and issues. My life is modified in the same way by the life influences it has to encounter and confront. Finally, we cannot avoid dealing with the great governing ideas and problems of the modern world. The modern world is still mainly European, a world dominated by the European mind and western civilisation. We claim to set right this undue preponderance, to reassert the Asiatic and, for ourselves, the Indian mind and to preserve and develop the great values of Asiatic and of Indian civilisation. But the Asiatic or the Indian mind can only assert itself successfully by meeting these problems and by giving them a solution which will satisfy its own ideals and spirit.

The writer concludes:

The principle I have affirmed results both from the necessity of our nature and the necessity of things, of the—fidelity to our own spirit, nature, ideals, the creation of our own characteristic forms in the new age and the new environment, but also a strong and powerful dealing with external influences which need not be and in the nature of the situation cannot be a mere rejection; therefore there must be an element of successful assimilation. There remains the very difficult question of the application of the principle,—to what degree, the way, the guiding perceptions. To this end that out we must look at each province of India and, keeping always firm hold on a perception of what the Indian spirit is and the Indian ideal is, to know how they can work upon the present situation and the possibilities in each of these provinces and lead to a new victorious creation. In such thinking it will not do to be too dogmatic. Each capable Indian mind must think it out or, better, work it out in its own light and power,—as the Bengal artists are working it out in their own sphere,—and contribute some illumination for effectuation. The spirit of the Indian renascence will take care of the rest, that power of the universal Spirit which has begun to move in our midst for the creation of a new and greater India.

The Women of India.

Mr. H. K. Sorabji, M.A. (Oxon) contributes an article under the above heading in the March number of The *Hindustan Review*, in the following words:

How dare we cry out for the chance of 'self-determination' if we deny that right to our girls and women? Let us be consistent. A building needs a roof, but it needs above all things a sure foundation. We are tending to the error of laying too great stress upon the roof. The women are the foundation of our future greatness. Let us transfer some of our energy from the emptiness of talk to the fulness of action in promoting female education. Schools, and more schools, and well-equipped schools, and well-paid efficient teachers must be provided. And when they have been provided we must combine to send our girls to them, and to let them have every chance to complete their studies before we call them away to enter the bonds of matrimony. As we are out to achieve greatness let us accept the measure based on the woman standard, and let us help our women to be great.

Three Methods of Uniting East and West.

Mr. Frederick J. Gould in the course of an article in the March number of the *East & West* writes:

1. *Political Method.*—It is of vital importance that the people of India and the people of England should know each other's qualities, needs and history better. When I say "England", I also imply the whole British Commonwealth. And when I say the "people," I do not mean the aristocratic and middle classes of England, and the higher castes of India. I mean the vast mass of the workers,—the factory-workers, miners, seamen, peasants of England, and the immense multitude of Indians who live in villages and till the soil. The upper and better educated classes are, of course, included also, for I am not writing in a Bolshevik temper! But when we talk of the people, either in India or England, we ought to think of the majority, whose labour and endurance provide the material basis of civilization, art and religion. Political life in both countries will be benefited by mutual aid between the Indian masses and the English masses.

Hence, it would be good if, at Indian political congresses, delegates represnting English labour could be present and take part. It would be good if at English congresses, Hindu, and Moslem delegates could be present and take part. In both cases, this delegation should be regarded as a normal procedure, and not as a remarkable incident once in 10 or 20 years.

Let me state frankly a defect which I observe in English circles, and another defect which I observe in India circles. In England, the working-class has no effective conception of Indian life and thought, partly because popular writers have not tried to picture the real India to the English imagination, and partly because Missionary Societies have given most one-sided views of the psychology and manners of the Indian people.

In India, so far as my observations have gone, the Home Rule party (or parties) have been so absorbed in criticising the Viceroy, the Viceroy's Council, the Governors, the Civil Service, and the rest, that they have forgotten the foundation on which all English officialdom rests, namely, the labour and life of the English masses. I wonder how many Hindu gentlemen

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who spend time in censuring the British Raj could give an account, however elementary, of the growth of English Trades-unions? Yet the Trades-union is, in many respects, a more vital part of English history than even the House of Commons.

If I were a Hindu, my first thought would be, not for the Civil Service, but for the welfare of the hundreds of millions of peasant-folk, including the untouchables; and I should try to learn its secret of the progress made by the labouring masses of England, and apply its lessons to India.

2. *Educational Method.*—I am an old teacher as well as an old politician, and it happens to be a theory of mine that History, in the richest sense of the term, should be the basis of education. In history, I include literature which reveals the history of man's thought. The *Ramayana*, for example, is a most important item in the history of India, for this wonderful poem does so much to mirror the love, hope, and admiration of the Hindu race. Indeed, I define the aim of education as Service of the common weal, realised in daily industry, and inspired by history, that is, the history of our nation or country, and the whole history of mankind. Hence, I think it of tremendous consequence that English young people should learn the best stories and teachings in Indian literature; and that Indian young people (Hindu and Moslem) should know what is best in English literature. I do not mean that Hindus should read and recite English poetry and prose, nor even that they should learn English at all. But, in their own vernaculars, they might be told the most beautiful stories out of Shakespeare, Milton, Tennyson, and other great writers. All pupils in Indian schools should read plain, simple histories of the English peasants, miners, seamen, and so on; and all pupils in English schools should read the history of Indian villages, craftsmen, artists, and the rest.

I may add that it has been my business, for many years, to address children, and I have done so in America as well as Britain and I have made it a practice to introduce, with some frequency, stories of Indian life and virtues.

3. *Spiritual Method.*—Superficial people sometimes say that the East is spiritual and the West is material, and I agree that appearances often suggest this comparison. But it is not a true observation. For underneath all its craze for mechanism in war or peace, we still find deep spiritual yearnings in the Western soul. Once when I was in Bombay for a few days, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar honoured me with an interview, and I shall never forget his saying that he thought the English people possessed profound spiritual qualities. I have read a good deal of Hindu philosophic and religious literature, and of English literature in the same fields of thought. I find different forms of logic, different language, different imagery, but I do not find any fundamental difference. What we want to do is to teach both peoples how great is their unity, in spite of divergences of expression.

In saying this, I am far from recommending that Indians should study English philosophy and religious doctrine, or that English people should pick up strange theosophical phrases, and talk in the style of Buddhists. I have read the Vedas, but they do not display the soul of India to me so well as the beautiful tales of Rama and Sita, or the great princes of the war of Kurukshetra, or the lives of the Hindu saints and teachers. I wish the common people of England knew these things, and learned them in the same simple way that they learned stories from the Bible. And, in like manner, I wish that the common people of India could hear stories of our best English souls—Thomas Moore, Milton, Bunyan, Fox, Penn, Blake, Wesley, Wordsworth, Ruskin, Morris, our women-teachers, nurses, and social workers.

I should be sorry if the reader supposed I set no value on the efforts of University professors, pundits, Congress leaders, political journalists, and the like. These instruments of progress all have their value. But the main thing, to my mind, is to bring the soul of the multitudes of the West into fraternal relation with the toiling millions of the East. May the best Servants of India and the best Servants of England devote themselves to this supreme religious task.

Extinction of the Liquor Traffic in America.

Mr. Saint Nihal Singh contributes an article under the above heading in the March number of *The Indian Review* from which we make the following extracts:—

To India, as to the rest of the world, the American decision to abolish the liquor traffic from every square inch of American soil is a startling politico-social development. No other nation has had the courage to take such drastic action. Even under the stress of war, European peoples contented themselves with stopping the consumption of certain forms of liquor such as vodka in Russia and absinthe in France, lowering the percentage of alcohol in intoxicating beverages, and curtailing the hours during which liquor could be bought. The American refusal to compromise with liquor in any way, therefore, is an epoch-making event in the world's history.

The legislative decree by which the American will to suppress the liquor traffic will be enforced has taken the shape of an amendment to the United States Constitution. The Congress passed it on December 17, 1917, and specified that it must be ratified by the legislatures of the requisite two-thirds of the States composing the Union within a period of seven years.

Within 13 months the amendment, which prohibits the manufacture, importation, exportation and sale of alcoholic liquors of all kinds anywhere in the United States except for purely medicinal and industrial purposes had been ratified by 36 of the 48 States comprising the American Union. On January 16, 1919, the House of Representatives and Senate formally announced the ratification of the amendment.

It matters comparatively little whether traffic in liquor ceases within a few weeks or within a few months. The main thing is that the victory has been won—won by constitutional agitation. People in America, and outsiders who closely follow American events are greatly surprised at the rapidity with which the prohibition movement gained support during the last few years.

Agitation for the suppression of the liquor traffic began in America 80 years ago. As long ago as

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1846, a law to prohibit liquor was passed in the State of Maine. Five years later, a much more drastic Act was passed providing for the confiscation and destruction of intoxicating liquor, and has been in force ever since, with the exception of the years 1856 and 1857. The States of Vermont, New Hampshire, and Connecticut followed the example of Maine.

Similar attempts were made in the States of New York and Indiana, but failed. Prohibitory laws were passed in both States, but were declared unconstitutional.....

In 1869, the prohibition party was formed to carry on organized agitation for prohibition, as it was felt that the liquor interests constituted a tremendous corrupting force in American politics, and unorganized opposition had little chance against such a wealthy and resourceful combine. Though the leaders of the party had right on their side, and though they were zealous and determined men, they appeared to accomplish but little for many years. They did, indeed, convert many individuals to their cause, and here and there a State went "dry" (prohibitionist). But until quite recently the movement did not capture the American imagination, and remained more or less inert.

One of the strongest arguments employed by the anti-prohibitionists was that the State would suffer seriously by losing the excise revenue that the liquor traffic had brought in. But these critics forgot—perhaps conveniently—that, freed from the curse of drink, the capacity of the people to bear taxation would increase, as would also their purchasing power, so that revenue from other departments would expand, and more than offset the loss of excise.

Mr. Nihal Singh observes :

Wherever alcohol has been banished in America, poverty and dependence upon charity have been reduced, homes show signs of affluence, the deposits in banks, especially savings banks, have risen and facilities for education have increased. In every such place crime shows remarkable diminution. Convictions for disorderly conduct, vagrancy, assault and battery, and even more serious crimes such as rape and murder, have greatly decreased. For instance, I was told sometime ago that for two weeks after Helena, Arkansas, went "dry" there was not a single arrest. The business men of Little Rock, another Arkansas city, declare that their business has benefited from prohibition, and they would not change back to the old order of things if permitted to do so.....

The writer concludes :

If the American earnestness in regard to ridding the nation of the evils of drink continues as it gives promise of doing, there is every reason to hope that the passage of the prohibition amendment to the Constitution has really sounded the death knell of the liquor traffic in the United States.

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International Reconstruction

Mr. S. Jackson Coleman writes in *The Indian Review* for March :

The world is ripe for a new social programme. The War, with its unparalleled carnage and bloodshed, has materially altered the map of Europe, and it has similarly altered the map of men's minds. The great world-war has swept away old crusted conventions which cobwebbed the mind, and false foundations of social science upon which men laboured vainly to build Utopia. Now that a new mentality has been created, all these things must be reassessed at new values. All the great problems call for a broader view, a larger concept, and a more general action with the dawn of this newer social consciousness. We are coming to realise, indeed, that we cannot severally play our part as citizens of our respective countries if we forget that we are also citizens of the world. This new spirit is arising everywhere, founding a New Era of international relationship, and the thrills of international good-will are even now stealing across a war-weary world.

Never before, however, has there been such hopefulness. The world may seem in disruption, and be hungry and sick, burdened with debt, and afflicted by the weight of its new problems. Nevertheless, the power of organised human resources has been amazingly shown, both for the arts of war and peace. The uprisings of the European peoples, and the political advances of organised democracy, open up an entirely new prospect for the employment of these illimitable resources. The cynic, of course, will say that the better world to come lacks nothing for its construction except the better men. The spirit of the masses, with all its faults, however, is a more fraternal spirit than any previously abroad on the earth, and undoubtedly this spirit is almost daily making history for itself.

For four years the evil shadow of War has spoiled our outlook. Now that peace has dawned, we look with faith to the future, trusting that the terrible lessons of the catastrophe will not have been learned in vain. If the result of the terrible carnage and desolation is the birth of a real League of Nations—not one built on words, but on the desire to do what is right and just to all, irrespective of race or creed—then the War will not have proved ineffectual. For helpful co-operation in the task of making this world safe for the common people by whom it is inhabited is, after all, the all-important duty.

This great crisis, therefore, seems to be the great opportunity for which we have prayed. The old world is a ruin ; a new world must be built. In former days, our home was indeed our world ; in these days the world must be our home. Co-operation alone offers to the world a complete philosophy of life and a working model of a noble and enduring civilisation. The peace of the world entirely depends upon the universal application of these principles. For there is no choice except that which lies between co-operation and chaos, between associated freedom and Imperial despotism.

If Wordsworth could write one hundred years ago, as he saw the beginning of a new day of hope and liberty

"Bliss were it in that dawn to be alive,
But to be young, 'twere very heaven",

with what added meaning may we quote these words as we herald the New Age! Let us not forget, however that the foundations of the New World have been well and truly laid by myriads of heroic men and women, and that this task must be approached with the spirit of sincerity. Peace has her tasks not les

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arduous than those of War, and this present occasion is a time for the casting away all those sordid desires which are incompatible with the grand purpose of rebuilding human society on a stable foundation of mutual aid and wholesome rivalry.

Let us welcome the disappearance of racial, class and sex distinctions. For there are battles other than inter-racial. There are wars in social, mental and religious realms. In the religious world, few things have been more pitiful, more humiliating than sectarian squabbles and differences over long-drawn-out controversies. Men will become more and more impatient in the future over the relatively frivolous issues which have distressed and divided the religious world; the core of the world's new creed will be:

"For the love of God is broader
Than the measure of man's mind."

The work of reconstruction call for a continuance of the spirit of self-sacrifice, self-restraint, and a realisation of a great end, which have stilled the cries of faction during the war and inspired all with a common aim. We shall certainly miss the central spiritual lesson of Germany's downfall if in our schemes of reconstruction we fail to realise that religion and morality, faith and idealism, are the only foundations on which national stability and progress can endure.

The fortunes of mankind, as never before, are now in the hands of the democracy. The select classes of mankind, in fact, are no longer its governors. For the real strain of four year's unparalleled slaughter and bloodshed, as President Wilson has so ably reminded us, has come where the eye of Government could not reach, but where nevertheless the heart of humanity beats. We are bidden by these people to see that this strain does not come again.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Life-Work of a Hindu Chemist.

Under the above heading, the eminent Chemist, Sir T. E. Thorpe, reviews Sir P. C. Ray's "Essays and Discourses" in the columns of *Nature* [of London] in the following words:

Sir Profulla Chandra Ray, Professor of Chemistry in the Presidency College, Calcutta, is well known to Chemists in this country as the author either alone or in collaboration with his pupils, of more than a hundred papers, chiefly on the Inorganic and Organic Nitrites, published in the Transactions of the Chemical Society, in Continental Journals, or in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. In his own country he is also known as the founder of a successful chemical industry, which from small beginnings, now occupies factories spreading over an area of eight acres. It is one of the most successful concerns in India, and proved of considerable service to the Government during the war, when the supply of Western Chemicals and Drugs was seriously interfered with. It is entirely staffed with Bengali workers, and its research chemists are of its creator's training.

Continuing the writer observes:

Naturally, such a man has had a great influence in India. He has succeeded in founding a school of native chemists capable of attacking and elucidating modern scientific problems. He has roused and quickened the Bengali brain from the torpor which has overtaken it and by his example and precept has proved that the Hindu only needs training, encouragement, and direction to revive the ancient glories of his race in Philosophy and Science. The success of the commercial undertaking which he initiated also indicates that the Bengali is not lacking in the power of organisation, application, and steadfastness of purpose needed to conduct successfully a business enterprise.

It was to be expected, therefore, that Sir P. Chandra Ray should, as he expressed it, sooner or later find himself "the property of anybody and everybody" and be called upon by various educational institutions, by conferences, and by the periodical Press and leading Newspapers interested in the social reform and development of the industrial and political life of India to address his countrymen on subjects which so closely affect their national welfare and prosperity; and it was equally certain that a demand should arise that these essays and discourses should be collected and published in some permanent form.

The little book before us is the outcome of this demand. It contains a series of addresses and articles on scientific education in India; on the dearth and progress of chemistry in Bengal; on science in the vernacular literature; on the antiquity of Hindu Chemistry; on the Educational Service of India; on the Bengali brain and its misuse; on Government and Indian Industries, together with a number of appreciations of men who have signalised themselves in the national evolution of India.

Sir T. S. Thorpe concludes:

The collection is prefaced by a short biographical sketch of the author, and concludes with a list of original contributions from the Indian School of Chemistry.

Such a book, as a literary production, cannot be judged wholly from a western point of view. To do justice to it one must have some knowledge of, and sympathy with, the oriental mind. Its language is sometimes affused with a glow characteristic of the East, and its excessive eulogy and altisonant phrases, as Evelyn would have styled them, are apt to provoke a smile in the stolid and more cold-blooded Englishman. At the same time it is impossible not to recognise and appreciate the earnestness, courage, and sense of duty of the author, or fail to perceive his sincerity and strength of his convictions in warring against the

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the galling restrictions of social inequalities and depression, which are at the bottom of India's degradation. Her elevation will not come in Sir P. Chandra Ray's time. A small, spare man, in feeble health, and a confirmed dyspeptic, he will be spent in her service. But the memory of these services will survive, and the little book to which we direct attention will serve to perpetuate it.

The League of Nations—A Dutch View.

The following lines appear in the *Living Age* (of Boston) for week-ending March 1, 1919:

Let us not delude ourselves. A League of Nations in the hitherto accepted meaning of the term—a combination of all, or nearly all, civilized nations for the preservation of peace—a League of Nations such as that is out of the question, for the present at any rate. And if, on the conclusion of peace, for the reason, perhaps, that we hanker after some sort of apotheosis, a League of Nations is proclaimed, it will be something quite different from that.

It cannot be otherwise. When the war reached its final stage, this was made more evident. A war waged by one side *rucksichtslos*, with every available means, thus engendering invetrate hatred among its opponents, and carried on by the latter until the enemy was utterly defeated and reduced to impotence—a war such as that cannot produce the atmosphere of conciliation, of forgive and forget, which a League of Nations needs for its growth and success. Who, as the end approached, still dared cling to the hope that the Allies, who have all along openly declared that they regarded the Central Powers as the scum of humanity with whom henceforth they would hold no relations, would suddenly change their attitude and say to the leaders of the defeated enemy: 'Come, let us, and join us at Conference table, and we will peacefully and harmoniously institute a new international organization'?

That, of course, was unthinkable.

A universal League of Nations is, therefore, out of the question. But, if so, what then? A return to the old conditions—but without, for the present, any greatly preponderating group of Powers?

But, as a result of antagonistic policies, or economic or merely personal interests, even the most powerful grouping of States may lose its ascendancy within a few years. History is full of examples, and already opposing interests have manifested themselves—those, for instance, of America and England at sea, of England and France on the continent of Europe, of India and the Balkans, of America and Japan, to name only a few. The new conditions, therefore, would scarcely differ from the old international relations before the war, and must lead, within a certain number of years, to the nations seeking escape from the unbearable strain of suspense in world wars increasingly fierce and devastating. Anyone taking a view of the situation must be amazed that there are still statesmen to be found who would make a return to the old regime, just as if nothing had happened, with merely a change in the grouping of Powers, still seeking salvation in that balance of power so strongly denounced by President Wilson a couple of years since.

Wilson—is it possible to imagine him as having in any way changed his opinions under force of circumstances, and as no longer cherishing his earlier ideals? Such is not the case, as is proved by his visit to Europe, where he has not allowed himself to be converted to the theory of Lloyd George, that a British world empire, if needs be, acting in co-operation with like-minded Allies, is sufficient for the task of policing the world; nor to that of Pichon and Clemenceau, the latter of whom openly declared in the French Chamber that he remained an advocate of the balance of power: 'I remained true to the old system, that States must organize their own defense, have frontiers that can be adequately defended and continue armed'; and, further, that he would not give up the system of alliances, although he would not reject the supplementary guaranties of an international organization.

It speaks for itself that this last arrangement is something quite different from the international organization which Wilson looks to as the indispensable crowning achievement of the present Peace Conference.

We quote from the President's speech at New York on September 27, 1918:

'Shall the military power of any nation or group of nations be suffered to determine the fortunes of peoples over whom they have no right to rule except the right of force? . . . Shall there be a common standard of right and privilege for all peoples and nations, or shall the strong do as they will, and the weak suffer without redress? Shall the assertion of right be haphazard and by casual alliance, or shall there be a common concert to oblige the observance of common rights?'

And, further: 'Once for all the principle must be established that the interest of the weakest is as sacred as the interest of the strongest. That is what we mean when we speak of a permanent peace.'

And, while on his visit to Europe Wilson also declared at Manchester: 'If the future had nothing for us but a new attempt to keep the world at a right poise by a balance of power, the United States would take no interest, because she will join no combination of Powers which is not a combination of all of us.' At Rome, on January 3, he said again emphatically: 'We know that there cannot be another balance of power.' And he frankly warned the Italian Government 'Our task at Paris is *to organize the friendship of the world* . . . to set up a new international psychology, to have a new atmosphere . . . . We cannot stand in the shadow of this war without knowing there are things awaiting us which are in some senses more difficult than those we have undertaken, because, while it is easy to speak of right and justice, it is sometimes difficult to work them out in practice.'

It is evident, therefore, that President Wilson has nowise relinquished his ideal; and as, we may assume that he is enough of a diplomat not to attempt to force the realization of that ideal, in spite of the opposition of his Allies, we will be greatly interested in seeing how the President will pave the way for the future establishment of a real universal League of Nations, even though it is beyond the bounds of immediate realization.—*Het Nieuws Van Den Dag.*

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HUMANISM IN HINDU ART

IN Kalidasa's play, *Shakoontala* (fifth century A.D.), we have among the *dramatis personæ*, Anasuya, a damsel of the hermitage, who is skilled in painting. Besides, a considerable portion of Act VI, Sc. ii is a study in art-criticism. It introduces us to some of the themes of the Hindu painters, their methods of execution, and the aesthetic taste of the spectators.

King Doosyanta has through inadvertence dismissed his wife Shakoontala from the palace. He soon perceives his mistake and becomes lovesick. Chatoorika, a court lady, is asked to paint a picture of Shakoontala. The king hopes to derive some relief from this likeness.

"*A damsel enters with a picture.*

Damsel : Great king, the picture is finished.

Doosyanta : Yes, that is her face ; those are her beautiful eyes ; those her beautiful lips embellished with smiles, and surpassing the red lustre of the karkandhu fruit : Her mouth seems, though painted, to speak, and her countenance darts beams of affection blended with a variety of melting tints.

Madhavya: Truly, my friend, it is a picture sweet as love itself ; my eye glides up and down to feast on every particle of it ; and it gives me as much delight as if I were actually conversing with the living Shakoontala.

Mishrakeshi (aside) : An exquisite piece of painting !—My beloved friend (Shakoontala) seems to stand before my eyes.

Doo : Yet the picture is infinitely below the original ; and my warm fancy, by supplying its imperfections, represents in some degree the loveliness of my darling.

* * *

(Sighing) Alas ! I rejected her when she lately approached me, and now I do homage to her picture.

* * *

Ma : There are so many female figures on this canvas that I cannot well distinguish the lady Shakoontala.

* * *

Doo : Which of the figures do you conceive intended for the queen ?

Ma : (examining the picture) : It is she, I imagine, who looks a little fatigued ; with the string of her vest rather loose ; the slender stalks of her arms falling languidly ; a few bright drops on her face, and some flowers dropping from her untied locks. That must be the queen ; and the rest, I suppose, are her damsels.

Doo : You judge well ; but my affection requires something more in this piece. Besides, through some defect in the colouring, a tear seems trickling down her cheek, which ill suits the state in which I desired to see her painted. (*To the damsel*)—The picture, O Chatoorika, is unfinished. Go back to the painting room and bring the implements of thy art.

* * *

Ma : What else is to be painted ?

Mi : (aside) : He desires, I presume, to add all those circumstances which became the situation of his beloved in the hermitage.

Doo ; In this landscape, my friend, I wish to see represented the river Malini, with some amorous flamingos on its green margin ; farther back must appear some hills near the mountain Himalaya, surrounded with herds of chamaras ; and in the foreground, a dark spreading tree.....with a pair of black antelopes couching in its shade, and the female gently rubs her beautiful forehead on the horn of the male.

* * *

The artist had omitted a shirisa flower with its peduncle fixed behind her soft ear.....

Ma : Why does the queen cover part of her face, as if she was afraid of something ? Oh ! I now perceive an impudent bee, that thief of odours, who seems eager to sip honey from the lotus of her mouth.

* * *

Doo : Shouldst thou touch, O bee, the lip of my darling.....thou shalt by my order be imprisoned in the centre of a lotus.—Dost thou still disobey me ?

Ma : Why, friend, it is only a painted bee.

Mi : (aside) : Oh ! I perceive his mistake ; it shows the perfection of the art."

There is no touch of pessimism, or subjectivism in all these remarks and suggestions. A modern lover examining the photograph or oil painting of his darling could not be more realistic.

Does this conversation open up to us a society of ascetics waiting for Divine illumination to evolve art out of the neo-platonic meditation or the Hindu dhyana ? Or does it make the India of the fifth century a cognate of the modern world in its matter-of-fact sober grasp of the realities of flesh and blood ?

It is really a specimen of Hindu positivism that Kalidasa, the Shakespeare of Hindu literature, has furnished in this bit of discussion in pictorial art. We feel how profound humanists the Hindu audiences were in their outlook, how non-mystical in their views and criticisms.

And yet European and American scholars have tried to demonstrate an

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Oriental pessimism in the arts and crafts of the Hindus. It is generally held that the inspiration of the Hindu painters and sculptors is totally different from that of the Westerns. The images and pictures executed by the artists of India are believed to have been the products of an ultra-meditative consciousness. They are said to reveal a much too subjective or idealistic temperament. Further, they are all alleged to be religious or mythological in theme.

Comparative art-history would indicate, however, that Hindu plastic art or drawing has not been the handmaid of theology to a far greater extent than the Classical and medieval works of Europe. Is it not Greek mythology that we see embodied in the sculptures of Phidias? Similarly are not the Catholic paintings mere aids to the popularization of the Bible stories? Indeed, art has long been more or less "illustrative" of history, legends, traditions and myths, both in the East and the West.

We do not know much of the Greek paintings. But we know the legends in the drawings on the Greek vases of the fifth century B.C. In one the serpent is being strangled by Heracles, almost as if the hydra Kaliya is being quelled by Krisna; in another Theseus is fighting the Amazons; and in a third Gorgon is pursuing Perseus, or Kadmos killing the dragon. What else are the themes of the Purana-painters? And Hindus whose infancy is nurtured on the stories and paintings of the *Ramayana* would easily remember familiar scenes in the colored terra cottas of Hellas which portray, for instance, a Paris in the act of leading away Helen or the parting of Hector and Andromache.

It may be confidently asserted, besides, that the spiritual atmosphere of Gothic Cathedrals of the thirteenth century with their soul-inspiring sculptures in alabaster and bronze has not been surpassed in the architecture of the East. The pillars at Chartres with bas reliefs of images and flowers could be bodily transported to the best religious edifices of Hindustan. The elongated Virgin at the Paris Notre Dame is almost as conventionalized as a Korean Kwannon. The representation of virtues and vices on the portal of the Saviour at the Amiens Cathedral suggests the moralizing in woodwork on the walls of Nikko. And scenes from the Passion of the tympanum at Strassburg or from the Last Judgment on the tympanum of the north door in the cathedral at Paris are oriented to the same psychological background as the bas reliefs depicting incidents in the holy career of the Buddha with which the Stoopas of Central India make us familiar or of the Dalai Lama on the surface of the marble pagoda at Peking.

Further, it may be asked, can any Classicist rationally declare that the Greek Apollos are not the creations of subjective experience? In what respects are the figures of the Hindu Buddhas and Shivas more idealistic? Polykleitos, for instance, dealt with abstract humanity, ideals, or "airy nothings" in the same sense as the artists of the Gupta period (A.D. 300—600) or Dhiman and Vitapala of the Pala period (780—1175) in India. Nowhere has a sculptured image, bas relief, or coloured drawing been completely "photographic." Art as such is bound to be interpretative or rather originative.

We have to recognize, moreover, that saints and divinities are not the exclusive themes of art work in India. Hindu art has flourished in social, natural, plant, and animal studies as well. Physical beauty was not a taboo in Hindu art-psychology. The dignity of the flesh has left its stamp on India's water colours, gouache paintings, and stone and bronze. Even the figures of the Hindu gods and goddesses are to be perceived as projections of the human personality. The mediæval Rajput paintings of the Radha-Krisna cycle and the Shiva-Doorga cycle can have but one secular appeal to all mankind.

Lastly, can one forget that the conditions of life that produced the Byzantine and Italian masterpieces were almost similar to the *milieu* under which flourished the celebrated Ajanta painters and Bharhut sculptors? For, in the Middle Ages, in Asia as in Europe, the church or the temple was the school, the art gallery and the museum, the priests and monks were painters, poets, calligraphists and pedagogues and the Scriptures constituted the whole encyclopædia. And if today it is possible for the Western mind to appreciate Fra Angelico, Massaccio and Giotto, it cannot honestly ignore the great masters of the Hindu styles, especially in view of the fact that the works of the

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Oriental mediævals are not more imperfect in technique according to modern ideas than those of their Occidental contemporaries.

The fundamental identity of artistic inspiration between the East and the West is incidentally borne out by coincidences in social life for which art work is responsible. Thus the interior, nave and aisles of the Buddhist cave temples do not impress an observer with any feelings different from those evoked by the early Christian churches and Norman Cathedrals. The towers and contours of the twelfth century Romanesque Cathedral at Ely and the sixteenth century Gothic structure at Orleans have the *ensemble* of the *gopurams* of Southern India. And the Gothic tapestries representing the hunting scenes of the Duke of Burgundy suggest at the very first sight the aspects of medieval Hindu castles and the figures and head dresses of the Indo-Saracenic Moghul styles.

It may sometimes be difficult for a non-Hindu to fully appreciate the images and paintings of India because their conventions and motifs are so peculiarly Hindu. Exactly the same difficulty arises with regard to Western art. Who but a Christian can sympathise with a "Last Supper" or a "Holy Family" or a "God dividing light from darkness"? In fact, even the "Aeneid" would be unintelligible to the modern Eur-American lovers of poetry unless they make it a point to study Roman history. Nay, a well educated Jew may naturally fail to respond to the sentiments in the *Divine Comedy* or Signorelli's "Scenes from Dante".

But the difficulties of appreciation by foreigners do not make an art-work necessarily "local" or racial. It may still be universal in its appeal and thoroughly humanistic. There are hardly any people who in modern times can enter into the spirit of the "Ka" statues which stand by the sarcophagi in the cave tombs of the Pharaohs. And yet how essentially akin to modern mankind were the Egyptians if we can depend on the evidences of their letters? A Ka is described in one of the inscriptions thus: "He was an exceptional man; wise, learned, displaying true moderation of mind, distinguishing the wise man from the fool; a father to the unfortunate, a mother to the motherless, the terror of the cruel, the protector of the disinherited, the defender of the oppressed, the husband of the widow, the refuge of the orphan." There is no gap in fundamental humanity between the men and women of today and the race that could write such an epitaph, in spite of the fact that many of its conventions and usages seem entirely meaningless.

The student of foreign literature has to specially qualify himself in order that he may understand the unfamiliar idioms of its language and the peculiar turns of expression. No other qualification is demanded in modern men and women for an appreciation of the old and distant carvings, statuettes and drawings. The chief desideratum is really an honest patience with the racial modes and paraphernalia of foreign art.

With this elementary preparation the Occidental connoisseur should be able to say about the Hindu sculptures and paintings what Max Weber says about all antiques in his essay on 'Tradition and Now':

> "Whether we have changed or not, I believe, in spite of all the manifestoes to the contrary, in whatever tongue they be written or spoken, that the antiques will live as long as the sun shines, as long there is mother and child, as long as there are seasons and climes, as long as there is life and death, sorrow and joy."

In *Shookra-neeti*, a Hindu sociological treatise, we read a few injunctions against the construction of human images. We are told that "the images of gods, even if deformed, are for the good of men. But the images of men, even if well formed, are never for human good." Shookra's generally recognised dictum seems to be that "the images of gods yield happiness to men, and lead to heaven; but those of men lead away from heaven and yield grief."

Verses of a similar import may be used as texts by those who want to prove the wholly non-secular character of Hindu art. But such art-critics would commit the same fallacy as those psychologists who formulate the race-ideal of the entire Hindu population of all ages on the strength of a few sayings of Shakya the Buddha and other moralists. In spite of Shookra the Hindus have had sculptures of human beings in the streets and public places, bas reliefs of warrior-kings on coins, and paintings of men and women on the walls of their houses, palaces, and art galleries. Secular art was an integral part of Hindu common life. Imageries and

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similes from the worldly paintings and sculptures are some of the stock-in-trade embellishments of every literary word, e.g., poetry, fiction, drama, in India.

In Soobandhoo's prose romance, *Vasavadatta* (sixth century A.D.), there is a description of the Vindhya mountain. One of the objects mentioned is the lion "with his sinewy frame, now rising high behind and now before." And the author is at once led to think of the scene as a possible theme of painting. Thus,

"His ears erect, in sudden onslaught skilled,
His mane astart, and jaws all hideous,
His stiffened tail high-waving in the breeze—
No artist could portray this awful beast
What time he croucheth on the mighty brow
Of some great elephant, shrill trumpeting
Adown the lonely dells of Vindhya's mount.'

Painting was an accomplishment of literary women. The box of paints, canvas, pencil, tapestry, and picture-frames are referred to in the *Clay Cart*, *Raghoo-vamsha*, *Uttara-rama-charita* and *Kadambaree*. All these references apply to mundane paintings. In *Vasavadatta*, again, Kusumapura or Patalipootra (Patna) is described as a city of which the conspicuous objects are the statues, which adorn the white-washed houses.

It is almost a convention with the heroes and heroines of Hindu literature to speak of the faces of their beloved as "pictures fixed on the walls of the heart." This conceit occurs even in Krishna-mishra's morality-play *Prabodha-chandrodaya* (eleventh century).

In Soobandhoo's romance the heroine Vasavadatta is seen by Kandarpaketoo in a dream. She "was a picture, as it were, on the wall of life." And when he awoke he "embraced the sky, and with outstretched arms cried to his beloved, as if she were painted in the heavens, graven on his eyes, and carven on his heart." Kandarpaketoo goes to sleep "looking on that most dear one as if limned by the pencil of fancy on the tablet of his heart."

Similarly Vasavadatta thinks of Kandarpaketoo "as if he were carven on her heart * * as if he were engraved there, inlaid, riveted." She exclaims to one of her maidens: "Trace in a picture the thief of my thoughts." And, "Over and over thinking thus, as if he were painted on the quarters and sub-quarters (of the sky), as if he were engraved on the cloud, as if he were reflected in her eye, she painted him in a picture as if he had been seen before."

The joy of life in all its manifestations is the one grand theme of all Hindu art. It is futile to approach the sculptors and painters of India with the notion of finding a typically Hindu message in them. The proper method would be to watch how far and in what manner the artist has achieved his ends as artist, *i.e.*, as manipulator of forms and colours. Interpretation of life, or "criticism of life" may be postulated of every great worker in ink, bronze, or clay, whether in the East or in the West. The only test of a masterpiece, however, is ultimately furnished by the questions: 'Is it consistent in itself?', 'Does this handiwork of man add to the known types of the universe?', 'Has it extended the bounds of Creation?'

Human ideals are the same all the world over. One piece of art in India may be superior to another in Europe, and *vice versa*. But this superiority is not necessarily a superiority in art-ideal or race-genius. It has to be credited to the individual gifts of the master in workmanship. There is but one standard for all art, but one world-measure for all human energy.

New York City, BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.
Dec. 26, 1918.

ASIAN IMMIGRATION IN THE UNITED STATES

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JAPAN is now being recognized as one of the "big five" powers at the Paris Peace Table. And having been admitted to the charmed circle, it is interesting to note, the representatives of Japan—the Oriental, Asian Japan—are demanding that racial discriminations and restrictions practiced against the natives of Japan

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should be dropped forthwith. The statesmen of France, Italy, America, and England are being plainly told the time has come when the Nipponese should be welcomed into the allied countries as their Western equals, and not excluded on the ground of their supposed Asian inferiority. What will be the answer to this Japanese demand by the League of Nations? At present the subjects of the Mikado, along with many other Asian peoples, are shut out from Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and especially from the United States. How is this problem of Oriental immigration to be solved? Will it yield to cool, wise, sagacious statesmanship, or, will it lead to another and still more disastrous world war?

It is my object at present to discuss the Asian immigration, especially the Indian immigration, in the United States. Chinese have been excluded from these shores by special enactments of Congress. And the Japanese laborers since 1907 have also been kept at arm's length by an informal agreement between Washington and Tokio, popularly known as the Gentleman's Agreement. Now the circle of exclusion has been still further deepened and widened, not by an international agreement, nor by the mention of any race or people, but by the following arbitrary, haphazard geographical boundary line fixed by the Immigration Law of 1917:

"Persons who are natives of islands not possessed by the United States adjacent to the Continent of Asia, situated south of the twentieth parallel latitude north, west of the one hundred and sixtieth meridian of longitude east from Greenwich, and north of the tenth parallel of latitude south, or who are natives of any country, province, or dependency situated on the continent of Asia west of the one hundred and tenth meridian of longitude east from Greenwich and east of the fiftieth meridian of longitude east from Greenwich and south of the fiftieth parallel of latitude north, except that portion of said territory situated between the fiftieth and the sixty-fourth meridians of longitude east from Greenwich and the twenty-fourth and thirty-eighth parallels of latitude north, and no alien now in any way excluded from, or prevented from entering, the United States shall be admitted to the United States."

Take down your atlas from the shelf and draw a red pencil through the map of Asia as indicated by this Immigration Law. You will see that it prohibits the people of India, Indo-China, Siam, New Guinea, Borneo, Sumatra, Java, and some of the other islands of southern and southwestern Asia from setting foot on American soil. Roughly speaking, the law excludes from entrance into the United States the inhabitants of more than one-quarter of Asia; to them America is a "forbidden land." Curiously enough the longitudinal and latitudinal provision of the measure leaves untouched the people of Turkey, Persia, the greater part of Arabia, northern Asian regions as well as the Philippine Islands.

The law provides, of course, for a class of exempts. It says that the exclusion provision "shall not apply to persons of the following status or occupations: government officers, ministers or religious teachers, missionaries, lawyers, physicians, chemists, civil engineers, teachers, students, authors, artists, merchants and travelers for curiosity or pleasure, nor to their legal wives or their children under sixteen years of age who shall accompany them or who subsequently may apply for admission to the United States." But the act also lays down with emphasis that the exempted persons "who fail to maintain in the United States a status or occupation, placing them within the excepted classes shall be deemed to be in the United States contrary to law, and shall be subject to deportation."

So far the law has been applied leniently against Indian youths who come here for education with limited means; but should the law be enforced rigorously, it would exclude all who may desire to earn their way through college.

One cannot help wondering why Congress did not put Africa in the excluded area. Why does it exclude the citizens of India, whom the courts of America repeatedly held to be white people? Why does Congress permit to come to America all the natives of every part of the darkest Africa and place the ban on the Indians, the possessors of a great literature, the inheritors of a noble civilisation, and the comrades in arms of the Americans in the world war? A few of the sane and sober statesmen in Congress saw the injustice of the measure and characterized it as "fantastic". There never was anything more farcical attempted in legislation," declared Hon. Miles Poindexter on the floor of the United States Senate, "and there never could be anything that would be more offensive to intelligent people in foreign countries affected than that sort of arbitrary, unreasonable, inconsistent

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arrangement, to exclude one and to admit the other when there is no difference whatever between them. It may be that in the case of members of the same family, born of the same parents, one should be excluded and the other admitted. They would be excluded because they happen to be on the wrong side of a red line that is drawn on the map, a line that includes countries containing white people."*

Long and strenuous attempts were made to bring in Japan within the scope of the exclusion law of 1917. Japan, however, objected to being excluded by a congressional act. It is an open secret that Nippon entered vigorous protests against the bill as it affected its national honor, and secured changes to suit itself. There is no more valid social or economic reasons to exclude Indians than there is to exclude the Japanese.

To be sure, there is the Gentleman's Agreement to keep out the natives of Japan from this country; but it should be clear at once to students of international politics that by virtue of this understanding the condition of exclusion is carried out through the Japanese government, and that it is Japan itself which retains in its own hands the power of controlling its immigration to the United States. Whenever the Gentleman's Agreement is abrogated in any way by Japan, then the doors are open to Japanese immigration into America. Hon. Anthony Caminetti, the United States Immigration Commissioner General, was shrewd enough to see this point. "The law, regulations, and understanding," said Mr. Caminetti, "by means of which the regulation of the admission of Japanese laborers is sought to be accomplished, while in many regards they have operated to the satisfaction of both governments concerned, contain so many exceptions of a constantly broadening nature that they can not be expected to be fully effective of their purpose. Modifications of several kinds.....are needed in these laws and regulations."† His warnings have been given small heed. As it is, Japan has wrested especial favors from America.

Some time ago I addressed a letter to Sir Cecil Arthur Spring-Rice, then the British ambassador in Washington, asking what steps he had taken to protest against the immigration act which discriminates against the people of India. The astounding reply that came from the British embassy was that "no protest was lodged against the clause excluding Hindus [meaning Indians] from the United States since it was considered that the Embassy could not properly interfere in a matter of domestic legislation."*

Hon. Cecil Arthur's arguments for failure of action in this crisis were more than amusing; if it were not such a serious affair, laughter would strain the walls of the stomach. Interference with domestic legislation! What buncombe! What sickening cant! Suppose India undertakes to pass a law excluding Americans from its shores, will the American consul general in India, Mr. James A. Smith, stand by and enter no protest with the Delhi government because it might be construed as an interference in a matter of domestic legislation? I should say not. If Mr. Smith does anything of the kind, the presumption is that he will have to pack his grips in a hurry and race for home.

An inquiry was sent to the Chinese minister Dr. Vi Kynin W. Koo at Washington asking if he had made his wishes known to the United States government concerning the immigration bill which affected his country. The Chinese legation answered that "when the Bill was in Congress we entered a protest with the State Department."†

I also wrote a letter to Viscount Suterni Chinda, then the Japanese ambassador in Washington, asking if he had taken any action against the immigration bill which threatened to exclude the Japanese from the United States. His prompt reply was that he "has had occasion to interpose protests at several stages of its enactment for the reason that the bill contained

* Congressional Record, December 13, 1916. Vol. 54, No. 9, p. 276.

† Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration to the Secretary of Labor, 1916, p. XV.

* Letter to the writer from British Embassy, Washington, D. C., dated April 25, 1917.

† The influential Chinese daily newspaper of New York City, *Ming Ko Ku Pao*, on May 20, 1916, wrote: "The Chinese Minister Dr. Koo went to see Secretary of State Lansing yesterday about the pending immigration bill. Dr. Koo presented and demanded:

"1. Recognition of the Chinese as citizens of the mostfavored nation.

"2. Repeal of all the especial discriminatory laws against China." (Translated from Chinese by Mr. T. S. Chang of the State University of Iowa.)

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passages directly or indirectly discriminatory toward the Japanese people."*

I do not pretend to be up on all the subtle tricks of secret diplomacy; but anybody with half an eye can see that Mr. Spring-Rice's understanding of the spirit of international courtesy, if not of international law, is very odd. If the Chinese and Japanese ministers could protest against a discriminatory measure, why could not the English minister who is supposed to represent not only England but also India?

Strangely enough the United States government never did say that it would regard any move on the part of India as an interference in her domestic affairs. In fact in 1914, when the Hindu immigration bill first came up before Congress, Hon. William Jennings Bryan, then the United States Secretary of State, told me in an audience I had with him that he would heartily welcome any co-operation from the British embassy.† In response to his request I called on the ambassador. Instead of giving any active assistance, Mr. Spring-Rice went rambling along and spoke an infinite deal of nothing. The upshot of the conference was that he practically banged the door on Mr. Bryan's appeal for co-operation. Provoking as was his indifference, I was able to secure an important hearing directly before the House Committee of Congress on Immigration.‡ I sought for no especial privileges; I asked for no especial favors. I asked that Indians be admitted on the same terms as are the other peoples of the world. To the members of the Committee I further represented that if absolutely necessary, Indian immigration, like the Japanese immigration, be regulated by an agreement, a diplomatic arrangement, rather than by a statutory enactment. The Committee was convinced of the reasonableness of my plea; but as it was not backed up by English authorities, any chance that might have existed of substituting diplomacy for an act of Congress went glimmering by. Today India is humiliated by a most hide-bound rigid exclusion law. Is this another rebuff of a subject nation? Will the Indian people be reconciled to such a disgrace?

America has undoubted right to select her prospective citizenship; but it is the discriminatory policy which affronts the dignity of the Indian nation. Hindustan is not particularly anxious to send out her sons to countries where they are not welcome, especially since there will be developments right in India to absorb all her own supply of labor. Even now Indians do not come here in any appreciable numbers like those of other nations. If the cheap street corner labor agitators, who keep alive the fire of narrow race prejudice against the Indians, will turn to *Reports of the Department of Labor* ending 1917, they will find that while the number of Indians admitted in 1916 was 272, the number departed was 259, and again in 1917 the number that entered this country was 263, while the number of immigrants that went back to India was 295; thus there was an actual decrease of 32. Hence the wild assertion that America is in imminent danger of an "overwhelming invasion" from Indian immigrants is a mere pipe dream.

Time and again the question has been asked, Can Hindus—Americans call all Indians by that name—be Americanized? They can be, of course. Prof. John R. Commons of the University of Wisconsin says: "To be great, a nation need not be of one blood, it must be of one mind. It is not physical amalgamation which unites mankind; it is mental community." This mental community can be best secured through education in the public school. It is the first aid to the nation, the greatest Americanizing agency, the most potent specific for assimilating foreign elements. Of the thirteen million men and women in America who were born in other lands, three million were not able to speak English, according to the last census. These foreign-born peoples were not given up as unassimilable. On the contrary, numerous agencies were set up for their reclamation. Thousands of these immigrants were enrolled in public schools; hundreds of others were reached through the machinery of night schools. And just as Armenians, Luthuanians, Slovaks, Ruthenians, Syrians, Turks, Arabs, and

* Letter to the writer from Imperial Japanese Embassy, Washington, D.C., dated April 12, 1917.

† See author's article "Exclusion of the Indians from America" in *The Modern Review*, Vol. XV, June 1914, p. 624.

‡ See *Hearings Before the Committee on Immigration*, House of Representatives, Sixty-third Congress, second session, Feb. 13, 1914, Part I, pp. 3-21.

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Persians could be Americanized, so could the Indians.

Another argument against the Indians is that they will cut in the wages of American laborers. This apprehension, it appears to me, is not well-founded. Owing to their increased standard of living in this country, Indians cannot afford to underbid their American competitors. The main reason for Indians to come here is to better their economic condition. Whatever the scale of wages in India may be, Indians do keep up wages to the American standard. They are forced to do it in order to meet increased expenses. The change of conditions in climate, work, and customs make their wants in the new country far more numerous than in Hindustan; they need several changes of clothing, several pairs of boots, better food, and better living accommodations. All this makes it imperative for Indians to demand higher wages. The plain truth is that Indians for the same kind of work ask and receive the same remuneration as do American laborers.

Sometimes it is also argued that Hindus send away American money to India. That is true, I will admit, to a certain extent; but a part of American money has always gone to foreign lands, and it ever will. America pays her good money to foreign countries for many commodities such as tea, coffee, sugar, woolen goods, and dyestuffs before the war. America also pays interest on her national bonds held abroad. Furthermore, American travelers in Europe and those who have permanently settled there, spend annually millions of money. Prof. F. W. Taussig of Harvard University estimates that in pre-bellum days this amount has not been less than three hundred million rupees a year.* What an Indian laborer takes away from America is comparatively a paltry amount for the labor he has actually performed. This sum, small even in exaggerated terms, is an inevitable accident of his employment. Why then should there be an outcry against him?

In many respects Indian immigrants are much better than those of Europe, who not infrequently turn out to be bloodthirsty anarchists, "black handers" and Bolsheviks. Hindus are, as a rule, peaceful, law-abiding, honest, industrious, faithful and frugal. Is it possible for anybody to ask for more? Again, never has a Hindu become a public charge; never has he been known to be an inmate of the poor-house. On the other hand, many European immigrants habitually frequent drinking saloons, fill city slums, crowd into gambling dens, and even become "guests" of bridewells. Can therefore anyone have sufficient reason for prefering Europeans to Indians on moral grounds?

Hindus in America did all they could to register their protest against the exclusion law. Here and there mass meetings were held and petitions were sent to Washington, when the Immigration Bill was under discussion. The following is one of the many protests wired to Secretary of State, Robert Lansing:

"The Hindus of California beg to record their protest against the proposed legislation to exclude Hindus from this country. Comparatively few Hindus are able to come here. There will be some students, and some laborers."

"Those who have already come here have proven themselves peaceful, industrious and law abiding. They came to escape the unspeakable poverty in India and in the hope of bettering their condition in this land of freedom and opportunity. To exclude them would be unjust. A few thousand laborers and students are not enough to make an immigration problem, and as for the future, Hindu laborers are in such poverty that it is impossible for them to come here in great numbers. The average income of a Hindu is $ 9.00 a year. How can they come here? It is not worthy of the traditions of this great country to exclude the few who may be able to get here."

Thousands of open-minded American citizens saw the justice of the Indian cause. They generously lent their aid in making an honorable settlement. To them the Indian nation, I am sure, will tender grateful thanks. These American citizens memorialized the United States Congress with a petition. The protest, which now lies buried deep among other government documents, is as follows:

"To the Senators and Representatives of the Sixty-fourth Congress of the United States:

"The undersigned petitioners, citizens of the United States, respectfully show:

"First. That there is now pending before the United States Senate an act passed by the House of Representatives, known as H. R. 10384, and entitled 'An act to regulate the immigration of aliens to and the residence of aliens in the United States.'

"Second. That said proposed act unduly discriminates against an entire race of a great and worthy people, of the same Aryan stock to which the

* Taussig's, Principles of Economics, Vol. I, p. [illegible] (New edition)

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great majority of our fellow citizens belong and the inheritors of a civilization which has conferred benefits upon the whole human race—the Hindus.

"Third. That the retention in said proposed act of the provisions which would exclude any of the Hindus who have formerly come to this country to reside, or who are likely to do so in the near future, merely because they are Hindus, would be a lasting stain and disgrace to the honor and humanity of our country, which has hitherto stood for equal opportunity for all and an open door for the oppressed of all nations.

"Fourth. That at the present time, owing to the wise and humane laws of the country respecting immigration which have hitherto prevailed, a considerable number of Hindus of the student, scholar, and professional classes have availed themselves of the educational and other opportunities which our country offers them and are now residents there: that said proposed act places upon these classes humiliating and quite unnecessary hardships, such as.....deportation at any time within five years, making that provision retroactive, and, in case of deportation, exposing them to possible prosecution in their own country for political opinions expressed by them during their residence here.

"Your petitioners therefore respectfully pray that all said invidious and harmful provisions be stricken from said proposed act."*

The American press on the whole maintained a conspiracy of silence on the subject of Indian exclusion; but the following from *Los Angeles Times*, a leading paper of the State of California, where most of the Hindu laborers are, is worth quoting:

"The American missionaries and merchants have gone to India and carried to the natives the gladsome tidings that this is the land of the free and the home of the brave; that all men are created equal, and that in this country at least the lamp of education is lit and that its beams are free to all. They have merely represented what our Constitution and Declaration of Independence apparently guarantee.

"Yet by the terms of.....the Immigration Bill the people of India as a whole, are excluded from entry into the United States.....

"There is a definite and organized opposition to these discriminating provisions of the bill—not only on the part of the educated Hindus, but through various educational societies who have memorialized the Senate and the President on the subject....."

"There is no warrant whatever for incorporation in the law of the land of a registered hostility against the Hindu race. This seems odd on the part of a country that has a massive statue of universal liberty standing at its front door.....

"As a nation we are seeking enlarged market in the far east, while the politicians and demagogues are doing what they can to nullify all chance of trade expansion."*

There was persistent rumor that the most effective opposition to the presence of Indians in America came from London, and that American legislature at Washington was a poor second. Personally, I do not think that all the stories are true; but the silent careful indifference of the English embassy, which gave additional color to the rumor, was very eloquent. It paralyzed the efforts of the Indians to improve their conditions in America.

Hindustan has been called upon during the past four years to defend the English empire by her good will as well as by the expenditure of blood and treasure. Her brave sons during this mighty world war have been in the forefront of every battle for England's freedom and democracy. Indians have fought and bled wherever men have fought and bled. They have accomplished untold deeds of courage and heroism which have seldom before been recorded in human history. By her unprecedented sacrifices India is of right entitled to a quid pro qua. Now that Indian blood has mingled with the rivers flooding Europe, will England recognize its obligations to Hindustan? As India has helped Great Britain in its distress, will it betray India? As a reward for their many magnificent services, will the people of India continue to be discriminated against as immigrants both in the English empire and in countries allied with it? That is the vital issue, and there can be no dodging it. It is now squarely up to the people and the government. Will India triumph? I think I hear across the ocean India asking in tones of iron determination and in a voice of grim imperative command that her problems, foreign and domestic, be solved, and solved now—now, not after dismal months and years of delay, confusion, and humiliation—now, not after it is too late—after the "unforgettable gratitude" of England to India is forgotten. India will not be denied. Indians set their jaws and put iron in their minds. They can, must, and shall win their legitimate rights.

* *Congressional Record*, Vol. 53, Part 13, p. 12945.

* Editorial, *Los Angeles Times*, December 2[illegible] 1916.

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AGGRESSIVE HINDUISM *

THE interpretation of 'Aggressive Hinduism' to be gathered from a careful perusal of this little booklet is not the one which suggests itself to the mind at first sight. For here we find Sister Nivedita exhorting us to become aggressive by determining, 'not merely to keep what we had, but to win what we never had before.' The question we should ask ourselves is not 'how much we kept, but how much have we annexed ?' It is the Sister's emphatic and deliberate opinion that there is "no possible goal for the Indian people but a complete assimilation of the modern consciousness." To do this, we shall have to cancel 'all the elements of local prejudice in a given problem' and 'extract the root-fact from all the diversity of phenomena in which it clothes itself.' This will not be possible "unless the Indian mind can deliberately discipline itself to the historic point of view." We must 'analyse and compare various methods,' and 'add to our own the virtues of others.' "It is no longer enough to know one thing well. It is also incumbent on us to understand its place amongst other things, and its relation to the scheme of knowledge as a whole." The outstanding distinction between Medievalism and Modernism lies in the geographical discovery of the world as a whole. 'The great intellectual and social failure of to-day lies in provincialism.' 'The cultivation of the sense of humanity as a whole is the essential feature of a modern education.' Just as the man who merely by imitating the habits and manners of the European democracy considers himself an exalted and competent critic of his own people is nothing but a contemptible snob, so to take one's stand persistently on local prejudices is almost as futile, and both miss the effective achievement. Only the fully national, we should also remember, can contribute to the cosmo-national. Self-idealism, worshipping our own past, praising our ancestors, 'is meant for encouragement, not for conceit !'

" 'Children of the *rishis !*' exclaims a great orator to the crowd before him ; but if some common man derives from this the idea that *he* is a *rishi*, he shows his own *tamas*, and nothing more." "Only *tamas* makes this mistake ! The methods of Christ will not bring the victory of Christ, *to the man who is not Christ* ! In him, the dumbness of the sheep is mere sheepishness, not Christ-likeness."

Laziness and defeat are not renunciation. To protect another is infinitely greater than to attain salvation. *Mukti* lies in overcoming the thirst for *Mukti.*

"Not for most of us to reach the Absolute now : for most of us, only the immediate end, whatever it be, and for that, to forget self ! Only through action can we rise to that which is beyond action. The world is full of causes for which a man may give his all. Ladders of rope by which we may draw ourselves up, to the *Mukti* at present out of sight." "It is not his *gerua* cloth, but his selflessness, that makes a monk. There may be monks of science and learning, monks of art and industry, monks of the public life and service, and monks for the defence of the defenceless. Great is the impulse of renunciation ; greater is the *sustained* self-sacrifice of a heroic life."

Society in India watches over the minutest details of a man's life and throughout his life, and for ages and ages it has taught man the social value of quietness, docility, resignation and obedience. But a social evolution which in Asia has occupied many centuries is in the West relegated to, at most, the first ten years of a child's up-bringing," and after that, strength, initiative, sense of responsibility, the power of rebellion, disciplined and subordinated to impersonal ends, coupled with a sense of fairplay, are the lessons which his teachers and guardians strive to foster in him. Instead of being the preserver of Hindu custom, Hinduism should henceforth be the creator of Hindu character.

This dynamic transformation of character is what Sister Nivedita means by Aggressive Hinduism. It is only thereby that Hinduism can 'contribute to the world's sum of culture, not merely to make adaptations from it.'

'Our past henceforth is active, and not passive.' 'Our task is to translate ancient knowledge into modern equivalents..... Spiritually, intellectually,

* Aggressive Hinduism ; by Sister Nivedita. Udbodhan Office, Calcutta, 1918. Price Annas four.

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there is no undertaking, but we must attempt it..... we must create a history of India in living terms..... Great literatures have to be created in each of the vernaculars..... Art must be reborn.....Not only to utter India to the world, but also to voice India to herself—this is the mission....." 'We look to make our descendants greater than our ancestors.'

'Complete assimilation of the modern consciousness" all-round development of character, and striving to attain the highest, spiritually and intellectually, in all spheres of action,—this is thus the sum and substance of what Sister Nivedita wants to designate by the expression, 'Aggressive Hinduism,' which has however been interpreted by many as a militant defence of the Hindu faith in the spirit of 'my religion, right or wrong.' That this latter interpretation was not the one which Sister Nivedita, the inventor of the phrase, wanted it to bear admits of no doubt; for, when properly analysed, it will be found that the association of the name 'Hinduism' with the cult thus advocated is due to the fact that it was addressed to and meant for Hindus, and has no other necessary or logical connection with them, and the epithet 'Aggressive' is given to it because it is a protest against the passivity of inaction which characterises the Hindu race. Really speaking, what Sister Nivedita, under the guise of 'Aggressive Hinduism,' preaches to us is nothing more nor less than what she calls 'cosmo-nationalism'—the harmonious union of the racial with world-culture—which is the highest ideal of cultured manhood all the world over at the present day, and this is the ideal, transformed into purposive and fruitful action, which she holds up before the Hindus as the only one worthy of their acceptance.

Q.

THE BRITISH CONGRESS COMMITTEE

1: A RETROSPECT.

AN INTERVIEW WITH DR. G. B. CLARK OF THE COMMITTEE.

By St. Nihal Singh.

I

THE affairs connected with the British Congress Committee in London are at present in such a tangle that I thought it might serve a useful purpose if I asked Dr. Gavin Brown Clark, who is the oldest living member of that body and who since the death of Sir William Wedderburn in 1917 has been acting as its chairman, to explain to me (1) how the Committee came into being, (2) what work it has done, (3) what its present activities are, (4) what connection it has with the newspaper *India*, and (5) what may be expected of it in the immediate future.

A Scotsman by birth and a radical by heredity and inclination, Dr. Clark for more than half a century has been fighting for all manner of reform—fighting hard and persistently, without caring whom he hit. The more unpopular the cause, the more could it count upon his sympathy and active support. Many attempts were made to buy him up with a knighthood or an office, but he refused to give up the freedom that enabled him to call men in power to account for their indiscretions and follies, whether such highly-placed men belonged to his own (Liberal) party or otherwise.

Dr. Clark began to take an interest in India early in his life. When only 19, he entered the service of the Great Indian Peninsular Railway. At that time (1865) the railway from Bombay to Poona had not been built and communications in all parts of India were extremely deficient. University education had hardly begun, and there was no sign of political activity in the country.

Though he remained with the G. I. P. Railway only three years, Dr. Clark used his opportunities to great advantage to learn as much as he could of the people and of the land. Even after his return to Britain his brother, engaged in medical work in Rajputana, formed a link between

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him and India: and drew him on several occasions to that country. In 1875-6, he saw, in the suite of the Maharaja of Jeypur Lord Lytton's great *tamasha* at Delhi when Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India. He paid India other visits and twice attended the Congress.

The agitation set on foot by the "Indian" Civil Service to defeat the Ilbert Bill was responsible for drawing Dr. Clark into the Indian political movement. The Conservatives in Great Britain took up the cry set up in India against the late Lord Ripon and his law member Mr. (now Sir) Courtenay Ilbert, both staunch liberals sent out to India by a Liberal Government. The Conservative leaders placed their entire party machinery at the service of the deputation that the "civilians" in revolt sent here to press their case, and the whole country rang with accusations against the people of India and the Liberal party which was bent upon placing Englishmen in India in a position of abject subservience.

Dr. Clark and Mr. William Digby (who had spent many years in journalism in Ceylon and India) readily realised the necessity of doing all they could to counteract the conservative movement. Liberals with knowledge of India—notably Sir David Wedderburn, the elder brother of Sir William Wedderburn, and Mr. George Foggs joined them. They found the Liberal party ready and anxious to help them in every way it could. They revived the Indian reform committee which, I believe, had been originally established by John Bright and Dr. Clark became its Chairman. Under its auspices and assisted by the Liberal party they went about the country addressing meetings controverting the "Tory" statements and setting Indians and Indian institutions in their proper perspective.

The late Mr. A. K. Sethna and Mr. Lal Mohan Ghose were at that time in this country and rendered great assistance in the campaign. Mr. Ghose stood, in 1884, for Deptford as a Liberal candidate—the first Indian who ever sought to enter the House of Commons. Though he failed to get in, his electioneering campaign served to arouse great interest in India. I may state parenthetically that in 1892 Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Dadabhai Naoroji was elected as a Liberal M. P. for Central Finsbury, followed in 1885 by Mr. (now Sir) Mancherji Bhownagree, as Conservative member of Parliament for Bethnal Green, East.

In the meantime, Indians in India were not inactive. Lord Lytton's show at Delhi demonstrated to thoughtful Indians the possibility of reconciling the clash of creed and caste and political associations began to be formed. The "civilian revolt" made them realize the necessity of organized agitation.

In 1883, Mr. Alan Octavian Hume retired from the (Bengal) Civil Service, and threw himself into the movement for Indian political reform and the Congress was established. Its first session was held during the closing days of 1885. Two years later, Sir William Wedderburn retired from the Indian Civil Service, and returned to Britain. About that time Mr. Naoroji also came back to this country, which he had first visited in 1853. Mr. Womesh Chunder Bonnerjee was about that time enjoying a large Privy Council practice, and every year was spending many months in this country. Acting in co-operation with Mr. Andrew Yule and others, Hume, Wedderburn, Naoroji and Bonnerjee, formed the British Congress Committee, into which the Indian Reform Association was merged in 1889 and which, three years later, absorbed the "Indian Political Agency" which had been started in 1887 by Mr. Digby.

II.

I asked Dr. Clark what relationship the Committee was to bear with the Congress in India. He answered that the two bodies were designed to work hand in hand. The men who had been mainly responsible for the organisation of the Congress composed the Committee, and in consequence the Committee from the very beginning enjoyed a great prestige,—a prestige that placed it above control or even criticism from India.

In response to my query about the Committee's functions, Dr. Clark said that they were of a dual nature:

(1) The Committee was to keep the Congress in India informed of Indian affairs in this country and to advise it about the policies that required to be formulated, and the measures that ought to be taken.

(2) The Committee was to carry on

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propaganda in this country to advance India politically.

The first object was served through correspondence that was carried on officially by the Committee, or privately by its members, with the Indian Congress leaders. For years Mr. Hume and some of the other members of the Committee were in the habit of sending an annual message to the Congress. Every now and again one or another member of the Committee went out to India to preside over or to attend a session of the Congress.

Indian propaganda—the second object of the Committee—was carried on through various ways:

(1) Several of its members were in Parliament: W. S. Caine (1880-89, and 1892-95), Dr. G. B. Clarke (1885-1900), Dadabhai Naoroji (1892-1895), Sir Herbert Roberts (1892-1918), Sir William Wedderburn (1893-1900), Mr. Thomas Hart-Davies (1906-1910), Mr. C. J. O'Donnel (1906-1910), Dr. V. H. Rutherford (1906-1910), Mr. James O'Grady (1906-1918), and Mr. A. Mac Callum Scott (since 1910). They gathered together as many friends of India in Parliament as they could and formed a Parliamentary Committee, which asked Indian questions in the House, raised Indian debates, and otherwise kept India to the fore.

(2) *India* (of which more later) was sent to members of Parliament and others especially interested in Indian affairs to keep them informed of Indian developments. Whenever necessary additional information was supplied by the Committee.

(3) Members of the Committee—notably Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji—carried on correspondence with persons interested in India and wrote to the press to convey information or to support an Indian movement or contradict or correct a wrong impression that was sought to be given.

(4) The Committee whenever occasion arose, published pamphlets written by members and other friends of India.

(5) Various members delivered addresses from platforms in London and in the provinces.

Dr. Clark does not remember the exact date when *India* was started. Perhaps it was in 1890. He thinks, however, that it began as a monthly, and was afterwards converted into a weekly. Hume, Wedderburn, Dadabhai Naoroji, Bonnerjee and Digby all co-operated in conducting it.

Digby edited India until 1892. Among those who followed him as editor, Mr. (now Sir) Gordon Hewart (Attorney General in the present Administration), Professor Muirhead and Mr. H. E. A. Cotton may be mentioned. Mr. Cotton was appointed shortly after he returned from India in 1906 and resigned his position only a short time ago. Mr. Ratcliffe, who more than once had relieved Mr. Cotton, succeeded him, but shortly afterwards was called to the United States of America, Mr. H. S. L. Polak being appointed to act for him. Mr. Ratcliffe returned from America a short time ago, but since his movements are uncertain he has not taken up the editorship of *India* which pending other arrangements, continues to be conducted by Mr. Polak.

At first *India* was privately owned belonging to a company composed of men interested in Indian affairs. After a few years, Dr. Clark does not remember how many, the British Committee took it over and conducted it. The paper did not, however, go well and entailed a considerable loss—something like £2,000 in a few years. In 1903 it was, therefore, decided to transfer it to a limited liability company, specially formed to conduct the paper. The ordinary shares were taken by the committee as payment for the paper, and preferential capital was subscribed by friends interested in India. Mr. G. K. Gokhale and other Indian friends helped to secure a large number of subscribers in India, at one time numbering something like 5,000. In consequence the newspaper not only paid its way, but in some years even returned profit.

Before the war began, however, the number of subscribers was going down and when hostilities commenced and sent up the cost of production (the cost of paper alone rose from something like 2d. to 1·2d per. lb), printing and other expenses, *India* began to entail heavy loss. Two years ago the Committee undertook to meet the deficit, and last year it came up to something like £ 900. This year the loss may not exceed £ 700. The obligation was assumed by the Committee for a definite period and will end in June, unless that body undertakes to renew it.

I asked Dr. Clark what the committee

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has been doing during recent years, besides subsidising *India*. He was frank enough to confess that of late its activities have grown less and less. The reason for this, he said, is not that the interest taken by the members in India is waning, but because so many of the members have died or have drifted away from London, and so new members have been added, with the exception of Sir Herbert Roberts, who, like his father-in-law, the late Mr. Caine, is greatly interested in the Indian Temperance Reform movement, and Mr. S. H. Swinney, President of the London Positivist Society.

First Dadabhai Naoroji retired and went away to India. Next Mr. Hume and Sir Henry Cotton died. For many years before his death Sir William Wedderburn lived in his home in Gloucestershire, and found it increasingly difficult to journey back and forth to London. Mr. Hart Davies, who at one time took a keen interest in the Committee, and Mr. Bernard Houghton, who wrote a masterly indictment of government by bureaucracy, live far away from London and practically never attend meetings. Since he became Secretary to Mr. Winston Churchill, Mr. MacCallum Scott seldom comes in. For some reason or other the same is true of Mr. O'Donnell and Mr. O'Grady.

For practical purposes, therefore, the Committee consists of Dr. Clark, Mr. Parekh, Dr. Rutherford, Mr. Delgado, Sir Herbert Roberts and Mr. Swinney, with Mr. Douglas Hall as Secretary—a post that he has occupied continuously for about 26 years. As ex-Presidents of the Congress Mr. B. N. Basu and Lord Sinha are members of the Committee, and Mr. Polak, Mr. St. Nihal Singh and Dr. Rao attend as "visiting members."

I asked Dr. Clark why it was that after the death of Sir William Wedderburn no attempt was made to re-organize the Committee and to transfuse new blood into it to make it a vigorous organization, capable of coping with the existing exigencies. He replied:

"After Sir William's death we resolved not to expand ourselves because we thought that the situation in India was extremely vague, and we waited until we could receive first-hand information about it. When Mr. Basu arrived in the spring of last year and told us how things were there, we decided to continue that policy until the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme was out and India had declared herself. Since that report appeared there has been a very sharp division in Indian opinion and in that of the Committee. The only thing that we thought possible if we were to work together was to preserve as neutral an attitude as possible until such time as the various deputations could come from India and we could ascertain from them just what the position was there and to what extent we could co-operate. These deputations will arrive towards the end of May, and after conferring with them it will be possible for us to make up our minds what course we will take."

"I do not mind telling you," added Dr. Clark, "that the men in India whom we knew and with whom we have worked are the Moderate leaders who have seceded from the Congress. It is but inevitable that many of us should want to continue our association with them. But then the question arises: How can we work with those who have seceded from the Congress and still remain a Committee of the Congress, whose name we bear, and which has met our expenses, not wholly, but largely? But as I have said before, no decision is possible until we meet the deputations—especially the one that the Congress is sending here with general authority to confer with us."

III

My complaint is that the Committee has been following a policy of *laissez faire* at a time when it was necessary that a strong Indian propaganda should be conducted. While that body has been in a state of "suspended animation," persons and societies inimical to educated Indians have been carrying on an active, persistent and vicious campaign, which needed to be counteracted by equally active and persistent pro-Indian propaganda. Indians have, for a generation, made it possible for the British Congress Committee to exist, and they had every right to expect that the Committee would carry on such propaganda, especially at a time when grave changes in the Indian constitution were impending and the British needed to be educated in regard to Indian aspirations and Indian capacity for self-government.

If *India* had been conducted with skill

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and vigour, and if it had championed the Congress cause, it could have served a most useful purpose—a purpose for which it is maintained by Indians. But as a subsidized organ of the Congress, and even as a newspaper, it has been far from a success—especially ever since the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme was published. Of all the views put forward since then by Indians, the one that has received the least backing from it is the Congress view.

Dr. Clark admits quite frankly that the Committee has had funds at its disposal to undertake special propaganda —indeed, he says that the Committee never possessed so much cash in hand as it did at the time Sir William Wedderburn died.

It is a great misfortune that this policy of drift is to continue for at least several months.

IV

Though I am greatly disappointed in the Committee, as it is, and as it has been for years, I am not one of those who think that it should be ended. That would be, to my mind, a great misfortune to the cause of India in this country and in India itself.

It must be remembered that the Committee has been in existence for a generation, and that the organizations that were merged into it existed even before the Congress came into being. In consequence it has accumulated a great mass of experience of inestimable value to the Indian movement. It has established connections with various political associations. It has acquired a small but a useful library, and through a subsidiary organization maintains a weekly organ of its own.

Greater than all these assets put together are the men who have devoted much of their time and talents, without compensation of any kind, to the work of the Committee—men who possess intimate knowledge of the political machinery in this country and who are genuinely and deeply interested in India. There is, for instance, Dr. Clark, who in spite of his three score and thirteen years has a clearer brain and greater vigour than most men in the prime of life, and the longer he lives, the more radical he becomes. Then there is Mr. Parekh, who has been in this country for more than a quarter of a century and who has not spared himself in serving his Motherland. Dr. V. N. Rutherford's strong domocratic tendencies and his keen interest in Indian reform are too well-known in India to need even a casual reference here. There are others, but let these names suffice. Such men are a valuable asset to any movement and I can conceive of no greater disaster to our cause in this country than that it should lose their active support. Indeed, we cannot afford to lose any of our friends, no matter how very cautious and halting the Indian Nationalists may find such a friend.

I am afraid some of us Indians, in our zeal for our cause, talk and write in a manner that is likely to wound the susceptibilities of our British supporters. For instance, I notice that it is being said in India that the men composing the British Committee propose to continue to dominate the Indian political movement from London. Any one who knows how very democratic Dr. Clark and his colleagues are will contradict such rumours, without a moment's hesitation. I should like to take the present occasion to request my people in India not to indulge in talk that is likely to lose us our friends here.

That request does not, however, imply that we must not urge upon the Committee the immediate necessity of re-organizing itself and do anything in our power to bring about such re-organization as speedily as possible. But while performing this task we should not forget that we are dealing with colleagues, and not with men in our pay. Nor should we forget that, as a nation, we are famed for our innate courtesy.

I propose, in the following article, to suggest the lines along which in my judgment, re-organization of the British Committee should take place.

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A MENACE TO HINDU SOCIETY *

It is surprising to note how much information of a varied and useful character has been packed within this small but closely-printed volume of 178 pages. The Englishman's love of method, order, and logical arrangement of thought is evident everywhere. There is a copious Index. A few pages here and there are specially devoted to missionary work and may not appeal to the general reader, but the rest of the book will be read by Indians with profound interest. Hinduism, past and present, Indian nationalism, the Indian home, and many other things of vital importance to us have been dealt with in a spirit of discriminating sympathy and in language often rich and poetic. Of course the special standpoint of the author, his fixed belief thal all Hindus will ultimately be converted to Christianity, cannot be shared by any who does not belong to his religious persuasion. Educated Hindus have a profound reverence for Christ, but the author nowhere seems to perceive the distinction between Christianity and Christ. The bundle of dogmas, creeds, doctrines, theories, superstitions, prejudices, nay even untruths, which make up any particular denomination of the very large number of sects into which Christianity is divided, is more likely to kill than to kindle the Indian's admiration for the saintly character of Jesus. The tone of the book is praiseworthy and the knowledge of Hindu philosophy, religion, and culture which the author displays in this book is typical of the new type of missionary literature which it has become impossible for the Higher Hinduism to ignore. The attitude of the learned author will appear from the following, taken from the peroration of the book:

"The earnestness of the millions of her pilgrims; the absorption of her mystics in the unseen but ever-present One; the unmeasured sacrifice of her ascetics; the other-worldliness of her true monks and friars, the contempt for material greatness and the things of sense beside the majesty of the spiritual and the things unseen; the indifference to food and comfort and all things earthly if only the things eternal can be assured; the worship that sees God everywhere and makes all life divine: the piety of the simple householder, for whom each act of daily life, each family event, is part of his religious life; the tireless aspiration away from this world in the search for God; the reverence for religious guide and teacher; the caring for the poor, the hospitality for every guest, the simplicity of life and the honourableness of poverty; above all, India's worship of GOODNESS; her sense of the strength of patience, the grandeur of gentleness, the nobility of meekness, the dignity of submissiveness, the glory of humility, this wealth of spiritual instinct, this fervour of religious passion, purged of all dross....."

The weak points of Hinduism, delineated by such a sympathetic hand, should not be met by a blind fanaticism, but should be seriously thought over, and remedied, if found true on examination. We have space here to notice only one such point, the most serious in our opinion, than which there is no greater danger threatening Hinduism at the present moment. We allude to the recent growth of mass movement towards Christianity, by which entire villages and communities, numbering several thousands, have been converted at one stroke. In the ten years preceding the last census, a million converts were thus added to the Indian Christian Church, and at the present day, says the author, 'we are baptising at the rate of about 350 converts a day, or over 10,000 a month.' If proselytism goes on at this tremendous pace, there will soon be very few Hindus left in districts where the depressed classes, among whom these conversions were made, form the bulk of the population. 'The desire for social betterment', and 'the first experience of human kindliness and brotherhood in the missionary,' are said to be among the causes of such group-conversions. To these converts, "Christianity has set a new value on personality. The individual counts. He has come to know himself a man. There is nothing human to which he may not hope to rise by merit. Religion, which has so long barred the way up, now opens it. Hope, enterprise, effort, are the natural result..... There are literally hundreds of thousands of persons in

* *The Goal of India: by Rev. W. E. S. Holland: Christian Literature Society for India, Calcutta, 1919. Price annas twelve.*

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India to-day whom the Church has lifted from a condition of degradation almost lower than humanity to economic freedom, social self-respect, and religious manhood." True, these conversions in the mass give the genuine missionary many qualms of conscience. But our author says apologetically : 'he must take them all together, or none at all.' So if the opportunity be missed by insisting too much on the sincerity of the change of spirit, it will not come again, 'for these outcaste tribes are being incorporated by Islam almost as rapidly as by the Church. It is not unfair to say it is a race as to which religion will get in first.' The author truly says that "Caste, in the case of these down-trodden multitudes, who are brought in masses to the Church, is our present geatest opportunity." And what is Hinduism doing to meet this wholesale defection ? We shall quote once more from the book :

"Hinduism is at last bestirring itself about the bettering of the condition of these fifty million serfs." But "the principles of the movement are far from clear. Is the pariah to be made less miserable but to be kept in his place all the same, or is he to be no longer 'untouchable' and to be admitted to ordinary social intercourse ? No one dare give a plain answer to the question. On the (Hindu) committees of the movement there are two sets of leaders—those who are prepared to give up caste distinctions, and treat the pariahs as the missionaries treat them, and those who are nervous about going too fast, and anxious only to make the pariah's lot a little better. It is the latter party which at present always carries the day." (Quoted from Phillips, *The Outcastes' Hope*, p. 23).

"Mrs. Besant loudly trumpets social reform, but her Central Hindu College at Benares and the Theosophical schools at Ernakulam and Madanapalle refuse admission to all outcastes and Panchamas.* At the annual gathering of a large Hindu sect held recently, the audience that listened enthusiastically to an eloquent address on universal brotherhood dispersed to hold their separate caste meals."

It is not by blindly abusing the missionaries, but by setting our own house in order in regard to the vital defects pointed out by the best among them, that Hinduism will have the chance to survive. Thoughtful and patriotic Hindus who are of this opinion will find ample food for reflection (and stimulus to action) in the present volume.

A BRAHMIN WITHIN THE
PALE OF HINDUISM.

* Is this true ?—Editor, *M.R.*

PROF. A. B. KEITH AND THE SANKHYA SYSTEM

By DWIJENDRANATH TAGORE.

A NEW book has quite recently appeared in the 'Heritage of India' series, on the Sankhya System of Indian Philosophy, which deserves more than a passing notice. The learned author, Professor A. Beriedale Keith,—Regius Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in the University of Edinburgh and Translator of the Taittiriya Samhita and other works,—is already known to the world as a Sanskrit scholar of repute. In this present book, he has succeeded, to a considerable extent, in setting forth before his readers a scholastic interpretation of the Sankhya System, so far as it can be explained by one who appears to have no direct and intimate contact with Indian religious life. He seems to suffer,—as so many Sanskrit scholars from the West seem to do,—from the confident assurance hardly justified by the results, that he is able to get to the bottom of a whole vast system of Indian philosophy by the prolonged, dry study of our written books. Like a traveller on a railway train, he has succeeded in obtaining a few brief passing glimpses of the historical mile-stones, as he looks out of his carriage windows on his long journey from one end of India's philosophic boundary line to the other; and this peculiar method of painstaking and abstruse research, combined with his own self-confidence about results, causes him to imagine that when this feat has been accomplished nothing more is required and that the whole inner content of the Sankhya philosophy has, in this way, been laid bare.

Yet, all the while, he has been making a capital mistake, which those who live

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in India can point out to him. He seems never to have experienced,—and therefore never to have noticed,—that in our very midst to-day, at this very moment, the Sankhya philosophy is still exerting a markedly deep religious influence upon our common people. He does not seem to realise that this same religious influence has been going on doing its work among them during countless generations in the past. He seems altogether to have missed the point, that the diverse streams of philosophic cultures of India, starting from their one fountain-head in the Vedas and Upanishads, have fertilised the great plains of our Indian history, and have now reached us at length in their slow but sure descent, with all their wealth united, forming as it were one great lake, river, whose name is the religious heart of India.

Here, in this great life-current of our history, the Sankhya philosophy is no longer the Sankhya of the schools, divorced from the Vedanta and the Yoga system. Here, in this flow and movement of our historic life, the Sankhya philosophy ceases to carry with it the dead-weight of abstract formulae; it is a Sankhya, not of the letter, but of the spirit. Here, among our people, the Sankhya has its place, side by side with the Vedanta and the Yoga, in a religious synthesis. Only the spiritually enlightened Sadhaks can fully understand this gradual intermingling of the varied streams of our culture and this religious development of our past philosophic thought.

To restate my point of criticism, the scholarly author of the present book seems to be ignorant of the fact, that, in the world of Indian thought, side by side with the mere scholastic forms of the Sankhya system, there exists a living religious Sankhya, which is still of supreme importance to us in our daily modes of thinking and in our daily conduct of life. To give one example only, in spite of the Scholastic Sankhya (which denies that there is any *real* bond of connection between *Prakriti* and *Purusha*) there is a religious Sankhya which persists tenaciously in maintaining that *Prakriti* and *Purusha* are not two but one, as a being and its essential nature are one; that God is Father and Mother at the same time; that *Prakriti* and *Purusha* are really identical,—just like 'word' and 'meaning', if I may be permitted to quote, in this connexion, the analogy of Kalidas, the poet. This great formative idea, that God is *Prakriti* and *Purusha* in one, dominates the religious heart of even the peasant population throughout the length and breadth of our country. As for the theoretical chasm between God and Nature, no metaphysical system either of the West or of the East has ever yet succeeded in bridging it over by any formula. Religion alone can do this and religion has done it in India at least, if not anywhere else in the world.

If the author of the present work had known such an important fact as this one example I have given, and if he had been able personally to witness its hold upon the people of India today, then, in the course of his long abstruse discussion, he would surely have devoted one chapter at least to its elucidation. But it is just at this critical point that his library knowledge fails him; and therefore to us, who have that personal experience, the keystone of his structure appears to be wanting and we miss something vital in his treatment of the subject.

It is necessary to point out that, in his statement about Sankara, the learned author appears to have allowed an inaccuracy to creep into his text. He says "The doctrine of *Gunas* was distinctly repudiated by Sankara." While it is true that Sankara did not accept the scholastic *Sankhya system*, it appears also true that the doctrine of the three *Gunas*, together with their names, so pervades every creek and corner of all the philosophical works of India that Sankara uses it quite naturally in explanation of his own doctrine of Maya. In Sankara's well-known work *Vivekachudamani*, Sloka 110—112, we read as follows :—

अव्यक्तनाम्नी परमेशशक्तिः ।
अनाद्यविद्या त्रिगुणात्मिका परा ।
कार्यानुमेया सुधियैव माया
यया जगत् सर्वमिदं प्रसूयते ॥
सन्नाप्यसन्नाप्य भयात्मिका नो
* * * *
* * *
महाद्भुताऽनिर्वचनीय रूपा ॥
शुद्धाद्वय ब्रह्मविबोधनाश्या
* * * *

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रजस्तम: सत्त्वमिति प्रसिद्धा:

गुणास्तदीया: प्रथितै: स्वकार्यै: ॥

This might be translated literally,—"The transcendent power of the Great Lord known by the name of the unmanifested,—it is beginningless avidya (Nescience), whose very essence is the three *Gunas*; it is called by the learned, *Maya*, inferable by its products, from whom the world is brought forth; it is neither being, nor non-being, nor both... it is a thing of greatly wonderful and undefinable character.

"It is destroyed by the knowledge of the pure *Brahma* without a second...it is known everywhere as *Rajas*, *Tamas*, *Sattwa*; these three *Gunas* are revealed by their products."

Such a passage as this seems clearly to prove that Sankara accepted the three *Gunas* and actually gave them a place in his own system. It seems also to show how the great practical thoughts underlying the Sankhya philosophy penetrated Indian life and moulded it both consciously and unconsciously—in a permanent manner.

In conclusion, I feel it necessary to call attention to the very inadequate way in which Professor A. B. Keith has dealt with the question of the relation of the Greek philosophy to Indian thought. The evidence for a direct borrowing from India is far stronger than the author of this book supposes. To take the case of Pythagoras only,—what little we know about him points to such a direct borrowing from India. Throughout the Greek and Latin Classics, for instance, we find the curious prohibition about eating beans, which no one understood. In the *Kathaka Samhita* (*Yajur Veda*) 1st *Adhyaya*, 4th *Sthanaka*, 10th *Anuvak*, we find the passage "न माषाणां अश्नीयाद् अपेक्षा वै माषा:"

"Eat not beans, beans are unholy."

Again we have references to the Pythagorean prohibition concerning spitting in the fire, which Greeks and Romans could not understand. But in the *Chhandogya Upanishad*, 2nd *Adhyaya*, 12th *Khanda*, we read "न प्रत्यङ् ङग्नि माचमेत् न निष्ठीवेत्"

"Standing before the fire, spirt not water from the mouth, neither spit in it."

Once more, in the *Sulva Sutra* by Baudhayana Acharya, translated into English by Dr. Thibaut in the Journal of the Asiatic Society Vol, XLIV., we have the words :—

(i) "The cord which is stretched across (i.e. in the diagonal of) a square produces an area of double the size.

(ii) The cord stretched in the diagonal of an oblong produces both (areas) which the cords forming the longer and the shorter sides of the oblong produce separately."

These two propositions evidently constitute the famous 47th proposition of the 1st Book of Euclid, which Pythagoras is said to have discovered. How far it can be truly called a 'discovery' of Pythagoras the reader can judge for himself.

The evidence here given is only a small part of that which points to a direct connection between Greek philosophy and Indian. The subject is far too important to be dismissed in two or three pages. It needs a full and thorough investigation and a careful examination of existing texts. Indeed the whole history of the interrelation of India and Greece has yet to be critically written. When this is done, I feel very little doubt that the connexion will be found to be far closer than is generally supposed by western scholars.

NOTES

The Peace Treaty.

There are said to be between 800 and 1,000 clauses in the draft of the Peace Treaty. The complete text will fill 350 pages,—it is not stated of what size. Clauses referring to the disarmament of Germany alone number a hundred, while clauses relating to the Saar Basin also number a hundred.

The Havas Agency states that the German Government has accepted all the Allies' conditions and will send to Versailles a delegation headed by Count

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Brockdorf Rantzau, the total number of the German delegation being about 75.

As a monthly Review is not a newspaper and as a full summary of the most important clauses of the peace treaty may be expected to be available at no distant date, we refrain from commenting on the scraps of information hitherto doled out by Reuter. Comments on one or two points may, however, be made.

Mr. Lloyd George made himself responsible for the promise that the people of the German Colonies in Africa would be allowed to choose their own form of Government, that is to say, they would be allowed to exercise the right of self-determination. The Allies have receded from this promise. *To non-European people, directly or indirectly concerned in the war, is to have the right of self-determination.* The territories of some of these non-European peoples are to be administered as practically forming integral parts of adjoining British or other Allied European Colonies, whilst the rest are to be administered by the British or some other European Allied government under a mandate from the League of Nations. In plain language it may be said that the former class of territories are to be annexed, and the latter class may for all practical purposes be considered as annexed ;—which means that so far as non-European peoples are concerned the recent war was not fought for the world's freedom. If, however, the mandatory system works well, that is to say, if it works entirely and solely to the advantage of the dependent peoples, which is very doubtful, there would be some improvement in their lot. If the League of Nations can secure from the Mandatories periodical administration reports of the territories under their charge and the League can also take effective action whenever any report proves unsatisfactory, the system would work well and might in course of time lead to the autonomy or independence of these territories.

The Peace Conference or its child the League of Nations *may* thus be able to do some good to the quondam German dependencies in the long run. But it has not been able to do, has not in fact attempted to do, anything for the British and other Allied dependencies and protectorates. It has been taken for granted that their lot leaves nothing to be desired, which is not true. Nor is it proper to take it for granted that the British Government and the other Allied European Governments would do as much for their present dependencies and protectorates and do it as quickly, without any outside pressure, as they would have to do for territories to be governed by them as Mandatories, if the League of Nations can effectively exercise the right of obtaining reports from the Mandatories and taking action thereupon. It would have been only consistent and right if all European powers governing foreign territories from before the war could have been prevailed upon to administer them hereafter as mandatories. But as the British Empire is at present the strongest fighting unit, this obviously righteous course could not even be thought of.

It has, no doubt, been said that the Peace Conference or the League of Nations can not interfere in the internal affairs of a State. But Poland was as much a part of the German Empire, the Czecho-Slovak territory as much a part of Austria-Hungary, as Ireland, India and Egypt are parts of the British Empire. If the bringing about and recognition of the independence of the Poles and the Czecho-Slovaks was consistent with the political doctrines regulating the proceedings of the Peace Conference, why could it not be consistent with these doctrines to ask that Britain should henceforth govern India, for example, at least according to certain liberal and enlightened political principles (like those followed by America in the Philippines) agreed upon in the Peace Conference ? This would probably have wounded the *amor propre* of Britain, and no power could or can think of giving her offence. So though the war was professedly waged for the substitution of right for might—a very utopian or quixotic object, in the opinion of cynics, in the present state of the world—no State represented in the Peace Conference could afford to forget the relative mights of the States.

It is some consolation to find that at least one State, the U.S.A., has not fought for any territorial aggrandisement or made any acquisition of territory.

Korean Independence.

The following Reuter's telegram will be read with interest :—

PHILADELPHIA, APRIL, 16.

A petition for the recognition of the Provisional

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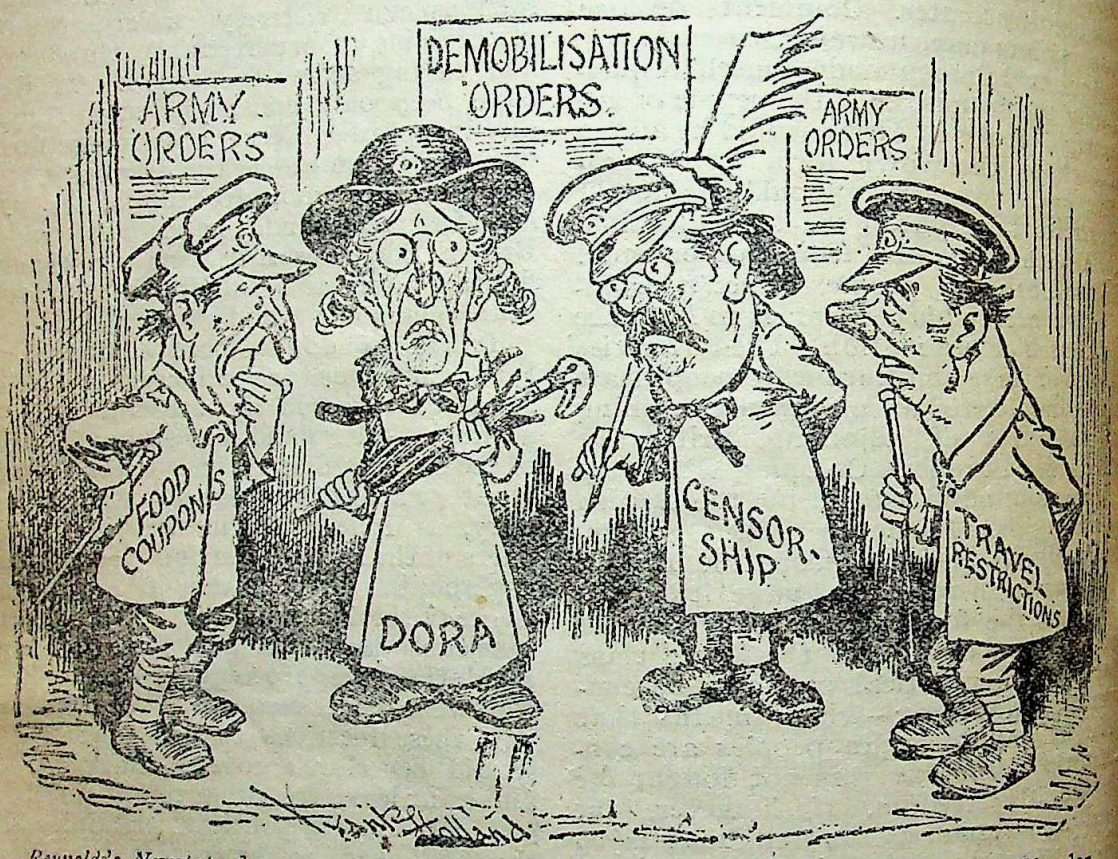
Government of the Korean republic has been sent to Paris by the Korean Congress here.—*Reuter.*

Korea is an Asiatic dependency of an Allied Asiatic power, Japan. We shall be greatly and delightfully surprised if the petition is justly disposed of.

Philippine Independence.

President Wilson has declared that the time has come for the Philippine Islands to obtain independence. Nothing less was expected. America has set a noble example for all dominant nations to follow.

Indian Hospitality.



Reynolds's Newspaper.] [London

Awaiting Demobilisation.

"Altho" to us it may seem sad
We mustn't be surprised
If everybody else is glad
When we're demobilised !"

The cartoon printed above has appeared in *Reynolds's Newspaper*, London. We have not had any food coupons, but there is a food-controller or director or controller of civil supplies, or some officer or officers whose business it is to decide how much food should be imported and how much exported, and by whom. This sort of activity has made food dear in Madras and at the same time filled the coffers of a European firm in that province. Moreover, as there is famine in many districts of the United Provinces, Behar and Orissa, Bengal, Bombay, Central India, and Madras, the people are worse off than if there were food coupons. So in India, unlike England, the presiding deity of Food Coupons need not look anxious just now ;—he is not going to be demobilised.

Dora is the pet name given to that amiable fairy, the Defence of the Realm Act, in England. Her twin sister in India is the Defence of India Act. Recent events show that this Act is very much alive and kicking. While Dora looks dolorous in anticipation of demobilisation, her twin sister in India ought to be in high jinks, for she has been re-incarnated (or duplicated), even before her demise, in Rowlatt Act No. 1 of 1919. So in this case, England is the Land of Regrets and India the Land of Rejoicing. Censorship has not yet been *formally* demobilised in India ; and, even when it

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ually demobilised, the C. I. D. may be fully trusted to keep it up. So in this most fortunate of countries, the Guardian Angel of censorship need not look morose. Even before the war, 99 per cent. of Indian passengers were accustomed to be carried like *Non-living* (*pace* Sir J. C. Bose) Goods. And during and after the war, up till now, travelling facilities for this majority have been still further cut down and the accommodation provided in lieu of increased fares has been still more inadequate, if possible, than before and of a disgusting kind as regards cleanliness. Therefore the Patron Saint of Travel Restrictions in India need not look cross and ferocious in apprehension of imminent demobilisation.

We are going to have a good many disabled European soldiers, officers, red cross women, and others dumped upon us. Surely we can be hospitable to Food Coupons, Dora, Censorship, and Travel Restrictions, too.

Censorship has been particularly kind to us, i.e., to the Editor of this Review. It has deprived us of almost all our foreign subscribers and exchanges. We rejoice over this involuntary sacrifice, as we are firmly convinced that if our Review had been allowed to reach *all* our foreign subscribers and exchanges, and all our foreign exchanges to reach us, the Allies could not have come out triumphant in the war. Anglo-Indian [old style] journalistic traducers of educated Indians should note that we and our contributors have thus helped to win the war.

"Ramdas and Sivaji."

In the Introduction to H. A. Acworth's *Ballads of the Marathas* (pp. xxvi-xxvii) it is stated that Sivaji had the highest reverence for Ramdas, "who was his guru, and whom he invariably consulted before every great undertaking. He is said to have given a striking proof of his respect by making over to Ramdas his whole dominions in free gift, in token of which he adopted as his royal standard the religious flag or Bhugwa Zenda. The story goes that from the fort of Satara Shiwaji saw Ramdas begging in the city below. He went to his chitnis (head writer), Balaji Abaji, and dictated an order, sealed it with the royal signet, and when Ramdas came to the palace to beg, placed it in his wallet. Ramdas, on opening the paper, found it contained a gift of Shiwaji's whole kingdom. He asked the king what he proposed to do after he was dispossessed of his dominions, to which Shiwaji replied that he would pass his life in the service of his preceptor. 'Very well,' said Ramdas, 'follow we now.' He threw his wallet over the king's shoulder, and ordered him to ask alms. They went from house to house, and when they had collected grain enough, they went to the river, where Ramdas baked two cakes, one of which was eaten by him and one by Shiwaji. He then inquired how Shiwaji liked this new calling, to which the reply was that he was perfectly satisfied with it. Having then inquired whether Shiwaji would obey his commands, and being answered in the affirmative, he bade him go back to his palace and rule his kingdom for his preceptor. The monarch obeyed, and from that day, as a sign that the kingdom belonged to an ascetic, he adopted the ascetic's orange banner."

The frontispiece to this issue illustrates this anecdote of Ramdas and Sivaji.

Sir Rabindranath Tagore's Letter to Mr. Gandhi.

On the 12th April last, Sir Rabindranath Tagore wrote the following letter to Mr. M. K. Gandhi, from Santiniketan :—

DEAR MAHATMAJI,

Power in all its forms is irrational, it is like the horse that drags the carriage blind-folded. The moral element in it is only represented in the man who drives the horse. Passive resistance is a force which is not necessarily moral in itself; it can be used against truth as well as for it. The danger inherent in all force grows stronger when it is likely to gain success, for then it becomes temptation.

I know your teaching is to fight against evil by the help of the good. But such a fight is for heroes and not for men led by impulses of the moment. Evil on one side naturally begets evil on the other, injustice leading to violence and insult to vengefulness. Unfortunately such a force has already been started; and, either through panic or through wrath, our authorities have shown us their claws, whose sure effect is to drive some of us into the secret path of resentment and others into utter demoralisation.

In this crisis you, as a great leader of men, have stood among us to proclaim your faith in the ideal which you know to be that of India, the ideal which is both against the cowardliness of hidden revenge and the cowed submissiveness of the terror-stricken. You have said, as Lord Buddha has done in his time and for all time to come :

'Akkodhena jine kodham, asadhum sadhuna jine.'

'Conquer anger by the power of non-anger and evil by the power of good.'

This power of good must prove its truth and

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strength by its fearlessness, by its refusal to accept any imposition which depends for its success upon its power to produce frightfulness and is not ashamed to use its machines of destruction to terrorise a people completely disarmed. We must know that moral conquest does not consist in success, that failure does not deprive it of its dignity and worth. Those who believe in spiritual life know that to stand against wrong which has overwhelming material power behind it is victory itself, it is the victory of the active faith in the ideal in the teeth of evident defeat.

I have always felt, and said accordingly, that the great gift of freedom can never come to a people through charity. We must win it before we can own it. And India's opportunity for winning it will come to her when she can prove that she is morally superior to the people who rule her by their right of conquest. She must willingly accept her penance of suffering, the suffering which is the crown of the great. Armed with her utter faith in goodness, she must stand unabashed before the arrogance that scoffs at the power of spirit.

And you have come to your motherland in the time of her need to remind her of her mission, to lead her in the true path of conquest, to purge her present day politics of its feebleness which imagines that it has gained its purpose when it struts in the borrowed feathers of diplomatic dishonesty.

This is why I pray most fervently that nothing that tends to weaken our spiritual freedom may intrude into our marching line, that martyrdom for the cause of truth may never degenerate into fanaticism for mere verbal forms, descending into the self-deception that hides itself behind sacred names.

With these few words for an introduction allow me to offer the following as a poet's contribution to your noble work :—

I

Let me hold my head high in this faith that thou art our shelter, that all fear is mean distrust of thee.

Fear of man ? But what man is there in this world, what king, O King of Kings, who is thy rival, who has hold of me for all time and in all truth ?

What power is there in this world to rob me of freedom ? For do not thy arms reach the captive through the dungeon-walls bringing unfettered release to the soul ?

And must I cling to this body in fear of death, as a miser to his barren treasure ? Has not this spirit of mine the eternal call to the feast of everlasting life ?

Let me know that all pain and death are shadows of the moment ; that the dark force which sweeps between me and thy truth is but the mist before the sunrise ; that thou alone art mine for ever and greater than all pride of strength that dares to mock my manhood with its menace.

II

Give me the supreme courage of love, this is my prayer, the courage to speak, to do, to suffer at thy will to leave all things or be left alone.

Give me the supreme faith of love, this is my prayer, the faith of the life in death, of the victory in defeat, of the power hidden in the frailness of beauty, of the dignity of pain that accepts hurt, but disdains to return it.

Very sincerely yours

(Sd.) RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

Spying and the Atmosphere of Pure Study.

Some time ago Mr. C. F. Andrews wrote a letter to the Press strongly denouncing the Rowlatt Act and mentioned incidentally the fact that he had himself been subjected to spying, two of the spies being his own students. Thereupon some Anglo-Indian papers demanded that he should give particulars. This Mr. Andrews has now done in the following letter :—

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE STATESMAN."

SIR,—In a recent issue you quoted an article from the *Madras Mail* throwing doubt on the veracity of my statements about "Government Spies." I have waited till my return to Delhi, in order to get accurately the particulars as to the dates and names and places which the article you quoted required from me, to substantiate the truth of what I wrote. The facts are as follows:—

The time when I caught red-handed a Government spy searching my private papers was during the Deputy Commissionership of Mr. Humphreys in the year 1907. Mr. Humphreys was at Cambridge with me and a personal friend. I caught the man (who had come through a back door) with his hand actually in my study-table drawer, and he confessed that he had been sent by the Police. I was naturally indignant and sent at once to the Deputy Commissioner demanding an instant apology. A mounted policeman came back post-haste with the following words in a letter :—"My dear Andrews, it's nothing to do with me. It's those d——d C.I.D. people!" The epithet he used made any further apology from himself unnecessary.

The two authenticated cases of Government spies being planted in the college, where I was teaching, were as follows :—The former was a student named Gokal Chand, whose testimony appeared in the Delhi Club Bomb case. In the evidence it was made clear that he had been tempted by the C.I.D. to bring them specimens of his comrades' handwriting and to act as a spy in other ways. What made the case more vile was this, that the boy was quite young. The evidence he gave on these points at the trial was not challenged or disputed.

The second case was that of an exceptionally bright Muhammadan lad, whom I fully trusted as a friend. As he has, since that time, confessed fully his past misconduct, I do not think it right to give his name to the general public ; but I am perfectly ready to give it to any one who might wish, for good reasons, to pursue this inquiry.—Yours, etc.,

C. F. ANDREWS.

Delhi, April 20, 1919

The employment of students as spies is, no doubt, in pursuit of the ideal of creating an atmosphere of pure study,—an ideal on which not a few Viceroys, Governors, Lieutenant-Governors, and Chief Commissioners have held forth time and again. We have heard of student spies, and even professor spies, in other places, too, than Delhi.

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"The Amrita Bazar Patrika" and the Press Act.

The security of Rs. 5,000 taken from the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* some years ago has been forfeited, which means that it has been compelled to pay a fine of Rs. 5,000 *without any sort of trial*, and that its usefulness and its business must come to an end unless it deposits a further heavy security, which has been fixed at Rs. 10,000 and has since been deposited.

In Lord Morley's *Recollections* (Vol. II, pp. 259-60), we find a letter written on May 28, 1908, by that ex-Secretary of State for India to the then Viceroy Lord Minto, in which it is said :

"I have been very busy for a good many hours about your *Press proposals*. Luckily a Cabinet had been fixed for the forenoon to-day, and to the Cabinet I propounded the case ; that is to say, I told them the provisions desired by the G. of I., with the modifications that I had to suggest, after working the matters over, under the sensible and highly competent legal guidance of Sir Lawrence Jenkins. In the Cabinet, Ripon was very restive, remembering his own reversal of Lytton's Press policy. I do believe our introduction of a *judicial* element at every stage is an improvement, apart from general principles of a Free Press on the one hand, and the maintenance of Law and Order on the other. In the first place, it will tend to reconcile liberal opinion (not in a party sense) here, and that is something. In the second place, it will make it easier for the Moderates to resist the Extremist attack. Such an attack is sure to come, and it is our business, as I think, not to do anything that will give substance to Extremist taunts and reproaches against their Moderate opponents. Of course, our proceeding must be effective, but I do not think that any of the modifications suggested here will at all impair your purposes."

After reading the above, well may Indian journalists wonder what became of "a *judicial* element at every stage" of proceedings under the Press Act. Did the *judicial* element at every stage evaporate and vanish into thin air while crossing the Red Sea, after it had served its purpose of conciliating "English opinion" ? What, too, has become of the pledges of the then law member who is now Lord Sinha ? Without an open judicial proceeding no reasonable man can be convinced that the forfeiture of security is just. But probably the bureaucracy do not care to convince but only to punish and prevent the publication of that which they do not consider proper. In the case of the *Patrika*, the public will remember only the sterling services, rendered by it to the popular cause, in politics ; very few will have either the opportunity or the occasion to read the articles for which it has lost Rs. 5,000. Even the discussion of the justice or injustice of the executive order of forfeiture is not lawfully feasible ; for every copy of the issues of the *Patrika* containing those articles has been declared forfeited, so that any one quoting from them in course of the discussion would render himself guilty of possessing proscribed literature.

The *Patrika* once editorially wrote that the editor of this Review was guilty of *lying* ; its policy in matters of social reform is directly opposed to ours ; the unfair partisanship displayed and the ceaseless personalities indulged in both by the *Patrika* and the *Bengalee* are repugnant to us ; the unfavourable criticism of the Government's excise policy and at the same time the publication of advertisements of alcoholic liquors by both the *Patrika* and the *Bengalee* cannot but be regretted by sincere patriots. But in spite of all these facts, we cannot but recognise that in politics the *Patrika* has consistently and courageously espoused the cause of the people, has boldly exposed bureaucratic vagaries and high-handedness, and has never sought to bask in the sunshine of official smiles. Bengal, nay the whole of India, would be the poorer for the disappearance of the *Patrika*, should such a thing ever come to pass.

Moderates and Extremists.

Incidentally, the extract from Lord Morley's letter given above, and other similar passages in his *Recollections* remind one of the Divide and Rule policy which prompts British statesmen constantly to pit Moderates against Extremists. Not that they really care for Moderate opinion any more than they do for Extremist opinion ; they would seem only to want to use the name of the Moderates for doing what they want to do or not doing what they do not want to do.

A recent example will prove the truth of our observation. In reply to a question asked in the House of Commons, it was officially stated that protests against the Rowlatt Act and requests that it should not be sanctioned have been received from individuals and associations in India, but that no such communication has been received from the Moderate party. This attempt to take shelter behind the name of the Moderates is disingenuous. For, as

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has been pointed out by the *Leader*, the *Bengalee* (which are Moderate organs) and other papers, neither the Moderate nor the Extremist members of the Viceroy's council supported this particular legislative measure. No Moderate newspaper has written in favour of it. And seeing that the Extremist party, *as a party*, have not sent their protest against the Act to Mr. Montagu, there is no point in saying that the Moderate *party* has not protested against it.

It cannot always be said definitely whether, whenever an Englishman draws a line of demarcation between Extremists and Moderates—in truth there is no such definite line—and wishes that there should be no *rapprochement* between the two, there is any underlying unworthy motive. But the attempt to draw such a line often occurs even to otherwise fair-minded Englishmen, because perhaps in their own country they have been accustomed generally only to party politics. In support of our assertion we quote a passage from "*England and India*" by Mr. R. Gordon Milburn, who has tried to write his book impartially. The passage is taken from the second chapter in which a conversation with Mr. G. K. Gokhale is reported.

"Milburn :.....There are some Indian leaders we might be quite willing to work with, but—

Gokhale : (*much moved*) : I know what you mean—you want us to repudiate the Extremists. But that is a thing we could never do, and it is an insult to demand it of us. How would you like us to demand that you should never dine with such and such Anglo-Indian civilians ?

M : But surely, Mr. Gokhale, what Anglo-Indians ask for is not that you should abandon all social intercourse with Extremists.

G : Well, perhaps not. But what do you want of us, then ? It is well known that our political opinions are different from theirs. If we were to repudiate the Extremists, political life would become a hell. They would retaliate, and Europeans would simply stand by and watch us fight. We do fight, as it is, now. If you read the Vernacular Press you would know how bitterly they attack us. But we do not repudiate them, and you have no right to demand that we should repudiate a brother-Indian. We would not accept European co-operation on such terms. *Unity is necessary for the future.* Both sides are struggling to win the rising generation. Neither I nor Mr. Surendranath Banerjea is immortal. *We do not want to leave India* divided and in disunion. [The italics are ours.]

Mr. Gokhale then rose to go, and, becoming calmer, added : "I don't think much is likely to come of your idea of the co-operation of Anglo-Indians with Indians. We Indians are very suspicious. It may be very wrong of us, but we cannot help it. When any Englishman makes himself very friendly to us we can't help thinking that he wants to persuade us to give up something. I don't think there are many Indians who would join you. A man like Mookerjee* might." Pp. 20–21.

We have always tried to avoid thinking and writing upon party lines. We have tried to recognise the good and criticise the evil in all public activities irrespective of considerations of party. Calm thinking cannot but convince every sane man that in things in which they agree Hindus and Musalmans and men belonging to other sects should work together and that Moderates and Extremists should co-operate in all things in which they agree,—however much they might differ in other matters. And both when Mr. Gokhale was alive and now, there *are* many things in which men of different religious persuasions and political parties *do* agree. They alone are the true servants of India who try to bring about united action, believing that unity is essentially necessary for the present and for the future. We do not care a straw for party triumphs and personal triumphs. Every Ram, Shyam and Hari among us, however "eminent" or "prominent," will die, and be forgotten, more or less or entirely ; but India will live and must live. Blessed are those who would live only in her life of enlightenment and beneficence to mankind. And they alone would live in that life who would be able to get rid of all selfish considerations in their individual or collective life-work.

Mr. Gokhale indignantly refused to repudiate any brother-Indian. It is deeply to be deplored that our political activities are not marked by this eminently honourable and patriotic spirit. At present, the parties are practically repudiating one another almost to a man. The least that can be hoped for is that this suicidal partisan spirit will not be carried to England, too, by the delegates of different parties, but that they will work together in unison there.

Sir J. C. Bose's New Discovery.

A new discovery of great scientific interest has just been made by Sir J. C. Bose in his Research Institute, which proves that plants in general perceive and respond to long ether waves used in wireless signalling. Plants are extremely sensitive to the ultra-violet rays of the vari-

* Now Sir Rajendranath Mookerjee. [—The Author.]

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material spectrum, whose wave lengths are shorter than a hundred-thousandth part of an inch. Prof. Bose has shown that plants also perceive and respond to the invisible heat rays, of wave lengths of about a ten-thousandth part of an inch, at the other end of the visible spectrum. Heat rays are perceived by us as sensation of warmth. But we have no organs to perceive the wireless messages, where the electric waves employed vary from many yards to miles in length. Sir J. C. Bose's recent discoveries prove that the range of perception in plants is far more extended than in human beings. His newly invented Balanced Crescograph gives striking records of response of various seedlings to those long waves. Two additional methods of mechanical and electrical response give independent corroboration of his results. The sign of response is found to be either positive or negative according to the intensity of the impulse received.

The devotee of pure science cares only for the scientific interest and value of a new discovery or of a new invention. It is for others to think of utilitarian uses; though, as in the case of Lord Kelvin, sometimes the same person has made both the scientific discovery and reaped the worldly advantage accruing therefrom. When Faraday worked at the foundations of the science of electricity, he did not perhaps dream how electricity would one day help in changing the face of the inhabited portion of the earth.

We are led to these reflections by the absence of any efforts in India on any one's part to utilise Prof. Bose's discoveries and inventions in furthering the causes of medicine, agriculture, &c. Considering that he has proved that drugs act in the same way on plants as on animals, why should not the properties of medicines be tested on plants? If such experiments succeed, as we hope they may, the methods of the vivisector may, at least in part, be replaced by those of the plant physiologist and plant pathologist. As laymen we cannot say whether this is feasible, but it seems to us that it is. Similarly Prof. Bose's new balanced crescograph may be used to test the effects of different kinds of manures, of a humid and a dry atmosphere, of different degrees of heat, of sunlight or other light and of its absence, of electricity, of different coloured lights, and of various other factors and conditions, on plant growth. We do not know why crescographs are not being used in experimental farms in India. They ought to be, as agriculture is the greatest and most important industry in India.

A Royal Society Research Grant to Dr. R. Datta.

To the readers of the *Modern Review* the name of Dr. Rasik Lal Datta, D. SC., is more or less familiar. He is one of the most brilliant products of the Indian School of Chemisty. It will, no doubt, gladden the hearts of those who are interested in the progress of scientific education in India to learn that Dr. Datta has been the recipient of a handsome grant of £75 from the Royal Society of London to enable him to continue his work on "The Determination of Detonating Temperatures" begun in collaboration with Mr. Nihar Ranjon Chatterjee, M.SC., of Dacca College. This marked appreciation of Dr. Datta's work by the premier British scientific society adds a new feather to his cap. It is no wonder that the Council of the Chemical Society of London in congratulating Dr. Ray on his recent knighthood wishes him success and long life so that he may continue the "unique work" of promoting scientific research in India.

Resolutions of the All-India Congress Committee.

The following resolutions were passed at the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee held in the Bombay Presidency Association rooms on the 20th and 21st April last, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya presiding:—

(1) That the All-India Congress Committee emphatically protests against the passing of what is commonly known as the Rowlatt Act and, in view of the fact that the entire Indian public opinion is strongly opposed to the measure, the Committee urges upon the Secretary of State for India to advise His Majesty the King-Emperor to disallow it.

(2) That the All-India Congress Committee deplores and condemns all acts of violence against persons and property which were recently committed at Amritsar, Ahmedabad, Viramgam and other places and appeals to the people to maintain law and order and to help in the restoration of public tranquillity and urges upon Government to deal with the situation in a sympathetic and conciliatory manner immediately reversing the present policy of repression.

(3) That the All-India Congress Committee places on record its strong condemnation of orders under the Defence of India Act by the Government of the Punjab, the Administration of Delhi and by the Government of India against a person of the well-known noble character and antecedents of Mr. M.K. Gandhi. The committee cannot help feeling that

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if these orders had not been passed some of the regrettable events which followed them may not have happened. The Committee requests the Government of India to withdraw its own order and to ask the Local Governments in question to do the same.

(4) That a committee consisting of the gentlemen named below, namely, the President, Mr. Jinnah, Mr. Jayakar, Mr. Kasturi Ranga Iyengar and Mr. Patel be appointed to prepare a statement :—(a) replying to the communique issued by the Government of India dated the 13th instant, in which they justified the Rowlatt Act, condemned agitation against it and characterised it as calculated to mislead people (b) stating the various causes that have led up to the present grave and deplorable state of things all over the country and (c) making a demand for a public enquiry into the events that have happened in Delhi, Punjab, Bombay and Calcutta, drawing particular attention to certain measures reported to have been taken by the executive which seem obviously objectionable, such as, dropping of bombs from aeroplanes, use of machine guns and whipping, and submit it to the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State for India and the Viceroy.

(5) That the All-India Congress Committee hereby authorises the members of the Congresss Deputation proceeding to England to place the actual political situation consequent on the passing of the Rowlatt Act before the Secretary of State and the British public and to urge disallowance of the Rowlatt Act, the reversal of the policy of repression and the immediate adoption of the policy of conciliation and reform.

We support all those resolutions which urge the people and their leaders to take action. We are averse to protesting and petitioning.

We urge that the statement to be prepared in reply to the Government *communique* justifying the Rowlatt Act, should be drawn up and published with the utmost expedition consistent with fulness, accuracy and careful composition.

The Demand for a Public Enquiry.

The demand for a public enquiry under official auspices made by the All-India Congress Committee has been also made in the indigenous press of India before and after the passing of the resolutions by the committee. We could have supported this demand if we had been confident that it would be possible to have a really independent committee, entirely official in its personnel or consisting of both officials and non-officials, that it would be possible to have a full and public enquiry made by such a committee, and that effect would be given to its recommendations. We do not remember that the Government of India ever before appointed any such committee of enquiry whose personnel, procedure and conclusions were accepted by the public as satisfactory. Enquiries conducted under official auspices have hitherto been of the white-washing variety. We are, therefore, against the expenditure of public money on any such committee. The amount needed for conducting such an enquiry may be more usefully spent in increasing the emoluments of the Indian Civil Service or some other impecunious and half-starved Imperial Service. We support independent non-official enquiries.

The Namasudras of Bengal.

Mr. B. Ray, Joint Secretary, Calcutta Namasudra Association, has written us another letter in reply to the comments on his first letter which appeared in our last issue. As in our opinion the publication of his second letter will not be of any advantage to his community, we refrain from doing so. From what some educated Namasudra gentlemen have told us it appears that the Namasudra contention is that the opprobious name given to the community by those outside the community is highly resented, as it certainly may, that the Namasudras do not call themselves by that name, that the identification of the Namasudras with the Chandalas is wrong, &c. We have already said in our last issue what we had to say on the matter. As we are entirely against giving any name to a community which it resents as derogatory to its self-respect, we are not at all interested in disputing the contention of the Namasudra community. In fact, we should be pleased if it should be established that the Namasudras have the same status as Brahmins or even a higher status, according to the traditions or rules of the caste system. We do not believe in caste, and do not care who is called by what caste name.

Society for the Promotion of National Education.

All endeavours for the promotion of good education deserve support. The Society for the Promotion of National Education has been making efforts for providing good education along lines somewhat different from those followed in the State, State-aided, and State-recognised institutions in the country. It is, therefore, encouraging to find that, in spite of the agitation against the Rowlatt Act, the Satyagraha movement, and the disturbances in various provinces, which occupied public attention during the last month, the Society received an appreciative

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amount of pecuniary help from the public during National Education Week, which lasted from April 6th to 13th, both days inclusive. It is able this year to point to considerable progress made in the direction of establishing experimental institutions of all types. During the year it has established: (1) an Agricultural College with a science department, under the principalship of an M.Sc. of Manchester University; (2) a Women's Training College under the principalship of a leading expert from the U. S. A.; (3) a National Training College for men teachers under the supervision of Mr. G. S. Arundale, M.A. (Cantab.); (4) a National College of Commerce under the principalship of Mr. B. Sanjiva Rao, M.A. (Cantab.); (5) a National High School for boys under the headmastership of a very experienced M.A. of Allahabad University, assisted by an unusually qualified staff; and (6) a National High School for girls under the guidance of Miss F. Arundale, who has for many years been principal of the Benares Girls' School. In addition the society has subsidised a number of institutions, including the Andhra Jatiya Kalashala, Masulipatam, and it has taken over almost all the institutions of the Theosophical Educational Trust—giving financial assistance to them. For example, it makes a grant of Rs. 1,000 per mensem for the Girls' College and Girls' School in Benares. Thus the Society has a record of very good work to its credit.

Scholarships for Education in Foreign Countries.

Institutions are wanting in India which can give the highest modern education in all branches of learning. For this reason it is necessary for capable young Indian men and women to go abroad for the highest education in the subjects of their choice. But even if in future India can provide herself with the highest grade of educational institutions, as we hope she will be able to, going abroad for education will still be necessary; for no man or woman can be said to be truly educated whose experience of the world and of educational institutions is confined to his or her own country.

For Indian women, who wish to be useful to society, it is of the greatest importance to go abroad and receive education and spend some time in some advanced free country where women can freely move about and be useful both in their home lives as well as by rendering social service of some kind. Both Indian men and women should, of course, go abroad only after they have been well grounded in the fundamentals of Indian culture and spirituality.

The State in India has not yet adequately realised and done its duty in the province of education, either in the matter of providing a sufficient number of institutions of all grades or in giving a sufficient number of scholarships to young men and women to enable them to receive education abroad. For men these scholarships are not even as many as would enable one young man in each major and minor province to annually go to some foreign university, which means that they are not even a dozen in number. For women of pure Indian descent there is only one such scholarship. Supposing, however, there were even a dozen such scholarships for our young men and women, they must be considered too few for a vast country like the British Indian Empire, having a population of some 245 millions. In the Philippine Islands, with a population of only 9 millions, there are 124 scholarships for Filipino students of both sexes to enable them to receive education in the United States of America. We reproduce below a list of these scholarships from the *Burma Observer*:

Governor General's Office: Bureau of Civil service, one employee, with B. A. degree, to take up English and English literature, history and economics, political science, business efficiency and management, and to make an investigation of United States civil service methods.

Department of Public Instruction—total 43, to be apportioned thus: Education, 39: 12 to study normal training, 10 English, 5 supervision, 5 physical education, 1 commercial, 2 agricultural, 1 nautical, 1 marine engineering, 1 deaf and blind, and 1 trade: all these to be their Normal school or Philippine university graduates; and Philippine health service: 4.

Department of Finance—12, to be apportioned thus: customs, 4 to study industrial engineering, mechanical engineering, customs supervision, tariff, loading and discharge of cargo, and free zones; internal revenue, 2 to study economics and finance; treasury, 3 to study actuary, business administration in accounting, and business administration in banking; and printing, 3 craftsmen, not necessarily school graduates, to study technique of printing and office management.

Department of Justice—11, 1 from prisons to study penology, prisons and reformatory administration, and 10 from the Philippine Library and Museum, to study the organization and equipment of the Depart-

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ment of State of the United States and diplomacy, library social organization and activities, social and economic problems, political and administrative science. Of these 10, five are already in the United States.

Philippine University—10, to be apportioned thus: 3 from engineering, 2 from agriculture, 1 from veterinary, 2 from medicine and 2 from liberal arts.

Department of Agriculture—18, to be apportioned as follows, each of the pensionados to study the following courses.

Bureau of Agriculture: Comparative rice culture, Economic Entomology, Plant Pathology, Sugar, Tobacco, Crop reporting (to be combined with agricultural journalism).

Bureau of Forestry: Forestry course, specializing on Forest Management, Forestry course, specializing on Lumbering, Forestry course specializing on Wood Technology, Forestry course specializing on Logging Engineering.

Bureau of Lands: Investigation concerning the methods followed in the States in the administrations of mineral lands and incidentally of other classes of lands, specially in the economic questions connected therewith.

Weather Bureau: Modern Meteorology, Modern Seismology.

Bureau of Science: Geology, Industrial inorganic chemistry, Bacteriology, Cerology, Mineralogy and Metallurgy.

Department of Commerce and Communications: —14, to be distributed among the bureaus under it, in this form: public works: 4 to study irrigation and structural engineering; posts, 3 to take up general postal work and administration, telegraph and cable service and wireless; coast and geodetic survey, 2 to study lithographic methods and map printing; and commerce and industry, 5 of whom 4 shall be B. A. and 1 a lawyer, to study commercial administration and organization, industrial administration and organization, foreign trade service, and stock and produce exchange.

Department of the Interior—15, to be divided as follows: executive bureau, 4 to study political science, political economy and local government; Constabulary 3, must be graduates from the Constabulary Academy at Baguio, to study military infantry, military accounting and small arms; Philippine General Hospital, 4, 1 physician and 3 nurses, one of whom is already in the States; Welfare Board, 3, to study campaigns against tuberculosis, protection of infants, social service, civic organizations; and government orphanage, 1, to study administration and organization of dependent children.

From a very interesting article by Adelia H. Taffinder published in the *Commonweal* we learn that "over 2000 college men from Latin-American Republics are mingling in class-room, laboratory, and athletic field with their cousins in North America. *Filipino students, 600 strong, are found in the universities from California to Maine.* They are becoming enthusiastic about the organisation of an Inter-Island student conference in the Philippine Islands." "As a result of recent enquiry into this subject, information is given that *there are fully a thousand Chinese students in the institutions of highest learning in the United States. About half of them are Government scholarship men*, representing every province of China. *The Japanese Empire is represented in North American student life, by over 1200 members; while about 300 Korean students are studying here.* An estimate is given of over 5500 foreign-born students, from forty nations, enrolled in the Colleges and Universities of this nation and Canada. There is also a considerable number in preparatory and high schools, trades schools, and business colleges. *Many of these students have received Government scholarships.*"

The Indian Social Reformer has informed the public that the university of Michigan in America has ten scholarships for Indian women. Applications for these scholarships may be sent to Mr. K. Natarajan, editor of that paper, in Bombay. A letter from the head of the institution where the applicant has last studied should be included with the application. Further information may be had from the same gentleman. We understand the State University of Iowa in America has also one or two scholarships for Indian women. We do not know of any British university which has any such scholarship, though Britain ought to feel far more interested in India than America, as British power and prosperity have depended in their origin and continuance far more on the possession of India than on any other circumstance.

We should not, however, look abroad for help with mendicant eyes. The people of India should themselves, in addition to founding and endowing schools and colleges, found scholarships to enable young men and women to receive education in foreign universities.

Hindus in the United States Army.

In our last issue we made a mistake in saying that Duggu Ram was the only Hindu in the United States Army. Mr. R. Ahmed, D. D. S., points out that there are more. He has sent us a copy of *Young India* (for August 1918) which is published monthly by the India Home Rule League of America from 1400 Broadway, New York. In this magazine there is an incomplete list of the men who

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adopted Uncle Sam's uniform and fought for the war aims of the United States. This list contains the following 15 names: Ahmad Ali, K. C. Kerwell, D. N. Mitra, Amulya Mukerji, S. A. Mullah, M. K. Pandit, K. H. Patel, R. D. Shelke, C. L. Singh, Devi Singh, Iswar Singh, Haqiqat Singh, Karm Singh, Sher Singh, Lab Singh Tehara. To these Mr. R. Ahmed adds the names of Lieut. Dhiren Roy, Lieut. B. Sarma and Chandra Singh. It is to be noticed that some of our boys got commissions, too, in the U. S. Army. Considering that there are only about 125 Hindu Students (any native of India, Hindu or Musalman or of any other sect, is called Hindu in America) in the American Universities, those of them who volunteered for fighting for the "world's freedom" do not form a negligible proportion.

Negro Officers in U. S. Army.

Young India of New York writes that "While ten million negroes in this country are represented by about a thousand commissioned officers in the United States Army from Lieutenant to Colonel, over 315 millions Indians have only 9 commissioned officers in the British Indian Army—mostly Lieutenants."

Osmania University.

We thank Mr. A. Hydari, Secretary to His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Government in the Judicial, Police and General Departments, for a copy of the English translation of the Royal Charter of the Osmania University. It cannot but be a source of genuine pleasure to find the Nizam's government taking an enlightened interest in education.

It is also noteworthy that "the chief characteristic of the Osmania University will be that instruction will be imparted in all branches of learning through the medium of the Urdu language, while a study of the English language and literature will be compulsory." Osmania University will thus be the first university in India where high education will be given and the results of research will be recorded in a Vernacular of India. This cannot but enrich Urdu literature, particularly as the translation department of the university is well-staffed and thousands of rupees are being spent for it. All this will mean a great advantage to the Urdu-speaking population of India, and also to the Hindi-speaking public; for Urdu and Hindi are practically the same language, written in two different scripts and with greater or less infusion of Sanskrit or Sanskritic and Arabic-Persian words.

While all this can be said in praise of this University, it must also be pointed out that Urdu is the vernacular of a very small proportion of the Nizam's subjects. The vast majority of them will have as much difficulty in learning Urdu as in learning English. In pursuing higher studies in Osmania University they will, therefore, have to learn two languages which are not their vernaculars, *viz.*, Urdu and English. This is not desirable. If in any Province or State of India, it is decided to impart education through a vernacular medium, the vernacular should be that which is spoken by the largest number of its inhabitants. Other vernaculars may, in addition, be chosen for the purpose, if sufficient funds are forthcoming. It is unjust to spend the taxes received from the entire population for the convenience of a very small minority and in a way which causes inconvenience to and places a handicap on the vast majority.

The constitution of the university is overwhelmingly official, whereas it ought to have been popular, either actually from the present time or prospectively in the future. The Chancellor and the Vice-Chancellor are to be state officials. The council, of from 9 to 11 members, is to consist of at least 6 officials and the principals of constituent colleges, the remaining members being appointed by the Government. The senate, of from 40 to 60 members, will have as its first members only those who are appointed for a period of two years by Government. After the lapse of two years, it shall be composed of—(*a*) The Vice-Chancellor and the other members of the Council, (*b*) The University Professors, (*c*) Four members elected by the Senate, two from the list of registered graduates and two from members of the Faculties, (*d*) The remaining members nominated by the Chancellor, provided that the election and nomination of persons as Fellows shall be so regulated as to secure in the Senate a majority of persons connected with or following the profession of education.

This last proviso would prove a salutary one, provided the majority of educa-

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tionists mentioned therein were not government servants.

It may be that the constitution of the Senate has been made predominantly official, because in Hyderabad most of the highly educated persons competent to discharge the duties of Fellows are government servants. In that case, some provision should have been made in the charter by which in future, when education had made sufficient progress in the state, the constitution of the university could have been made more popular.

The Meaning of Martial Law.

On February 3, 1910, Lord Morley, as Secretary of State, wrote a letter to Lord Minto, then Viceroy of India, from which an extract is given below.

"Your mention of Martial Law in your last private letter really makes my flesh creep. I have imagination enough, and sympathy enough, thoroughly to realise the effect on men's minds of the present manifestation of the spirit of murder. But Martial Law, *which is only a fine name for the suspension of all law*, would not snuff out murder-clubs in India, any more than the same sort of thing snuffed them out in Italy, Russia, or Ireland. The gang of Dublin Invincibles was reorganised when Parnell and the rest were locked up and the Coercion Act in full blast. On the other hand it would put at once an end to the policy of rallying the Moderates, and would throw the game in the long run wholly into the hands of the Extremists. I say, nothing of the effect of such a Proclamation upon public opinion, either in Parliament here or in other countries. It may be necessary, for anything I know, some day or other, but *to-day it would be neither more nor less than a gigantic advertisement of national failure.*" Lord Morley's *Recollections*, Vol. II, p. 328. (The italics are ours.)

The advocates of Martial Law would, we know, exultantly say, "the day has come when Martial Law has become necessary." Let them say what they will. But the impartial student of history cannot but assert that the very fact of an occasion arising, in a *disarmed* country which has only recently taken a prominent part in the Empire's fight against a powerful enemy, when martial law was considered necessary, is "*neither more nor less than a gigantic advertisement of national failure.*"

"A Reply to Sir P. C. Ray."

Under the above heading, *The Statesman* prints about two columns of extracts from a letter from Mr. Alfred Chatterton, C. I. E., criticising Sir P. C. Ray's article in the March number of the *Modern Review*. Sir P. C. Ray is well able to take care of his reputation and will, no doubt, pen a rejoinder if he thinks it necessary. In the meantime let us give the reader a sample of Mr. Chatterton's honest criticism. He writes :—

Much is made of the slow but continuous exhaustion of the mineral wealth of this unhappy land, by which infelicitous term he designates India. Nothing is said of the similar exhaustion going on everywhere else. The elementary axiom that "you cannot eat your cake and have it" would destroy this grievance and it must therefore be ignored. Would Sir P. C. Roy close the Bengal coal mines to the Tata Iron and Steel Company and stop work on the iron fields of Chota Nagpur till the Santals and other aboriginal tribes are able to make use of what I presume he would consider their natural birthright? The exhaustion of mineral wealth looms ahead all over the world, but what it will mean to the inhabitants when this occurs we do not know and therefore need not worry over.

The passage in Prof. Ray's article which Mr. Chatterton criticises is given below.

"After all, India *is* progressing and waking up and if her sons to-day are unable to work her own mines, their children or children's children will be able to do so. If in the meantime all the mining rights and concessions in Burma, and in Assam and other provinces of India proper are leased out to foreign exploiters nothing will be left for future generations. The late Mr. Gokhale often used to tell the present writer that the greatest injury which the British Government is inflicting upon this unhappy land—an injury which is beyond her powers of recuperation—is the slow but continuous exhaustion of her mineral wealth. As the *Statesman* puts this point with great clearness :

"In the case of the mining industry, for instance, it (*i e.*, the development of the country's resources by English Capital) means not merely that the children of the soil must be content for the time being with the hired labourer's share of the wealth extracted, but that the exportation of the remainder involves a loss which can never be repaired. Though the blame largely rests with them, we can well understand the jealousy with which the people of the country regard the exhaustion, mainly for the benefit of the foreign capitalist, of wealth which can never, as in the case of agriculture, be reproduced. It is, in short, no mere foolish delusion, but an unquestionable economic truth, that every ounce of gold that leaves the country, so far as it is represented by no economic return, and a large percentage of the gold extracted by foreign capital is represented by no such return, implies permanent loss.

As we said in a previous article, the exploitation of the mineral resources of the country by the foreign capitalist stands on a different footing; for, in this case the wealth extracted is not reproduced, and, on the not unreasonable assumption that it would sooner or later have been exploited with Indian capital, may unquestionably be said to deprive the people

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the country, for all time, of a corresponding opportunity of profit."

Vide "G. V. Joshi's Writings and Speeches," pp. 54-55.

"The future historian of India will have to write a dismal chapter indicating that when her people at last woke up they found all the wealth in the bowels of the earth carried away by foreign exploiters and only empty dark caverns and subterranean vaults and passages left behind."

Any honest reader of Prof. Ray's article will see that what he complains of is *not* the exhaustion of the mineral wealth of India *in itself, but its exhaustion by foreign exploiters*. But Mr. Chatterton complains: "Nothing is said of the similar exhaustion going on everywhere else." "*Similar*" exhaustion indeed! Is the mineral wealth of Great Britain being carried away by the Japanese? Is the mineral wealth of America being exausted by the Chinese? Is the mineral wealth of France being exploited by the Turks? The exhaustion which is taking place in independent Western countries is due to the exploitation of their mineral resources entirely or almost entirely by the children of the soil. Is that the case in India? Of course not. And yet Mr. Chatterton writes as if there was no difference between the exploitation of Europe and America's mineral wealth by their natives and the exploitation of India's mineral resources by foreigners!

Mr. Chatterton asks with the seeming simplicity and innocence of a child: "Would Sir P. C. Ray close the Bengal coal mines to the Tata Iron and Steel Company and stop work on the iron fields of Chota Nagpur till the Santals and other aboriginal tribes are able to make use of what I presume he would consider their natural birthright?" If Mr. Chatterton has not been deliberately disingenuous, he should read Dr. Ray's article again. Dr. Ray speaks of the sons of *India*, of the people of *India*, not of particular provinces, sub-provinces, or districts. The Tatas are not foreigners in any province or district of India. The Parsis came to India and settled here and made this country their home and only home more than three centuries before the Normans set foot in Great Britain. Just as the descendants of the Norman invaders of England are today as good Englishmen as any other men bearing that name, so are the Parsis as good Indians as the Santals or the Marathas or the Panjabis. And it is also anthropologically incorrect to assume that the Santals and other aboriginals who have remained till this day distinct from the Hindu population are the only descendants of the ancient primitive population of India. Many aboriginals have been bodily absorbed into Hindu society, forming separate castes, and many have become mixed up with other castes. For this reason, European anthropologists and ethnologists consider almost the entire population of Bengal Dravido-Mongolian. It is ludicrous that whenever any question arises in this country regarding the rights of the children of the soil, Anglo-Indians pretend to think that the Kols, Bhils, Santals, &c., are the only people who can claim to be the natives of the country. Certainly neolithic and palaeolithic men lived in India even before the present-day aborigines. Why not say, then, that as these neolithic and palaeolithic men are now extinct, or as, in any case, their descendants cannot be traced, therefore no present-day Indians can claim to be the natives of India, and hence they have no rights like those which the natives of other countries have in their motherlands? As an Englishman Mr. Chatterton will have no objection to admit that the Germans are capable of any kind and amount of political sophistry. But even German political sophists never, we believe, said to the French with reference to any French territory which the Teutons had annexed: "You French people have no right to complain, because it is the Basques and not yourselves who are the original inhabitants of France; you are later settlers or invaders."

If the British conquerors (it was not all conquest, but we have to use the word "conqueror" in the absence of a more appropriate word) of India had permanently settled in India and made it their home and only home, as, for example, the Mughals did, there would not have been any economic objection to the exploitation of India's mineral resources by those Indo-Anglians.

Mr. Fisher on Universities.

At the Oxford Union on February 22, 1919, Mr. Fisher, the British Education Minister, prophesied that "thirty years hence the university grade of education

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would be recognised by all as a democratic institution open to all." On this the *Times* Educational Supplement (Feb. 27, 1919) observes: "It was a safe prophecy and would have been safe had he said ten years. National education is moving at a pace that even Mr. Fisher does not measure." The university grade of education is already recognised in America and some countries of Europe as a democratic institution open to all. But in India big and small Anglo-Indian officials still continue to speak of university education as suited or not suited to a boy according to his "station in life," whatever that may mean. Any boy or girl is entitled to any kind and grade of education he or she desires, provided there is the capacity to receive it. We include girls deliberately. The *Times* Educational Supplement writes: "Elizabethan education, while it looked for the apprenticeship of girls, never took in hand the education of women. For three centuries the views of Mrs. Malaprop on the education of women prevailed. These views we are slowly living down, and the university belongs today to women as well as to men."

Technical Training and a Liberal Education.

One of the questions with which the Calcutta University Commission was expected to deal is the relation between technical training and a liberal university education. On this question the *Times* Educational Supplement writes:

"The university must not only complete physical, moral and intellectual training: it must crown technical training of all kinds..... A year ago we urged that, if technical education is ever to become a living thing in intimate relation on the one hand with the industries of the country and on the other with the universities, it must be founded on a liberal education and it must avoid, despite all temptations, early specialization. Universities and industries alike must be directly interested in the system of technical schools and colleges. A full University education must be open without let or hindrance, financial or social, to the best students. It is from this University grade that the great applied mathematicians, chemists, electricians and engineers will spring.....The great industries will in future depend for their thinkers on this University source. We do not believe that Universities of technology would be nearly so fruitful in this respect as Universities in the full sense of the term. The great technical colleges must take their place as a part—an essential part—of a University which collates all forms of human thought and aspiration. Most eminent scientists are at one on this elementary proposition."

The Recent Disturbances.

In the recent disturbances in many parts of India, men have been killed or injured, public and private property destroyed or damaged, railway lines torn up, telegraph wires cut and property looted. These occurrences and the excess of the police and the military are greatly to be deplored. The wicked and wanton acts connected therewith deserve the severest condemnation. It is the duty of all citizens to work for the restoration of quiet and order.

No local authority, however, ought to feel that he is justified in doing whatever he likes in the name of the restoration and maintenance of law and order. Not more physical force should be used than is absolutely necessary. And in most cases, where the police or the military have to deal with crowds (however vast) which are unarmed or possess only a few brickbats or pieces of stone, as Indian crowds generally are, only a show of overwhelming force should be sufficient to disperse them. But unfortunately this humane and bloodless method is seldom resorted to. We condemn the policy of bullets for brickbats,—a policy which is not followed in independent countries.

Of the disturbances in many places only official or semi-official accounts have been published. Without the peoples' versions before us, these official or semi-official accounts can neither be believed nor effectively criticised. In the case of disturbances in some places on some days, non-official narrations of events are also available. Some of these,—as those relating to the occurrences in Delhi on March 30, described by Swami Shraddhananda, and to the firing on the crowd in Harrison Road, Calcutta, described in the interview with Mr. B. Chakrabarti published in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*,—show that there has been most probably unnecessary and sometimes wanton firing on the crowd. Such firing on unarmed crowds, when it takes place, must be considered the height of cowardice. They also cause excitement leading to acts of violence on the part of the mob, like the burning of houses, tearing up railway lines, and the murder of innocent men, which also can certainly not be justified, but must be unequivocally condemned, whatever the provocation.

Most often Indian crowds have

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sinister object. They prove entirely harmless if simply allowed to pass on ; it is the attempt to disperse or turn them back by force which sometimes leads to disaster. Of course, all crowds are not of this harmless description. For example, mobs engaged in burning or looting houses, or in killing or wounding men, must be sternly dealt with. It requires much knowledge and experience of India, great coolheadedness and much tact to deal with crowds with firmness tempered by humanity.

Our observations find support from some passages in the report of the non-official commission which enquired into the circumstances of the Calcutta disturbances in September, 1918, and of which the members were Messrs. L. F. E. Pugh, Abbas Tyabji, H. D. Bose, C. Vijayaraghavachari and Ajit Prasad. With regard to the crowd proceeding towards Government House, Calcutta, the report states :—

We desire to note that on the 8th September, which was the first day of the proposed meeting, large crowds of Moslems visited the vicinity of the pandal and of the Nakhoda mosque, that the crowds were peaceful and orderly and dispersed as soon as they were requested to do by the conveners of the meeting or the members of the reception committee. In view of this there is no reason to presume or suspect that the crowd which was marching towards Government House would not have been equally orderable and peaceful. We are of opinion that with the exercise of a little tact and the adoption of a conciliatory attitude that crowd could have been easily induced to disperse without the necessity of resorting to the extreme step of dispersing it by force of arms.

No Unlawful Assembly.

We fail to appreciate the necessity for the action of the police in preventing the crowd from proceeding towards Government House. A large number of Moslems were on their way to Government House anxious to hear the result of the deputation and in the hope that the decision of the Government on consideration would be to allow the proposed meeting to be held. This was an avowedly innocent object and the crowd was not and could not be treated as an unlawful assembly. So far as we are aware there was no trouble or disturbance anywhere before the police attempted forcibly to prevent the progress of the crowd towards Government House, nor does the Government resolution suggest that there was any. In our view if the crowd had been allowed to proceed towards Government House there is no reason to think that there would have been any disorder or breach of the peace. If the crowd had been induced to proceed towards the Maidan and listen to speeches there it would have been incapable of doing any damage.

On the firing and shooting in Zakaria Street and the Nakhoda mosque, the opinion of the commission is as follows :—

With regard to the firing and use of lathies on the afternoon of the 9th of September in Zakaria Street and in other streets and lanes that branch off from it, in the absence of evidence that could have been adduced by the police and the military it is difficult for us to arrive at a definite conclusion. The evidence as it stands, however, suggests that the firing was unauthorised, reckless and unnecessary.

The entry into Nakhoda mosque and the shooting of a number of persons, there, by a few soldiers (see para, 43 and 34) is a most regrettable occurrence for which on the evidence there was no justification. This incident seems to be established by reliable evidence. It is unfortunate that the Government have declined to adduce any evidence which might indicate that the firing was provoked by stone-throwing or attack on the military or justified on any other grounds.

In the opinion of the commission the shooting at Garden Reach was also unnecessary and unjustifiable.

Unjustifiable Shooting.

The shooting at Garden Reach seems to have been unnecessary and unjustifiable. The occurrence took place at a distance of more than 7 or 8 miles from the Nakhoda mosque and the pandal. The number of the killed and the wounded was appallingly large, and included, we are told, a very large number of boys some of whom were merely 8, 10 or 12 years old. There could have been no imminent danger of infliction of injury to life or property by the crowd at a spot so far removed from what may be termed the centre of disturbance. The people of the locality were mostly Mahomedans. The crowd would have had to pass the Dock bridges to get to Calcutta and if it was desired to prevent the crowd from proceeding towards Calcutta nothing would have been easier than to have opened the Dock bridges when the crowd would have been compelled to come to a stand still. The evidence before us suggested that the crowd was peaceful and orderly, out enjoying a holiday. The Government resolution, on the contrary, says that a large number carried formidable lathies, and they were led by some fanatical Mahomedans shouting and dancing with bodies smeared with mud. Assuming the latter version to be correct, to our mind it shows that it was composed of the class of people who form Mohurrum processions. The resolution states that the additional superintendent of police and two military officers endeavoured to persuade them to disperse but without effect. The crowd pushed on till they were close to the troops who were then compelled to fire, though some of the British officers were still in the middle of the mob. It does not suggest, that when they were asked to disperse, the crowd or any of the members became disorderly, riotous or violent, or inflicted any injuries on the superintendent or the soldiers. It does not mention any throwing of stones, brickbats or other missiles by the crowd. The only indictment against the crowd is that it pushed on towards Calcutta inspite of dissuasion. It is not suggested that the crowd was warned that it would be fired upon if it persisted in its progress or that any order for firing was given by any magistrate or any police officer. We are constrained to come to the conclusion that a large number of persons were

Unnecessarily Killed and Wounded

at this occurrence in circumstances in which it is doubtful whether the law gave immunity to the

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soldiers. Upon reading the resolution carefully, it appears to us that the troops fired upon the crowd not only without any order from their officers, but at a time when the latter and the additional superintendent of police were still in the middle of the crowd or the mob, attempting to persuade them to disperse, as the expression 'some of the British officers' to our mind, refers to the additional superintendent of police and the two military officers.

Some Anglo-Indian papers have sought to minimise the value of this non-official commission's findings by saying that their report is an *ex parte* statement. Literally, it is so; but the members were not to blame for its *ex parte* character. They invited Government to place all facts in its possession before them, but without any response, as the following extract from their report will show:

GOVERNMENT'S ATTITUDE.

'Before commencing the enquiry Mr. Pugh (whom we had chosen as our President) wrote, on our behalf, letters to the chief secretary to the Government of Bengal and to the commissioner of police, Calcutta, inviting their co-peration and requesting production of evidence, oral and documentary, which might assist the commission in its investigation. Some of the hospitals, where wounded persons were known to have been removed for treatment, were similarly invited. Notices were published in some of the Calcutta daily and other papers giving information of the sittings of the commission and inviting evidence regarding the disturbances.

'It is to be regretted that the opportunity thus offered by us was not availed of by the Government and the commissioner of police. There can be no doubt that on many matters of the utmost importance and consequence, very valuable evidence could have been adduced and material information could have been supplied by them.

'As they were not represented evidence has been recorded at the commission practically *ex parte*.'

'The Commission held its enquiry publicly at the Bangiya Jana Sabha Hall, No. 10 Old Post Office Street. The Bengal Presidency Moslem League, the Marwari Association and the Jaina Sabha were represented; and though the Government of Bengal was not represented, we were informed that it had engaged a well-known reporter who was taking full notes of the proceedings throughout. The Commission held in all 17 sittings and examined 61 witnesses.'

The report of this non-official commission of enquiry is not less but more valuable and reliable than the reports of official enquiries. For, (1) the non-official commissioners were all trained and experienced lawyers (one of them had been a chief justice in a Native State) and therefore at least as competent as the members of any official committee of enquiry; (2) their proceedings were public and conducted after due advertisement of place and dates in the Press, official enquiries being seldom conducted in this open manner; (3) the non-official commissioners invited official evidence also, but official committees of enquiry or officials charged with enquiries of this character seldom invite non-official evidence; (4) in the non-official commission both the European and Indian sections of the public, and the Hindu, Musalman, Christian and Jaina sects were represented, official enquirers are not of this representative character.

From the extracts given from the report of this non-official commission, it would not be unreasonable to suspect that in the recent disturbances, too, there has been in some places some unnecessary and unjustifiable firing and shooting.

The use of machine guns in dispersing unarmed crowds in a disarmed country is absolutely unjustifiable terrorism. Where firing is really necessary, it should be calmly considered whether rifles would not serve the purpose. The very fact that Indian crowds are generally without firearms and cannot shoot back when fired upon, ought not to be a temptation to fire upon them without sufficient cause. There is no heroism, but rather its opposite, in such firing.

As for bombing a crowd from aeroplanes, we cannot think of any justification for it. British statesmen and newspapers used the strongest language against the Germans because they used to bomb the civilian populations of British towns from aeroplanes during the War. In the Punjab, there is no war. The name of "open rebellion" given to the disturbances there, cannot alone suffice to satisfy people that bombing was necessary. Unless it can be proved that there was an *organised and armed insurrection led by commanders, and that the rebels had been fighting a battle or were proceeding in battle order to fight or to do other act of war*, it cannot be confidently anticipated that the verdict of history would not be that this bombing was a cowardly and wanton act of barbarism. The Government of India ought to ascertain whether such a verdict would be wrong.

The Situation in the Punjab.

No one can think of the situation in the Punjab without profound sorrow. From the plague the Punjab has been the worst sufferer, from the Komagata Maru incidents it was the worst sufferer, from influ

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extra it has been the worst sufferer, and in a recent year some parts of the province suffered for days from anarchy, plunder and rapine which had to be sternly put down by Sir Michael O'Dwyer's government. Of all provinces of India, the Punjab had contributed the largest number of soldiers to the war, and it is, therefore, probable that the number of casualties among the sons of the Punjab has been the greatest in India. Sorrow has thus been the share of innumerable Panjab homes during many a year. So it deserved a far different fate from what has fallen to its lot.

During the war, the loyalty of the province was extolled in high terms by its ruler and he even made invidious comparisons between its active loyalty and the passive loyalty or sedition in other provinces. But now parts of his province have been officially declared to be in open rebellion and are under martial law. All this is very mysterious.

How has the province, officially declared the most loyal in India by its ruler, come to be in open rebellion and under martial law? And that even before the War has been officially declared closed? It is very easy to blame "agitators," "rumour-mongers," "Bolsheviks," and others. But why have not these people succeeded in producing a rebellion in other and, in Sir Michael O'Dwyer's opinion, less loyal parts of India? Incendiaries are undoubtedly very wicked people; but they cannot set fire to water. There must be inflammable and combustible material fit for their nefarious work. If agitators and Bolsheviks have played the devil's part in the province, Sir Michael O'Dwyer must explain how in his most loyal province there was so much more "matter of sedition" (to quote Bacon's words), so much more inflammable material, than in other parts of India. Is it possible that the explanation may be found in the very naure of a "strong" man's strength,—in that it can both irritate and "pacify."

We take it for granted that mischievous rumours have been spread in the Punjab by some wicked people. But why did the people believe in them? It is well-known that ignorant people are more credulous as regards rumours than those who are truly educated. Why has Government left so large a proportion of the people in the Panjab sunk in ignorance? It is, no doubt, one of the latest additions to the Empire; but it has been very much longer under British rule than the Filipinos have been under American rule and the Japanese under a constitutional monarchy. And yet within these much shorter periods, there has been a phenomenal spread of literacy and education among both these peoples. Why could not Government do in India, in the Panjab, what has been done in Japan and in the Philippines? Posters and communiques explaining Government's real intentions and laws are good. But who will read and understand them? Certainly not the illiterate masses who are the victims of wicked rumours. If the majority of the people had been able to read newspapers, and the Press had been free, there would have been, at the worst, only sensational and inaccurate newspaper reports (instead of so many false rumours), which could at once have been contradicted, and the deliberate falsifiers of news brought to book. But what is the present state of things? The majority of the people are illiterate, and their only purveyor of news is, not the journalist, but Dame Rumour. And on account of the Press Act and other repressive laws, all rumours cannot be printed; most of them, therefore, remain uncontradicted. It is impossible for even the most efficient system of spying known in history to nail all lying rumours to the counter, and some rumours may be true. The only effective remedy lies in universal literacy, a large number of cheap newspapers for the many and freedom of the press. If Government understood its true interests, it would move towards this goal with all possible expedition.

We have said above that ignorance makes men credulous and prone to believe in rumours. Ignorance also prevents them from understanding the true motives and justification of good official measures. There is another reason why rumours attributing sinister motives to Government receive credence. Official and non-official Anglo-Indians (old style) believe or pretend to believe that it is the educated Indians who are seditious and doubt the sincerity and philanthropy of the *Sarkar*, but that, on the contrary, the mass of the people have unquestioning faith in the justice and beneficence of the *Sarkar*. There can be no more unwise and unfounded belief. Whatever the sins of the educated, they do not at least believe, for example, that the

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Sarkar wants hundreds of heads to be cut off when sometimes a large river has to be bridged, in order that the angry river-deity may be propitiated by such human sacrifices; or that whenever the *Sarkar* takes a census, the underlying motive is fresh taxation. The *Sarkar's* justice and beneficence are not at all always axiomatic with the dumb millions. It is for this reason that they can be misled into believing that officials may be capable of this act of injustice or that enormity, when the *Sarkar* does not really at all intend to be unjust or cruel. Let official and non-official Anglo-Indians cease to believe: (1) that the voiceless millions of India always worship them in their hearts as beneficent divinities, though they generally fear the Sarkar and sometimes appreciate its justice; (2) that these millions are gullible fools who do not understand what is good for them; (3) that they cannot vaguely trace acts of oppression, spoliation and exploitation by underlings and traders to their ultimate causes; (4) that they do not feel the difference between a relative dead and a relative alive, between health and illness, and between a full and an empty stomach; and (5) that they cannot understand the difference between profession and practice. Instead of merely trying to convince the educated and uneducated people of India that all Europeans are out here on a mission of justice and beneficence, let these persons be thoroughly sincere in the first place, and, if possible, let them afterwards also be really just and *fraternally* philanthropic. Then mischievous rumours will not find such wide credence, and the rumour-monger's occupation would be gone.

How can the *Sarkar's* justice and benevolence be brought home to the masses? In the first place, if the people can have sufficient food; in the second place, if the country can be made as healthy as other civilised countries; in the third place, if the people be freed from harassment and oppression by police, railway and other underlings; and, in order that all these results may be brought about, in the fourth place, if the people of all villages and towns be given at least elementary education and agricultural and other industrial and technical education.

Rumour and a Gagged Press.

It is a curious though not inexplicable psychological phenomena that the same people who have practically prevented the indigenous Punjab Press from publishing any news of or comments on the recent occurrences in that province, should also make it a grievance that there should be so many rumours. But nature abhors a vacuum. If there be not a sufficiency of true news to satisfy the people's craving for information, Dame Rumour may naturally be expected to be busy with her concoctions of fact and fiction. And is it so very unnatural for people to infer, though it is possible that they may be in the wrong, that the reason why the Press has been gagged is that there is something to conceal? And in such circumstances, is it any wonder that even parts of what is true in the published accounts should be disbelieved?

Open Rebellion in the Punjab and its Probable Causes.

It is said that there has been open rebellion in the Punjab. The rebellions that we have read of in history had military commanders as leaders, had big or small armies, and had arms, and their object was to overthrow an existing government or governments and substitute others in their place. *The Civil and Military Gazette* has not yet published details of the Punjab rebellion on these points. Nor has it told us the causes of the rebellion in a province which its "strong" ruler certified very recently as the most loyal in India.

Among the many reasons given in the Rowlatt Committee's Report why "legislation" of a drastic character may be "required," one is that "there will, especially in the Punjab, be a large number of disbanded soldiers, among whom it may be possible to stir up discontent." We do not know what led the Rowlatt Committee to anticipate the possibility of stirring up discontent among disbanded soldiers. Were there any causes of discontent in the methods of recruitment of these soldiers, or in the conditions of their active service, or in the treatment they received while on active service or after being wounded or disabled or after demobilisation? But these questions are like groping in the dark. The public will never know what materials before them led the Rowlatt Committee to apprehend discontent. When the Committee wrote its

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report, there was no Rowlatt Act, no agitation against it, and no *Satyagraha*. It is probable, therefore, that the disturbances in the Punjab owe their origin to causes more remote than the above recent events, and it is only the Government of India which can find out these causes.

Soul force and Physical force.

When at the request of the Viceroy Mr. M. K. Gandhi saw His Excellency and had a talk with him about the Rowlatt bill and *Satyagraha* a report appeared in the press that one of the questions discussed was whether British rule in India rested on soul force or physical force, and that no unanimous conclusion was arrived at. We cannot say on what sort of force British rule rests. Perhaps it does not rest on only one kind of force.

For governments, like private individuals, require both soul force and physical force. Physical force ought, no doubt, to be under the control and guidance of soul force, but physical force is also necessary. Physical force should be used by governments, when it cannot be dispensed with, only from righteous motives and in a humane manner, and only as much of it should be applied as is strictly necessary.

Love and Frightfulness.

When those who have strength and power assert that the power of love is greater than the power of frightfulness and when from this conviction they are just and do only what is good, there is no doubt left of the sincerity of their conviction. For they could also have followed the policy of terrorism and frightfulness. But when the weak and the powerless pray for or demand (it does not matter which) a conciliatory policy, the origin of the cry may be considered to be only or in part timidity and terror.

Love and forgiveness are the privilege of the strong, and they alone are strong who can love and forgive.

Satyagraha and the Disturbances.

There is no causal connection between Satyagraha and the disturbances, though many persons have taken advantage of the declaration of Satyagraha to create disturbances and do evil deeds; and among them may be some least thought or spoken of in this connection. Satyagrahis have everywhere tried to pacify the people, and succeeded to a remarkable extent.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi has very properly kept Satyagraha in abeyance for the present. But we do not agree with those who urge him to give up Satyagraha once for all. The essence of Satyagraha lies in neither injuring anybody in any way nor accepting any condition of life which is derogatory to human nature. True Satyagraha is, therefore, the only self-respecting and dignified ideal for us. As to who can be Satyagrahis and whether there ought to be a wide-spread movement of Satyagraha, &c., we adhere to what we wrote in our last issue. We have only to add that after further reflection we have come to the conclusion that laws which are otherwise unobjectionable should not be disobeyed even though Government may enact a law really injurious to individual and national liberty and well-being;—when we wrote last we had not come to any definite conclusion. It is only laws in this way really injurious which may be civilly disobeyed, and that by only those whose minds are free from passion and resentment.

Government have made two obvious and great mistakes. They ought not to have passed the Rowlatt Act in the teeth of unanimous Indian opposition. According to the officials themselves, the Punjab was recently in a state of rebellion. But the existing laws and martial "law" were quite sufficient to cope with the situation. True, the Defence of India Act has been made use of against some persons, and six months after the conclusion of peace the Rowlalt Act is to take its place. But these persons could have been dealt with equally "effectively" under the Deportation Regulations or under Martial Law. Therefore, as it is not likely that in future within four years a worse situation will arise, the Rowlatt Act is an entirely superfluous piece of legislation.

The other great mistake was the prevention of Mr. Gandhi from going to Delhi and the Panjab. His presence in any place makes for peace and order. If the Delhi Administration, the Panjab Government and the Government of India had allowed him to visit Delhi, Lahore, Amritsar, &c., the recent history of India would have been different from what it has been.

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Mr. M. K. Gandhi.

The sensitive conscience of Mr. Gandhi and the innate chivalry of his heroic soul have led him to take upon himself the blame for deeds for which he was not responsible and which did not follow even indirectly from his teachings and example. And, like the hero and saint that he is, he has also done penance for these misdeeds of others. It was only to be expected that, as soon as he was so convinced, he would honestly declare that he had underrated the forces of evil and overcalculated the chances of Satyagraha being understood by the masses. But his faith in Satyagraha rightly remains unshaken. As he says in one of his letters to the Satyagraha Sabha :

"It is not without sorrow that I feel compelled to advise the temporary suspension of civil disobedience. I give this advice, not because I have less faith now in its efficacy, but because I have, if possible, greater faith than before. It is my perception of the law of Satyagraha which impels me to suggest suspension. I am sorry that when I embarked upon a mass movement, I underrated the forces of evil and I must now pause and consider how best to meet the situation. But whilst doing so, I wish to say that from a careful examination of the tragedy at Ahmedabad and Viramgam, I am convinced that Satyagraha had nothing to do with the violence of the mob,.....Had the Government, in an unwise manner, not prevented me from entering Delhi and so compelled me to disobey thier orders, I feel certain that Ahmedabad and Viramgam would have remained free from the horrors of the last week. It other words, Satyagraha has neither been the cause nor the occasion of the upheaval. If anything the presence of Satyagrahis has acted as a check, ever so slight, upon the previously existing lawless elements. As regards the events in the Punjab, it is admitted that they are unconnected with the Satyagraha movement.

A South African Reminiscence.

"In the course of the Satyagraha struggle in South Africa, several thousands of indentured Indians had struck work. This was a Satyagraha strike and, therefore, entirely peaceful and voluntary. Whilst the strike was going on, the strike of the European miners and railway employees, etc., was declared. Overtures were made to me to make common cause with the European strikers. As a Satyagrahi, I did not require a moment's consideration to decline to do so. I went further, and for fear of our strike being classed with the strike of the Europeans, in which methods of violence and the use of arms found a prominent place, ours was suspended and Satyagraha from that moment came to be recognised by the Europeans of South Africa as an honourable and honest movement, and in the words of General Smuts "a constitutional movement." I can do no less at the present critical moment. I would be untrue to Satyagraha if I allowed it by any action of mine, to be used as an occasion for feeding violence, for embittering the relations between the English and the Indians. Our Satyagraha must, therefore, now consist in ceaselessly helping the authorities in all the ways available to us as Satyagrahis to restore order and to curb lawlessness. We can turn the tragedies going on before us to good account, if we could but succeed in gaining the adherence of the masses to the fundamental principles of Satyagraha.

Mass Satyagraha.

"Satyagraha is like a banian tree with innumerable branches. Civil disobedience is one such branch. Satya (truth) and Ahinsa (non-violence) together make the parent trunk from which all the innumerable branches shoot out. We have found by bitter experience that, whilst in an atmosphere of lawlessness, civil disobedience found ready acceptance, Satya (truth) and Ahinsa (non-violence), from which alone civil disobedience can worthily spring, have commanded little or no respect. Ours then is a Herculean task, but we may not shirk it. We must fearlessly spread the doctrine of Satya and Ahinsa, and then and not till then shall we be able to undertake mass Satyagraha. My attitude towards the Rowlatt legislation remains unchanged. Indeed, I do feel that the Rowlatt legislation is one of the many causes of the present unrest. But in a surcharged atmosphere, I must refrain from examining these causes. The main and only purpose of this letter is to advise all Satyagrahis to temporarily suspend civil disobedience, to give the Government effective co-operation is restoring order and by preaching and practise to gain adherence to the fundamental principles mentioned above."

Famine in Bankura.

The Indiau Messenger, the organ of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, writes :—

Babu Bipul Chandra Ghosh, B.A., and Babu Narendra Nath Nandi have gone to Bankura in connection with the famine relief work of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj. Babu Bipul Chandra Ghosh writes that people are starving and are naked. Women hide themselves under bushes at the sight of men, as they have no clothes on them. A consignment of cloth has already been forwarded to Bankura, but a considerably larger quantity will be required to meet the demand. We hope, with the help of the generous public it will be possible to send a sufficient quantity of rice and cloth at an early date.

We have also learnt from an independent and trustworthy source that the condition of the people is very serious indeed.

Contributions are to be sent to Dr. P. K. Acharji, Secretary, Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, 211, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.

Sir Rabindranath Tagore's Letter to a Friend.

We are permitted to print the following letter written by Sir Rabindranath Tagore to a friend :

"Dear Friend, I believe our outcry against the wrongs inflicted upon us by our governing power is becoming more vehe-

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ment than is good for us. We must not claim sympathy or kind treatment with too great an insistence and intensity. I remember when in my school days I used to get blows and insult from a teacher who was particularly foul in his language and unjust in his dealings I refused to complain or to cry. In fact I tried to maintain my dignity by ignoring my punishment, and thus I had my moral victory. This victory possibly had no outer result and very likely it only exasperated my teacher without touching his conscience in the least. But, all the same, the victory abided with me, and I am glad of it. He who causes suffering becomes small when his victims have the power to rise above it by their heroism of fearlessness. This is the lesson which Gandhi has been trying to preach to his countrymen. And now when his attempt to hold the banner of moral power above those of the brute forces has met with an apparent failure, when those of us who desire success without having to pay for it and others who wait interminable days to reap their harvest of comfortable politics from the soil of sycophancy are hastening to disown him with shrill protestation of innocence, Gandhi's personality shines before us with a greater glory than when his light was blurred by the duststorm of popularity. And this one fact of his presence in our midst reconciles us to whatever sufferings we are passing through and whatever others we have to face. The expression of the best ideal of the age need not grow fat in bulk but let it become immortal with its truth. And the rejection of it by a number of timid people overwhelmed with terror by no means proves its rejection by our history. Please convey my *namaskar* to Mahatmaji in these days of his trial.

Yours Rabindranath Tagore."

The Size of Classes.

Officers of the Government Education Departments in India have accustomed us to the idea that large classes should not be tolerated in any educational institution, from the elementary school to the university post-graduate class, as good education and big classes are incompatible terms. Let us see whether they are tolerated in so rich and educationally advanced a country as England, and what advanced and competent British thinkers have to say on the subject.

Speaking in the last week of March to a deputation from the Trades Union Congress Parliamentary Committee, Mr. Fisher, the British Education Minister, said that "he did not look for rapid advance, and *he held out little hope of that sudden reduction of the size of classes for which the Committee pressed.* To halve the classes would necessitate doubling the accommodation and the number of teachers at a time when continuation schools were making special demands on both teachers and accommodation." But, says the *Times* Educational Supplement, "Mr. Fisher threw down one crumb of comfort. He said that he thought that *some subjects*, and particularly his own subject, history, *could be better taught to a large class.*" Then the *Times* goes on to observe :—

"The proposition is an interesting one, and one that is certain to give rise, as no doubt Mr. Fisher intended it to give rise, to animated discussion among teachers and administrators throughout the country.

"For our own part we are inclined to think that this interesting *obiter dictum* from a University teacher, of experience is stated in too general terms, but *it certainly represents a view that is very common among University teachers, especially in the Scottish Universities, where the classes have at times been very large, and the results of lecturing to those classes have been not only satisfactory but extremely profitable to students of the most various capacities.* A University class in England in certain subjects before the war reached the total of a hundred or even more, and from the point of view of the lecturer, if he in fact is a competent lecturer and understands not only the nature of his subject but the human nature of his audience, those large attendances are admittedly exhilarating. If once a lecturer is really holding his audience, and is building up his subject from its elements with the obvious intellectual attention and assent of his audience, then there is from many points of view substantial gain in the actual size of the audience. The crowd spirit stimulates attention, and if the lecturer is sufficiently slow and weighty the listeners have time to make the points for criticism in the open discussion which should follow. Even in mathematics there are both lecturers and students who welcome a large class. The human element is emphasized, and the opportunities for subsequent discussion are enlarged."

Then follows the opposite point of view.

"There is, however, an opposite school of thought who believe in very small classes, or even individual tuition, as the ideal method of dealing with university subjects which are of advanced difficulty. Everything, of course, depends on the teacher. Some extremely able teachers are totally unable to deal with large classes. A bad delivery is rendered worse by nervousness in the presence of a large and critical

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audience, and that audience, realizing that the reins are not being handled, get out of hand and become not an audience but a mob. Most university men will recall cases of this type, and will remember scholars of the first magnitude who have obviously been unable to communicate knowledge or stimulate thought in the presence of a class which out of sheer boredom has become either hostile or indifferent. The question of discipline does not really arise. A University teacher must either govern his great class by his personal magnetism or must abandon his task. Discipline in the ordinary sense of the term, that is to say, the securing of attention by fear of penalties, is out of the question in dealing with adults or adolescents. Even the shadow of a great name will not retain a lecture room of bored undergraduates

The question of the size of classes in schools is next dealt with :

"When we come to apply some of these ideas to school life we are met by some new factors. The children, though not the minds of the children, are susceptible to discipline. If they are to be bored they are to be bored, and there is an end to the matter. They cannot stay away, they cannot riot, they can be made to sit still. There is authority enough to secure this. But if the teacher or lecturer is a bore, is incapable of dealing effectively with large classes, the children use the method of protection afforded by the abounding mercies of nature. Their minds become like the sheet of blank paper with which some educatiouists tell us that they set out in their career of life, and the teacher writes nothing on it. On the other hand, if the teacher has the peculiar magic of touching the imagination of children, of securing their affectionate interest, then a large class of children can be dealt with very effectively, perhaps more effectively than a small class, at any rate in certain subjects, and the desire for knowledge is permanently aroused. Our elementary system of training, which has had to grapple with the difficulty of large classes, has striven and with remarkable success, to produce teachers who can deal with large numbers of children in this way, and secure by some natural aptitude, enlarged by special training, the attention and the interest of children without recourse to disciplinary methods..... Since large classes must for a long time be the fate of our schools, whether such classes are good or bad educationally, it is plain that great efforts should be made to secure the teather who possesses the natural gifts which can make a large class at any rate not an educational evil."

Why Britain does not Intervene in Russia.

On April 16th, in the course of the lengthy speech on peace which Mr. Lloyd George made in the House of Commons, he explained the reasons for not intervening in the affairs of Russia. Said he :—

Examining the proposal favouring military intervention the Premier said it was a very sound fundamental principle of our foreign policy that we never interfered in the internal affairs of other countries, however badly governed, and notwithstanding the state of British feeling the practical difficulties of a gigantic military enterprise into Russia were immense. Russia had often been invaded but had never been conquered by a foreign foe. Even if conquest were possible, political and practical difficulties remained. He was horrified at Bolshevist teachings. He would rather leave Russia Bolshevist until she saw what Bolshevism was doing than see Britain made bankrupt by costly military intervention, because that would be the surest road to spread Bolshevism in Britain. (Cheers). He was convinced that to attempt military intervention in Russia would be the greatest stupidity.

The British Cabinet have decided wisely. One reason why we are pleased with their decision is that if the British Empire were involved in a big war with Russia, India would have to send a large army and incur heavy military expenditure.

As for Mr. George's reasons, one would like to ask, since when Britain has been following the "very sound fundamental principle of our foreign policy that we never interfered in the internal affairs of other countries, however badly governed." This principle is unquestionably right. But British historians of India have told us repeatedly that it was because India was badly governed that the British annexed the country in order to put an end to anarchy, and the reason which is given for the continuation of British rule here is that otherwise the country would be very badly governed. The gradual annexation of different parts of India on the ground of indigenous misgovernment, shows that the principle enunciated by Mr. George is either of recent evolution or that it does not operate outside Europe. Was not Burma annexed because "King Theebaw was still drinking" and misgoverning his country ?

The other reasons given are both true and sound ; particularly when the Premier said that he did not like to "see Britain made bankrupt by costly military intervention." If Russia could be conquered and annexed with the help of Russian men and money and if the continued occupation of Russia were considered a paying job, if would be a different matter. But Russia is not India.

Japan and the Colour Bar.

We have received the following for publication :—

Tokio, February 11th, 1919.

To the Editor of the "Modern Review."

DEAR SIR,

We, representatives of thirty-seven Societies in Japan—political, religious, press, army and navy

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veterans' associations, etc.—held a meeting in Tokio on the 5th of February, 1919, concerning the question of racial discriminatory treatment, at which the enclosed Declaration was passed.

We should be very grateful if you could give your support to this Declaration which has been cabled to the Peace Conference, by making it further known through the columns of your paper.

Thanking you in advance.

Yours truly

TEICHI SUGITA,

Member of the House of Peers ex-president of the House of Representatives, Chairman of the Japanese Conference for race equality.

DECLARATION.

The Allied Nations now assembled at the Peace Conference are endeavouring to establish a League of Nations and found the permanent peace of the world.

The Japanese whole-heartedly approve of this effort and anxiously await its realisation.

But seeing that the racial discriminatory treatment in international intercourse, which still exists, is against all principles of liberty and equality, and is a constant root of conflict between peoples,

That so long as this remains unchanged all peace conferences, leagues and agreements will be as a house built on the sand, and that no true peace can be hoped for,

We, representatives of thirty-seven large Japanese associations, call upon the nations of the world to establish permanent peace on justice and humanity; and to this end,

DECLARE:

The Japanese Nation expects of the Peace Conference the final abolition of all racial discrimination and disqualification.

We heartily support this declaration.

Reuter's telegram dated Paris April 21, says that the Japanese amendment calling for the insertion in the preamble to the League of Nations Covenant of a clause recording the equality of all nations will certainly come up, creating certain liveliness at the conference at the last moment.

Islamic "News" from the Antipodes.

The Harvard Theological Review is a very respectable and high-class quarterly issued by the Faculty of Divinity in Harvard University. The place of honour in the January number of that review is occupied by an article on "The effect of the War on Protestant Missions" by James L. Barton, D.D., LL.D. The following sentences are extracted from it.

"The Mohammedans of India, Egypt, and, in fact, nearly all parts of the world, have either tacitly or officially repudiated the Sultan of Turkey as the Caliph of Islam, a position which he has held for four centuries or more."

"To the present time no Mohammedan country or Mohammedan leader has came forward as the defender of the Sultan or his claim upon the Caliphate." Page 16.

So far as Indian Moslems are concerned, the true facts are exactly the opposite of what they are stated to be in the sentences quoted above. They all insist that the Sultan is and must be recognised as their Caliph and they certainly unanimously and openly defend his claim upon the Caliphate.

Probably censorship has prevented the transmission of correct news to America. Or can there be any other reasonable explanation?

Press Censorship in the Punjab.

A Press Communique issued by the Punjab Government says in part that in its issue of 15th April last the Madras paper "New India," asserted that the Punjab Government had passed an order that the papers owned by Indians, should publish no reports of the recent disturbances unless they have been passed by the Censor. The statement that this order applied only to Indian-owned newspapers is altogether untrue. The order of Press censorship was passed on all newspapers in the province without distinction.

This contradiction comes very late. And, it does not much matter. For, whatever the cause may be, the *fact* is that the *Civil and Military Gazette* alone did or could publish reports of the recent disturbances.

Continuation of Sir M. O'Dwyr's Service.

The Indian Daily News writes:—

The continuation of Sir Michael O'Dwye's service in the Punjab seems to be hailed with great pleasure by our [Anglo-Indian] contemporaries. We think they are entirely mistaken, and we look on the appointment with profound misgiving.

We think the Panjab Satrap's administration has been worse than a dismal failure, as he leaves the province intensely irritated and deeply discontented. Whatever view may be taken of the extension of Sir Michæl's service, it is undoubtedly a left-handed compliment to the officer who was appointed to be his successor, but who must now be "on special duty" until the time comes when a "strong" man may not be required and a "weak" man may do as well.

The Indian Daily News says that "many people, indeed, think that even forty years

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of Martial Law will fail to conciliate a Province like the Punjab." That is true. And, in fact, martial law, however long continued, can never really *conciliate* any province.

Flogging in Lahore.

The same paper commends the following well-known lines for the consideration of "the gentleman at Lahore, who apparently thinks people should be flogged for not opening their shops, and has issued an order to that effect":

It is excellent.

To have a giant's strength ; but it is tyrannous
To use it like a giant : but man, proud man,
Drest in a little brief authority,
Most ignorant of what he's most assured,
Plays such fantastic tricks before high heaven,
As make the angels weep.

It has been said in extenuation of the flogging in the streets of Lahore that it was only petty shopkeepers of the menial and coolie class who were flogged ! As if these humble individuals do not feel the disgrace, more painful than death, of being publicly whipped. When civilised opinion condemns flogging even for heinous offences, because of its brutalising effect and other causes, it is very discreditable that it should have been made use of so light-heartedly against men who had committed only slight technical offences against "Martial Law," which Morley describes as the negation of all law.

The Panchamas of South Kanara.

We have read the following in *The Panchama* with sorrow :—

In the Madras Presidency the small corner district of South Kanara is generally known as the place where the condition of the Panchama Classes is extremely bad. Out of the total population of nearly 12 lakhs, as many as 140,775 are Panchamas. Not one amongst this enormous number can be said to be a landlord paying an assessment of even Rs. 2-0-0 a year. Their standard of comfort is extremely low and they do not possess any property beyond bare necessaries of life.—Sir Harold Stuart in the *District Manual*, Volume II.

There are several sects among them, who on the whole can be classified under two heads, *viz* the *Mulada Holeyas* and the *Salada Holeyas*. The Mulada Holeyas are hereditary serfs who could be sold or pledged by the landlord at his pleasure like his chattle. When a landlord sells his land to another, the Mulada Holeya families living under him, also pass to the Vendee as a custom but express mention of such a transfer of human beings is not now a days made indeeds of conveyance through fear of law. Slavery indeed has been legally abolished but custom dies hard. So says the Hon'able Mr. Sturrock in the *District Manual*. *Vide* Volume I page 198.

The Salada Holeya or as the term means, the indebted Panchama, is as good a slave as his Mulada brother by reason of his being bound to his master by debt. Every Panchama youth is compelled by custom to spend at least Rs. 50 for his marriage which he cannot but borrow from his landlord. This debt once borrowed is never repaid to the creditor who gets however interest on his loan at an exhorbitant rate. The borrowing Panchama is always a day lobourer who generally gets his daily wages in kind—paddy or rice and one fourth his daily earnings goes to the creditor as interest. This system of levying interest is locally known as Bandi. A Salada Holeya is thus in no better position than his Mulada brother. Both are equally bound to their master as slaves *Vide* "District Manual," page 198, Volume I.

Our Panchama brethren in our District have very curious names. Such as Tade (flat fish), Balde (big fish) Karvore (beetle), Nakkure (earth-worm), Tabure (red ant), Kappe (frog), Berante (centipede), Pushe (cat), Bogra (barking dog), Boggu (wild dog), Kajovu (sweepings), Bijiln (lantern), Pergude (big rat), Boggi (bitch), Gujje (unripe jack fruit), Gubbi (sparrow), and so forth.

Twenty three years ago, Panchama children bore names of this kind in our School registers. At the suggestion of an Educational Officer, we introduced an innovation by giving every pupil a second name resembling that of a higher caste man as an alternative—with an *alias* between. Thus Flatfish became Tade *alias* Sankara, Red ant became Tabure *alias* Rama and Big rat became Pergude *alias* Lakshmana. We gradually dropped the old name and continued the new, and the *alias* vanished. The innovation met with enthusiatic apyroval of the parents, who remarked, that no man of higher caste however unsympathetic and cruel, would illtreat children for bearing better names given by School teachers. This change in names, became very popular among the Phnchamas so much so, that except in rural parts, it is difficult now a days to come across a Panchama youth bearing the names of beasts of the wood or fowls of the air. Grown up Panchama youths, who apprehend injury to their limbs by assuming names of higher caste people, adopt a middle course. They mention the day on which they are born, as their name, like Aithra (Sunday) Thomee (Miss Monday) and so forth.

A Panchama meeting a higher caste man on business cannot say "Namaskar or Ramram" but shall shout instead "Lord, I fall *this* side," an equivalent to Good Morning Sir." When he takes leave of him, he shall say "Lord, I fall *that* side" and not "Good bye Sir." He cannot say "my wife" but "she-Pariah." Husband is he-Pariah even children are not children but young ones. His wife can not be in a family way but carrying.

Immorality in India.

Dr. Lynch's letter printed in the article on "Indian Labour in Fiji" contains many statements which are open to criticism. For example, as regards diseases, whatever else may be true, it is not true that venereal diseases are as prevalent among the rural population of India from which coolies are recruited as they are among

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indentured Indian laborers in Fiji. For the greater prevalence of these diseases in Fiji, the planters are responsible. As regards immorality Dr. Lynch writes :—

Immorality—Is there none in India ?—Does not Indian literature teem with it ? Indians do not bring immorality in Fiji, they are saturated with it before they leave India. Look at a standard Indian Dictionary, and you will find with difficulty a page in which there is not at least one obscene word for translation.

This paragraph is a string of falsehoods. The level of sexual morality in India is at least as high as it is in any other country. As regards "a standard Indian dictionary", as there are many languages in India, the doctor ought to have said what language or languages he was thinking of and named at least the dictionary to enable the reader to verify his statement.

A Cause of Famine.

In his article on the "Causes of Frequent Famines in Bankura," Babu Motiswar Sen shows that one cause is the diminution in the area under cultivation, owing to arable land being taken up by railways. As this cause may exist in other tracts also, students of the causes of famines should bear this fact in mind and ascertain from official publications to what extent, if any, this cause has been at work in any particular tract.

An Album of New Pictures.

The Modern Review office has up to the present published five albums containing for the most part pictures which have already appeared in the *Review*, with the occasional addition of a few unpublished ones. Our readers may be interested to learn that *Album No. 6*, which is in the press, will consist entirely of pictures which have not yet been published in the *Modern Review*. It will contain the following pictures :

1. Asoka's *Queen and the Bodhi Tree* : by Abanindranath Tagore.
2. *Sati* : by Nandalal Bose.
3. "On Evil Days Fallen :" by Asit Kumar Haldar.
4. Shooting Star : by Abanindranath Tagore.
5. Butterfly-Messenger : by Ardhendu-prasad Banerji.
6. Night in a Cemetery : by Niranjan Sen.
7. The Tow Line : by Srimati Pratima Devi.
8. The Angry Waves : by Sarada Charan Ukil.
9. A new picture by Samarendranath Gupta.
10. A Daughter of the Panjab : by M. A. R. Chughtai.
11. After the Day's Work : by Debiprasad Ray Chowdhuri.
12. A Blind Beggar : by Bijoykumar Basu.
13. Playing "Holi :" by Mukul Chandra De.
14. Music : by Babbanji.

15 and 16. Two other new pictures.

Orders are now being registered. If at least 2,000 copies of this album are purchased by the public, we shall in future publish other albums containing only unpublished pictures.

The Moderate Party on the Rowlatt Act.

Mr. Montagu ought now to be satisfied, as the Moderate *Party* has passed the following resolution at the recent meeting of the Committee of the All-India Moderate Conference :

"The passing of the Rowlatt Act in the face of the unanimous opposition of the Indian public was an unwise step and the Committee appeal to the Secretary of State to advise His Majesty to disallow it."

Uncovenanted Service Pensions.

In the House of Commons on March 31st Mr. Bennett pointed out that the present scale of pensions of Uncovennated Services in India, was fixed in 1855. He recalled that the recommendation of the Public Services Commission in this connection had been confirmed in the Report on the Indian Constitutional Reforms, Part II, Chapters X and XI, para 320, page 203, and affirmed that much hardship was known to exist owing the inadequacy of present pensions to meet the enhanced cost of living. He urged the Secretary of State to take an early opportunity of redressing this acknowledged grievance. Mr. Fisher in reply said that Mr. Montagu expected to have definite proposals from the Government of India in this connection very shortly and would deal with them without loss of time. This is all very good. It is only to be hoped, however, that when dealing with this important question the hard cases of the Indian pensioners will not be quite lost sight of.

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State versus Company Management of Indian Railways.

In the House of Commons in reply to Sir John Rees, Mr. Fisher stated on April 1, that Mr. Montagu had proposed that as soon as convenient after the war there would be an enquiry in India regarding the desirability or otherwise on administrative and financial grounds of modifying the present management of railways in India which were owned by the State but worked by companies domiciled in England by incorporating these lines in existing State-worked systems or converting them into separate State-worked lines or handing them over to companies domiciled in India. As usual the authorities choose to talk riddles when dealing with this very important question of the management of Railways in India. It is not quite intelligible to us why this should be the case and on what grounds the present contract with the East Indian Railway Company, which would have ended by December 31, 1919, has just been renewed for another five years. The statement of approximate gross earnings of Indian railways published in the *Gazette of India* of April 19th gives details of the railway working for the whole financial year from 1st April, 1918, to 31st March, 1919. The total earnings amount to Rs. 75,78,80,000. It will be remembered that Sir William Meyer in his Budget speech for the year 1918-19 estimated the total earnings at £47 million pounds or Rs. 70,50,08,000, so that they actually are better by Rs. 5,28,72,000 than the Budget estimate, while they are Rs. 6,77,63,605 better than the total earnings of the previous financial year. Only two of the State Railways, viz., the Jodhpur-Hyderabad and the Jorhat Railways, show diminished earnings, as compared with the corresponding period of 1917-18, all the other systems exhibiting a greater or less increase. In the case of the East Indian Railway the increase amounts to Rs. 170½ lakhs; of the Great Indian Peninsula to Rs. 123¾ lakhs; of the Bombay Baroda to Rs. 74¾ lakhs; of the Bombay Baroda broad gauge to Rs. 66⅓ lakhs; and of the Bengal Nagpur to Rs. 48⅓ lakhs. Compared with the pre-war year of 1913-14, the total earnings of the year under review are better by Rs. 1,934¾ lakhs. Thus it will be observed that Railways in India are not an unimportant concern to the Government or for the matter of that to its people, and this is why we write again and again persisting on bringing the Railways completely under the control and management of the State.

ERRATA

Page 474 Column 1,

ll. 8 9 for 'with needed.....fostered' read 'the needed irrigation works for agriculture were attended to. The fruit and flower gardens were also fostered to a degree of excellence."

Page 476, Col. 2,

l. 39. For 'Thus the price' etc, read 'The price of' etc.

Printed and Published by A. C. Sarkar, at the Brahmo Mission Press
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Hon'ble Nawab Syed Shams-Ul-Huda, K.C.I.E., Judge, Calcutta High Court, and formerly Member, Executive Council, Bengal, writes:—

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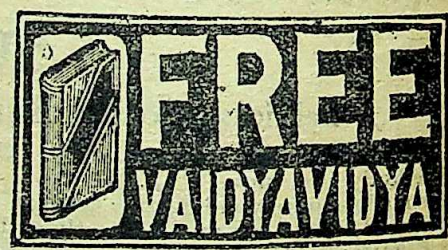

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Contains coloured reproductions of the following Pictures :

1. The Passing of Shah Jehan—by Abanindranath Tagore.
2. The Mendicant—by Nandalal Bose.
3. The Infant Krishna—by the Late Surendranath Ganguly.
4. "So All Was Lost !" A Messenger reporting to a King.—From a Durbar scene in Cave II at Ajanta.
5. The Best Gift—by Asit Kumar Haldar.
6. Purandar Bidding Farewell to Hiranmayi—by Surendranath Kar.
7. In Sportive Mood—by Samarendranath Gupta.
8. A Gypsy Woman Begging—by Sarada Charan Ukil.
9. At the Temple Door—by Gaganendranath Tagore.
10. Nadir Shah Ordering a General Massacre at Delhi—by Hakim Muhammad Khan
11. Anxious for the Beloved—by Molaram.
12. Shrimati the Martyr—by Srimati Sukhalata Rao.
13. The Homeless Mother—by Jamini Prakash Ganguly.
14. Sakuntala—by Sailendranath De.
15. Spring (to illustrate Tagore's "Cycle of Spring")—by Charuchandra Roy.
16. The Mother—by Muhammad Abdur Rahman Chughtai.

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Contains coloured reproductions of the following Pictures :

1. Tear Drop on Lotus Leaf—by Abanindranath Tagore.
2. Shiva-Durga—by Molaram.
3. Behula on the Raft—by Mrs. Sukhalata Rao.
4. Sindhu's Piety—by Sailendranath De.
5. Raja Bir Singh of Nurpur—by an Old Master.
6. Sita in Captivity—by Saradacharan Ukil.
7. The Broken String—by Samarendranath Gupta.
8. "The Flower that has once blown for ever dies"—by Muhammad Abdur Rahman Chughtai.
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3. Kajri—Dance and Music of the Rainy Season in Hindusthan—by Samarendranath Gupta.
5. Behula Dancing at the Court of Indra—by Mrs. Sukhalata Rao.
6. The Swing—From an Old Painting.
7. "My Lamp Goes Out Every Time"—by Charuchandra Roy.
8. Sita and Lakshmana in the Forest—by Sarada Charan Ukil.

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9. The Milkmaids—by Sailendranath Dey.
10. The Passing of Balarama—by the late Upendrakishor Roy.
11. Wild Duck—Old Painting.
12. Bathing During a Lunar Eclipse—by Mukulchandra De.
13. Work and Worship—by Jamini Prakash Ganguli.
14. The Lamp and The Moon—by Muhammad Abdur Rahman Chughtai.
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The Home Ruler says :—

Excellent little album which gives us some very fine specimens of the Indian School of Art. I have no doubt that this album will be a great educative influence in the field of art, and that instead of paying lip homage to our great pictures, our young men will take to really understanding and appreciating their merits.

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The Hindustan Review says :

Excellent paintings by leading Indian Artists of the Calcutta School and is very cheaply priced at two rupees. It deserves a large circulation.

United India and Native States says :

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Opinions on Chatterjee's Picture Albums : (*Continued*).

is the Editor of a remarkably able Journal —the best of its kind—*The Modern Review*, and those of our readers who are interested in India may do well to peruse it.

United India and Native States says :—

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Most excellent reproductions of works of famous artists, and should secure as large a circulation as its predecessors.

The Madras Mail, dated the 8th January, 1919 says :—

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In the series are imbedded the rich artistic treasures of our Motherland. No one who can afford it and who is interested in the artistic history of India and to whom art and imagination are no more empty words should fail to make it a point to possess himself a set of this series.

—*United India and Native States.*

All lovers of Indian art should prize these albums and feel grateful to Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee—the talented editor of the *Modern Review*—for placing them within the means of his middle-class countrymen.

Chatterjee's Picture Albums, No. IV

1. Chaitanya Bidding Fare-well to his Mother —Gaganendranath Tagore.
2. Ahalya—Nandalal Bose.
3. Worship—An Unknown Old Master.
4. Separated—Samarendranath Gupta.
5. The End of the Journey—Abanindranath Tagore.
6. The Rose and the Wine Cup—Muhammad Abdur Rahman Chughtai.
7. Temptation—An Old Master.
8. The Last Ferry—Sarada Charan Ukil.
9. The Necklace—Charuchandra Roy.
10. On the Way to the Ghat—Mukulchandra De.
11. Yasoda and the Infant Krishna—Sailendranath Dey.
12. The Sacred Stairs—M. V. Dhurandhar.
13. The Blind Beggar—Kiranchandra Ghose
14. The God Yama and Nachiketa—The late Priyanath Sinha.
15. The Old and the New—Asitkumar Haldar
16. Sachi and Aindrila—Mrs. Sukhalata Rao.

Price Rs. 2. Per V. P. P. Rs. 2 As. 5 only.

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Opinions on Picture Album No. 4.

Chatterjee's Picture Albums—No. 4. (*Modern Review* Office. Price Rs. 2.)

In the fourth of his admirable series of picture albums, Mr. Ramanand Chatterji gives us some treats. This album, like the preceding three, contains 16 pictures by artists of the Bengal School who, if not already famous, are about to be so. The value of the short explanatory notes at the end of the album is really great, particularly where the illustrations represent unfamiliar themes.

Picture 1, by Gaganendranath Tagore of "Chaitanya Bidding Farewell to His mother" and 5 "The End of the Journey" by Abanindranath Tagore, speak for themselves. 2 and 7 "Ahalya" and "Temptation," are by Nandalal Bose. We have a beautiful illustration in "Ahalya" where the brothers Rama and Lakshmana, accompanied by the sage Vishvamitra, are looking down with compassion on Ahalya, who has been turned into stone as the result of the curse of her husband Gautama. "Temptation" is a copy of an old water colour by Nandalal Bose. It is of a woman who is luring back from a tree in her yard her pet bird which has escaped from its cage. This picture seems to us to be artificial and untrue to nature.

Picture 3, "Worship," by an unknown old master has been very successfully reproduced. The notes explain that this picture is supposed to represent, either a princess with her attendants worshipping at a hill shrine or the Goddess Uma worshipping Siva. From the Northern Indian style of dress of three women and other small details, the first of the two suggestions would appear to be the more plausible one.

We next come to No 4—a really loving picture and very true to life, "Separated," by Mr. Samarendranath Gupta where he illustrates perfectly from a passage in Kalidasa's *Ritu-Somhara*, the loved one separated from her beloved. She has cast aside her mark of vermilion and jewel, for, parted from her lord and master she has no need for loveliness.

Mr. Abdur Rahman Chughtai's "The Rose and the Wine-cup" is delightful as a picture but fails to convey his message.

"The last Ferry" is beautiful. Mr. Saradacharan Ukil has succeeded marvellously in his "Evening" effects and his group of people waiting for the last ferry is very realistic.

"The Necklace"—No 9—is by way of illustrating the idea expressed in one of Rabindranath's poems—"when the prince of heart passes one cannot but throw all the valuables one possesses before him." In this picture we cannot help feeling that the young woman is not willing to part with *all* her valuables for *her* "prince of heart." The picture in itself is fascinating, partly because the expression of waiting and longing in the eyes is unusual and partly perhaps because of a western touch somewhere in the dressing of the hair.

Mukulchandra Dey's "On the Way to the Ghat" (10) is charming.

Picture 11 is of "Yoshoda Caressing the infant Krishna" the Babe Krishna is good but the picture as a whole is too stiff to be pleasing to the eye.

The Maharatta artist, Mr. M. V. Dhurandhar, shows wonderful power and imagination in "The Sacred Stairs" (No. 12). He chooses for his type of womanhood the handsome woman from the Maharashtra. This picture has been reproduced in monochrome with a tinted background.

"The Blind Beggar" (13) is very true to life.

On Nos. 14 and 15 "The God Yama and Nachiketa," "The Old and the New," it is difficult to make up one's mind.

The last illustration No. 16, "Sachi and Andrila," deserves special mention as it is an artistic piece of work by a Bengali lady of talent. We shall look forward to more of Mrs. Sukhalata Rao's work.

We are very glad a very definite effort is being made to popularise these Bengal pictures. The series of Albums, of which one under review is No. 4, bring to every educated Indian the opportunity to study and appreciate the work of the Bengal School which at present is the only institution which has seriously taken up the cause of Indian Art. S. W.

—*The Commonweal.*

Comprising several interesting reproductions. There are sixteen picturers in the album, all from the original paintings of representatives of the new Bengal School. Chatterjee's albums promise to become a valuable pictorial record of Indian social and religious life, as portrayed in the pages of the ancient Hindu *puranas.*

—*The Madras Mail.*

The album like the previous ones contains sixteen pictures of which a considerable proportion are very good work deserving of the highest praise.

—*Every Man's Review*

Chatterjee's Picture Albums, No. V

Has just been published. It contains the following 16 reproductions in colours :

1. Kajri—Abanindranath Tagore.
2. Comrades—Surendranath Kar.
3. The Sayambara or Own-choice of Damayanti—Nandalal Bose.
4. Ramdas and Sivaji—Asitkumar Haldar.
5. In Quest of the Beloved—Samarendranath Gupta.
6. The Better Land—Mahammad Abdur Rahman Chughtai.
7. Playmates—Saradacharan Ukil.
8. The Pardanashin—Iswari Prasad.
9. Lightning—M. D. Natesan.
10. The Goddes Jagaddhatri—Sailendranath De
11. Watering the Tulasi Plant—Abanindranath Tagore and Mukulchandra De.
12. Radha Awaking from her Swoon—Old Painting.
13. A Love Letter—Charuchandra Roy.
14. Rabindranath Tagore—Abanindranath Tagore.
15. Krishna holding up Mount Govardhan—Molaram.
16. The Cycle of Spring—Asit Kumar Haldar.

The Price is as usual Rs. 2 per copy.

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THE MODERN REVIEW

VOL. XXV No. 6 JUNE, 1919 WHOLE No. 150

MOTHER'S PRAYER

By Sir Rabindranath Tagore.

Translated by the Author from his Bengali original, Composed 22 years ago.

King Dhritar*a*shtra.—The blind Kaurava King.

Prince Duryodhana.—His son, who has just won in a game of chance by which his P*a*ndava cousins have lost their kingdom and accepted banishment.

Queen G*a*ndh*a*ri.—The mother of Duryodhana.

N.B.—The italic *a*'s in the proper names is to be pronounced long as *a* in "far."

Dhritarashtra.

You have attained what you sought.

Duryodhana.

I have attained success.

Dhritarashtra.

Are you happy?

Duryodhana.

I am victorious.

Dhritarashtra.

I ask you again, what happiness had you in gaining an undivided kingdom.

Duryodhana.

Sire, a Kshatriya's thirst is not for happiness, but for victory,—the fiery wine victory brewed from seething jealousy. Wretchedly happy we were when we lived in peace under the friendly dominance of our cousins, like inglorious stains lying idle on the breast of the moon, while these Pandavas would milk the world of its wealth and allow us to share it with them in brotherly tolerance. But now, when they own defeat and are ready for banishment, I am no longer happy,—but I am exultant.

Dhritarashtra.

Wretch, you forget that the Pandavas and Kauravas have the same forefathers.

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Duryodhana.

It was difficult to forget that, and therefore our inequalities rankled all the more in my heart. The moon of the midnight is never jealous of the sun of the noon. But the struggle to share the horizon by both the orbs can not last forever. Thank heaven, that struggle is over and we have attained at last the solitude of glory.

Dhritarashtra.

The mean jealousy !

Duryodhana.

Jealousy is never mean,—it is in the nature of the great. Only grass can grow in crowded amity, not the giant trees. Stars live in clusters, but the sun and moon are lonely in their splendour. The pale moon of the Pandavas sets behind the forest shadows leaving the new-risen sun of the Kauravas to rejoice.

Dhritarashtra.

But what is right has been defeated.

Duryodhana.

What is right for the rulers of men is not what is right for the people. The people thrive in comradeship, but for a king those men are enemies who are his equals. They are obstacles when in front, they are a terror when behind. There is no place for brothers or friends in a king's polity ; its one solid foundation is conquest.

Dhritarashtra.

I refuse to call it conquest deceitfully to win in gambling.

Duryodhana.

It is no shame for a man not to challenge a tiger to fight on equal terms with teeth and nails. Our weapons are those which lead us to success and not to suicide. Father, I am proud of the end we have achieved and disdain feebly to regret the means.

Dhritarashtra.

But justice—

Duryodhana.

Only fools dream of justice before success is attained, but those who are born to be kings rely upon their power, merciless and unburdened by scruples.

Dhritarashtra.

Your success has brought down upon you a flood of calumny, loud and angry.

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Duryodhana.

It will take amazingly little time before the people shall know that Duryodhana is their king and has the power to crush calumny under foot.

Dhritarashtra.

Calumny dies weary, dancing on the tongue-tips. Do not drive it into the secret shelter of the heart to grow in strength.

Duryodhana.

Unuttered defaming does not touch a king's dignity. I care not if love is refused us, but insolence shall not be borne. Giving of love depends upon the wish of the giver, and the poorest of the poor can indulge in such generosity. Let them squander it upon their pet cats and their tame dogs, and our good cousins the Pandavas, I shall never envy them. But fear is the tribute I claim for my royal throne. Father, only too leniently did you lend your ears to those who slander your sons,—but if you still allow these pious friends of yours to continue in their revels of shrill denunciation at the cost of your own children, then let us exchange our kingdom for the exile of our cousins, and go to the wilderness where happily friends are never cheap.

Dhritarashtra.

If my friends' pious warnings could lessen my love for my sons then we might be saved. But I have dipped my hands in the mire of your infamy and lost my sense of the good. I have heedlessly set fire for your sake to this ancient forest of our royal lineage,—so fearful is my love. With you clasped to my breast, we, like a double meteor, are plunging into a blind downfall. Therefore, doubt not in my father's love ; relax not your embracing arms till we reach the brink of annihilation. Beat your drums of victory, lift your banner of triumph. In this mad riot of exultant evil, brothers and friends will disperse and there will remain only the doomed father and the doomed son and God's curse and nothing besides.

Enters Attendant.

Sire, Queen Gandhari asks for audience.

Dhritarashtra.

I shall wait for her.

Duryodhana.

Let me take my leave. (Exit.)

Dhritrarashtra.

Fly away ! For you cannot bear the fire of your mother's presence.

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Enters Queen Gandhari, the mother of Duryodhana.

Gandhari.

I have a prayer at your feet.

Dhritarashtra.

The utterance of your wish carries fulfilment.

Gandhari.

The time has come to renounce him.

Dhritarashtra.

Whom, my queen ?

Gandhari.

Duryodhana.

Dhritarashtra.

Our own son, Duryodhana ?

Gandhari.

Yes !

Dhritarashtra.

Terrible is this prayer from you, Mother of kings.

Gandhari.

This prayer is not only mine, it comes from the fathers of the Kauravas, who are in paradise.

Dhritarashtra.

The Divine Judge will punish him who has broken his laws. But I am his father.

Gandhari.

And am I not his mother ? Have I not borne him under my throbbing heart ? Yet I ask of you, renounce Duryodhana the unrighteous.

Dhritarashtra.

And what will remain to us after that ?

Gandhari.

God's blessing.

Dhritarashtra.

And what will that bring to us ?

Gandhari.

New afflictions. How can we bear in our breast the double thorns of the pleasure of our son's presence and the pride of our freshly acquired kingdom bought at the price of wrong ? The Pandavas will never accept back from our hands the land which they have given up. Therefore, it is only meet for us to take upon our head some great sorrow which will rob the wrong of its reward.

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Dhritarashtra.

Queen, you are inflicting fresh pain upon the heart already rent.

Gandhari.

Sire, the punishment imposed upon our son will be more ours than his. When the judge is callous of the pain that he inflicts he has not the right to judge. And if you withdraw judgment from your own son to save yourself pain, then all the culprits ever punished at your hands will cry for vengeance against you at God's throne—for had not they also their fathers ?

Dhritarashtra.

No more of this, Queen, I pray you. Our son is renounced by God and that is why I cannot renounce him. To save him is no longer in my power, and therefore my consolation is to share his guilt and to go down the path of destruction with him,—his solitary companion. What has been done is done, and what must follow, let follow.

(Exit.)

Gandhari.

Be calm, my heart, and patiently wait for God's judgment. The oblivious night wears on, the morning of reckoning comes, and time wakes up to mend its rents. The thundering roar of its chariot I can hear. Woman, bow your head down to the dust, and for your sacrifice fling on its way your heart to be trampled under its wheels. And then the darkness will shroud the sky, the earth will tremble, and a wailing will rend the air. And then will come the end silent and cruel, the terrible peace, and a great forgetting, the awful extinction of hatred, the supreme deliverance rising from the fire of death.

LESSONS FROM THE CAREER OF SHIVAJI

§1. SHIVAJI'S POLICY HOW FAR TRADITIONAL.

SHIVAJI'S state policy, like his administrative system, was not very new. From time immemorial it had been the aim of the typical Hindu king to set out early every autumn* to "extend his kingdom" at the expense of his neighbours. Indeed, the Sanskrit law-books lay down such a course as the necessary accomplishment of a true Kshatriya chief. In more recent times it had also been the practice of the Muhammadan sovereigns in North India and the Deccan alike. But these conquerors justified their territorial aggrandisement by religious motives. Ac-

* Manu, vii. 99-100, 182.

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cording to the Quranic law, there cannot be peace between a Muhammadan king and his neighbouring "infidel" States. The latter are *dar-ul-harb* or legitimate seats of war, and it is the Muslim king's duty to slay and plunder in them till they accept the true faith and become *dar-ul-islam*, after which they will become entitled to his protection.†

The coincidence between Shivaji's foreign policy and that of a Quranic sovereign is so complete that both the history of Shivaji by his courtier Krishnaji Anant and the Persian official history of Bijapur use exactly the same word, *mulk-giri*, to describe such raids into neighbouring countries as a regular political ideal. The only difference was that in theory at least, an orthodox Muslim king was bound to spare the other Muslim States in his path and not to spoil or shed the blood of true believers, while Shivaji (as well as the Peshwas after him) carried on his *mulk-giri* into all neighbouring States, Hindu no less than Islamic, and squeezed rich Hindus as mercilessly as he did Muhammadans. Then again, the orthodox Islamic king, in theory at least, aimed at the annexation and conversion of the other States, so that after the short sharp agony of conquest was over the latter enjoyed peace like the regular parts of his dominion. But the object of Shivaji's military enterprises, unless his court-historian Sabhasad has misrepresented it, was not annexation but mere plunder, or to quote his very words, "The Maratha forces should feed themselves at the expense of foreign countries for eight months every year, and levy blackmail" (p. 29).

Thus, Shivaji's power was exactly similar in origin and theory to the power of the Muslim States in India and elsewhere, and he only differed from them in the use of that power. Universal toleration and equal justice and protection were the distinctive features of the permanently occupied portion of his *swaraj*, as we have shown elsewhere.

§ 2. Causes of Shivaji's failure to build an enduring State.

Why did Shivaji fail to create an enduring State? Why did the Maratha nation stop short of the final accomplishment of their union and dissolve before they had consolidated into an absolutely compact political body?

An obvious cause was, no doubt, the shortness of his reign, barely ten years after the final rupture with the Mughals in 1670. But this does not furnish the true explanation of his failure. It is doubtful if with a very much longer time at his disposal he could have averted the ruin which befell the Maratha State under the Peshwas, for the same moral canker was at work among his people in the 17th century as in the 18th. The first danger of the new Hindu kingdom established by him in the Deccan lay in the fact that the national glory and prosperity resulting from the victories of Shivaji and Baji Rao I. created a reaction in favour of Hindu orthodoxy; it accentuated caste distinctions and ceremonial purity of daily rites, which ran counter to the homogeneity and simplicity of the poor and politically depressed early Maratha society. Thus, his political success sapped the main foundation of that success.

In the security, power and wealth engendered by their independence, the Marathas of the 18th century forgot the past record of Muslim persecution; the social grades turned against each other. The Brahmans living east of the Sahyadri despised those living west, the men of the hills despised their brethren of the plains, because they could now do so with impunity. The head of the State, though a Brahman, was despised by his other Brahman servants,—because the first Peshwa's great-grand-father's great-grand-father had once been lower in society than the Poona Brahmans' great-grand-fathers' great-grand-fathers! While Chitpavan Brahmans were waging social war with the Deshastha Brahmans, a bitter jealousy raged between the Brahman ministers and governors and the Prabhu Kayastha secretaries. We have unmistakable traces of it as early as the reign of Shivaji, though it never led to an open rupture in his Court like the Shia-Sunni rivalry in the camp of Aurangzib. "Caste grows by fission." It is antagonistic to national union. In proportion as Shivaji's ideal of a Hindu *swaraj* was based on orthodoxy, it contained within itself the seed of its own death. As Rabindranath Tagore remarks:

"A temporary enthusiasm sweeps over

† For a detailed account and authorities, *History of Aurangzib*, iii. 284-293.

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the country and we imagine that it has been united; but the rents and holes in our body social do their work secretly; we cannot retain any noble idea long.

"Shivaji aimed at preserving the rents; he wished to save from Mughal attack a Hindu society of which ceremonial distinctions and isolation of castes are the very breath of life. He wanted to make this heterogeneous society triumphant over all India! He wove ropes of sand; he attempted the impossible. It is beyond the power of any man, it is opposed to the divine law of the universe, to establish the *swaraj* of such a caste-ridden, isolated, internally-torn sect over a vast continent like India."*

There was no attempt at well-thought-out organised communal improvement, spread of education, or unification of the people, either under Shivaji or under the Peshwas. The cohesion of the peoples in the Maratha State was not organic but artificial, accidental, and therefore precarious. It was solely dependent on the ruler's extraordinary personality and disappeared when the country ceased to produce supermen.

A government of personal discretion is by its very nature, uncertain. This uncertainty reacted fatally on the administration. However well planned the machinery and rules might be, the actual conduct of the administration was marred by inefficiency, sudden changes and official corruption, because nobody felt secure of his post or of the due appreciation of his merit. This has been the bane of all autocratic States in the East and in the West alike, except where the autocrat has been a "hero as king" or where a high level of education, civilisation and national spirit among the people has reduced the evil.

§ 3. NEGLECT OF THE ECONOMIC FACTOR BY THE MARATHAS.

The Maratha rulers neglected the economic development of the State. Some of them did, no doubt, try to save the peasantry from illegal exactions, and to this extent they promoted agriculture. But commerce was subjected to frequent harassment by local officers and the traders could never be certain of freedom of movement and security of their rights on mere payment of the legal rate of duty. The internal resources of a small province with no industry, little trade, a sterile soil, and an agriculture dependent upon scanty and precarious rainfall,—could not possibly support the large army that Shivaji kept or the imperial position and world-dominion to which the Peshwas aspired.

The necessary expenses of the State could be met, and all the parts of the body politic could be held together only by a constant flow of money from outside its own borders, *i.e.*, by a regular succession of raids. As the late Mr. G. K. Gokhale laughingly told me when describing the hardships of the present rigid land assessment in the Bombay Presidency, "You see, the land revenue did not matter much under Maratha rule. In those old days, when the crop failed, our people used to sally forth with their horses and spears and bring back enough booty to feed them for the next two or three years. Now they have to starve on their own lands."

Thus, by the character of his State, the Maratha's hands were turned against everybody and everybody's hands were turned against him. It is the Nemesis of a *Krieg-staat* to move in a vicious circle. It must wage war periodically if it is to get its food; but war, when waged as a normal method of supply, destroys industry and wealth in the invading and invaded countries alike, and ultimately defeats the very end of such wars. Peace is death to a *Krieg-staat*; but peace is the very life-breath of wealth. The *Krieg-staat*, therefore, kills the goose that lays the golden eggs. To take an illustration, Shivaji's repeated plunder of Surat scared away trade and wealth from that city, and his second raid (in 1670) brought him much less booty than his first, and a few years later the constant dread of Maratha incursion entirely impoverished Surat and effectually dried up this source of supply. Thus, from the economic point of view, the Maratha State had no *stable* basis, no normal means of growth *within itself*.

§4. EXCESS OF FINESSE AND INTRIGUE.

Lastly, the Marathas trusted too much to finesse. They did not realise that without a certain amount of fidelity to promises no society can hold together.

* From his *Rise and Fall of the Sikh Power*, as translated by me in the *Modern Review*, April 1911.

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Stratagem and falsehood may have been necessary at the birth of their State, but it was continued during the maturity of their power. No one could rely on the promise of a Maratha minister or the assurance of a Maratha general. Witness the long and finally fruitless negotiations of the English merchants with Shivaji for compensation for the loss of their Rajapur factory. The Maratha Government could not always be relied on to abide by their treaty obligations.

Shivaji, and to a lesser extent, Baji Rao I., preserved an admirable balance between war and diplomacy. But the latter-day Marathas lost this practical ability. They trusted too much to diplomatic trickery, as if empire were a pacific game of chess. Military efficiency was neglected, war at the right moment and in the right fashion was avoided, or, worse still, their forces were frittered away in unseasonable campaigns and raids conducted as a matter of routine, and the highest political wisdom was believed to consist in *raj-karan* or diplomatic intrigue. Thus, while the Maratha spider was weaving his endless cobweb of hollow alliances and diplomatic counter-plot, the mailed fist of Wellesley was thrust into his laboured but flimsy tissue of state-craft, and by a few swift and judicious strokes his defence and screen was torn away and his power left naked and helpless. In rapid succession the Nizam was disarmed, Tipu was crushed, and the Peshwa was enslaved. While Sindhia and Holkar were dreaming the dream of the overlordship of all India, they suddenly awoke to find that even their local independence was gone. The man of action, the soldier-statesman, always triumphs over the mere scheming Machiavel.

§ 5. Character of Shivaji.

Shivaji's private life was marked by a high standard of morality. He was a devoted son, a loving father and an attentive husband, though he did not rise above the ideas and usage of his age, which allowed a plurality of wives and the keeping of concubines even among the priestly caste, not to speak of warriors and kings. Intensely religious from his very boyhood, by instinct and training alike, he remained throughout life abstemious, free from vice, devoted to holy men, and passionately fond of hearing scripture readings and sacred stories and songs. But religion remained with him an ever fresh fountain of right conduct and generosity; it did not obsess his mind nor harden him into a bigot. The sincerity of his faith is proved by his impartial respect for the holy men of all sects (Muslim as much as Hindu) and toleration of all creeds. His chivalry to women and strict enforcement of morality in his camp was a wonder in that age and has extorted the admiration of hostile critics like Khafi Khan.

He had the born leader's personal magnetism and threw a spell over all who knew him, drawing the best elements of the country to his side and winning the most devoted service from his officers, while his dazzling victories and ever ready smile made him the idol of his soldiery. His royal gift of judging character was one of the main causes of his success, as his selection of generals and governors, diplomatists and secretaries was never at fault, and his administration, both civil and military, was unrivalled for efficiency. How well he deserved to be king is proved by his equal treatment and justice to all men within his realm, his protection and endowment of all religions, his care for the peasantry, and his remarkable forethought in making all arrangements and planning distant campaigns.

His army organisation was a model of efficiency; everything was provided for beforehand and kept in its proper place under a proper care-taker; an excellent spy system supplied him in advance with the most minute information about the theatre of his intended campaign; divisions of his army were combined or dispersed at will over long distances without failure; the enemy's pursuit or obstruction was successfully met and yet the booty was rapidly and safely conveyed home without any loss. His inborn military genius is proved by his instinctively adopting that system of warfare which was most suited to the racial character of his soldiers, the nature of the country, the weapons of the age, and the internal condition of his enemies. His light cavalry, stiffened with swift-footed infantry, was irresistible in the age of Aurangzib. More than a century after his death, his blind imitator Daulat Rao Sindhia continued the same tactics when the English had galloper guns for field action and most of the Deccan towns

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were walled round* and provided with defensive artillery, and he therefore failed ignominiously.

§ 6. SHIVAJI'S POLITICAL IDEAL AND DIFFICULTIES.

Did Shivaji merely found a *Krieg-staat* i.e., a government that lives and grows only by war? Was he merely an *entrepreneur* of rapine, a Hindu edition of Alaeddin Khilji or Timur?

I think it would not be fair to take this view. For one thing, he never had peace to work out his political ideal. The whole of his short life was one struggle with enemies, a period of preparation and not of fruition. All his attention was necessarily devoted to meeting daily dangers with daily expedients and he had not the chance of peacefully building up a well-planned political edifice. His record is incomplete, and we cannot confidently deduce his political aim from his actual achievement. It would be more correct to conjecture it from indirect sources like his regulations, though this class of materials is scanty and often inconclusive.

In the vast Gangetic valley and the wide *Desh* country rolling eastwards through the Deccan, Nature has fixed no boundary to States. Their size changes with daily changes in their strength as compared with their neighbours'. There can be no stable equilibrium among them for more than a generation. Each has to push the others as much for self-defence as for aggression. Each must be armed and ready to invade the others, if it does not wish to be invaded and absorbed by them. Where friction with neighbours is the normal state of things, a huge armed force, sleepless vigilance, and readiness to strike the first blow are the necessary conditions of the very existence of a kingdom. The evil could be remedied only by the establishment of a universal empire throughout the country from sea to sea.

Shivaji could not for a moment be sure of the pacific disposition or fidelity to loyalty of the Delhi Government. The past history of the Mughal expansion into the Deccan since the days of Akbar, was a warning to him. The imperial policy of annexing the whole of South India was unmistakable to Shiva as to Adil Shah or Qutb Shah. Its completion was only a question of time, and every Deccani Power was bound to wage eternal warfare with the Mughals if it wished to exist. Hence Shivaji lost no chance of robbing Mughal territory in the Deccan.

With Bijapur his relations were somewhat different. He could raise his head or expand his dominion only at the expense of Bijapur. Rebellion against his liege-lord was the necessary condition of his being. But when, about 1662, an understanding was effected between him and the Adil Shahi ministers, he gave up molesting the heart of the Bijapur kingdom. With the Bijapuri barons whose fiefs lay close to his dominions, he had, however, to wage war till he had wrested Kolhapur, North Kanara and South Konkan from their hands. In the Karnatak division, viz., the Dharwar and Belgaum districts, this contest was still undecided when he died. With the provinces that lay across the path of his natural expansion he could not be at peace, though he did not wish to challenge the central government of Bijapur. This attitude was changed by the death of Ali II in 1672, the accession of the boy Sikandar Adil Shah, the faction fights between rival nobles at the capital, and the visible dissolution of the Government. But Shivaji helped Bijapur greatly during the Mughal invasions of 1679.

§ 7. HIS GREATNESS LAY IN HIS INFLUENCE ON THE SPIRIT.

Shivaji's real greatness lay in his character and practical ability, rather than in originality of conception or length of political vision. Unfailing insight into the character of others, efficiency of arrangements, and instinctive perception of what was practicable and most profitable under the circumstances,—these were the causes of his success in life. To these must be added his personal morality and loftiness of aim, which drew to his side the best minds of his community, while his universal toleration and insistence on equal justice gave contentment to all classes subject to his rule. He strenuously maintained order and enforced moral laws throughout his own dominions, and the people were happier under him than elsewhere.

His splendid success fired the imagina-

* Owen's *Selections from Wellington's Desp.* 284, fn.

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tion of his contemporaries, and his name became a spell calling the Maratha race to a new life. His kingdom was lost within nine years of his death. But the imperishable achievement of his life was the welding of the Marathas into a nation, and his most precious legacy was the spirit that he breathed into his people,

The mutual conflict and internal weakness of the three Muslim Powers of the Deccan were, no doubt, contributory causes of the rise of Shivaji. But his success sprang from a higher source than the incompetence of his enemies. I regard him as the last great constructive genius and nation-builder that the Hindu race has produced. His system was his own creation and, unlike Ranjit Singh, he took no foreign aid in his administration. His army was drilled and commanded by his own people and not by Frenchmen. What he built lasted long; his institutions were looked up to with admiration and emulation even a century later in the palmy days of the Peshwas' rule.

Shivaji was illiterate; he learnt nothing by reading. He built up his kingdom and government before visiting any royal court, civilised city, or organised camp. He received no help or counsel from any experienced minister or general.* But his native genius, alone and unaided, enabled him to found a compact kingdom, an invincible army, and a grand and beneficent system of administration.

Before his rise, the Maratha race was scattered like atoms through many Deccani kingdoms. He welded them into a mighty nation. And he achieved this in the teeth of the opposition of four mighty Powers like the Mughal empire, Bijapur, Portuguese India, and the Abyssinians of Janjira. No other Hindu has shown such capacity in modern times. The materialistic Maratha authors of the *bakhars* have given us a list of Shivaji's legacy,—so many elephants, horses, soldiers, slaves, jewels, gold and silver, and even spices and raisins! But they have not mentioned Shivaji's greatest gift to posterity, viz., the new life of the Maratha race.

Before he came, the Marathas were mere hirelings, mere servants of aliens. They served the State, but had no lot or part in its management; they shed their lifeblood in the army, but were denied any share in the conduct of war or peace. They were always subordinates, never leaders.

Shivaji was the first to challenge Bijapur and Delhi and thus teach his countrymen that it was possible for them to be independent leaders in war. Then, he founded a State and taught his people that they were capable of administering a kingdom in all its departments. He has proved by his example that the Hindu race can build a nation, found a State, defeat enemies; they can conduct their own defence; they can protect and promote literature and art, commerce and industry; they can maintain navies and ocean-trading fleets of their own, and conduct naval battles on equal terms with foreigners. He taught the modern Hindus to rise to the full stature of their growth.

He has proved that the Hindu race can still produce not only *jamaitdars* (non-commissioned officers) and *chitnises* (clerks), but also rulers of men, and even a king of kings (*Chhatrapati*.) The Emperor Jahangir cut the *Akshay Bat* tree of Allahabad down to its roots and hammered a red-hot iron cauldron on to its stump. He flattered himself that he had killed it. But lo! in a year the tree began to grow again and pushed the heavy obstruction to its growth aside!

Shivaji has shown that the tree of Hinduism is not really dead, that it can rise from beneath the seemingly crushing load of centuries of political bondage, exclusion from the administration, and legal repression; it can put forth new leaves and branches; it can again lift up its head to the skies.

JADUNATH SARKAR

* His early tutor, Dadaji Kond Dev, was a Brahman well versed in the Shastras and estate management. He could only teach Shivaji how to be a good revenue collector or accountant. Shivaji's institutions, civil and military, could not have been inspired by Dadaji.

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OUR PART IN THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

OWARDS the end of January President Wilson, opening the discussion on the League of Nations at Paris, said :

"The select classes of mankind are no longer the governors of mankind. The fortunes of mankind are in the hands of the plain people of the whole world. Satisfy them, and you have justified their confidence. Not only that, you have established peace. Fail to satisfy them, and no arrangement you can make will either set up or steady the peace of the world."

When he said this, he did not mean only the people of America or Britain or France. He was not thinking merely of democratic and self-governing countries. In this twentieth century, with the means of communication by land and sea thrown open to the humblest as well as to the highest, and the influence of education penetrating everywhere, so that the most illiterate even is affected by it, we are—everyone of us—alive to-day in a more spacious manner than our ancestors ever were. We have the opportunity and the ability to influence the life not only of our community, but of our country and the world. While statesmen have their duty, have we. If we do not seriously apply our minds to the problems that face the world to-day and try conscientiously to discharge our responsibility, the noblest scheme that the wit of man or the wisdom of God can devise is foredoomed to failure. We have our part, therefore, in the League of Nations, and the object of this article is to make clear what that part is.

But, first of all, a word must be said on the general question of the League of Nations. What precisely is the League of Nations ? In the meantime it is only a proposal, not yet an accomplished fact. Details are still being elaborated, but here it is unnecessary to deal with details. The main idea of the proposal is that of a voluntary union of nations for the preservation of good order and the maintenance of peace, an agreement on the part of the different states concerned to respect one another, to keep faith with one another, to live and let live. To make this agreement effective, it is proposed to institute a kind of international police. There will be a central authority to which decisions can be referred, and whose decisions will be enforced.

Man is a social animal of a high order. Starting from the natural union of the family, he has gradually progressed towards wider and wider unions, culminating hitherto in the state or nation or empire. It is believed that long ago, before any of these wider unions had been organised, men fought for their individual and family rights much as the lower animals do. To this day, in some outlying parts of the world which the arm of the law does not reach, or reaches only with difficulty, men are often tempted to fall back, and sometimes do fall back, upon the old savage custom according to which each man was a law unto himself. The practice of punishment by unauthorised persons without a legal trial is called lynch law, after a North American farmer named Lynch who once in this way chased a thief and having caught him tied him to a tree and flogged him. Lynch law, perhaps, was the general practice in prehistoric times. With the very dawn of civilisation, however, restraint began to be put upon individuals for the benefit of the community. A definite law of revenge, for example, was evolved which limited the damages an injured man might claim. He should not ask more than an eye for an eye, or a tooth for a tooth. Step by step, in one country and another, a code of laws was framed. Men found it was convenient and for the common good to take the right or duty of punishment largely if not entirely out of the hands of private persons, and entrust it to some more or less impartial authority. Thus gradually grew up our system of law-courts and judges, of police and prisons and jails.

In the proposed League of Nations, if it takes effect, an endeavour will be made to apply to the mutual relations of organised states the same principles as now rule the mutual relations of individuals within those states. Up to the present it is a kind of lynch law that has prevailed in the

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mutual intercourse of nations. From time to time in the past attempts had been made at international agreements. It was thought that thus something had been accomplished towards humanising the art of war, that in virtue of those agreements war had been made a more civilised thing than in the barbarous days of old. How vain the thought was we all know! Besides, no system of sound international law has ever yet been established to which the nations generally have given their adherence. It is to do away with lynch law amongst the nations that it is proposed to form this new league. It is to abolish the practice by which each nation that thinks itself aggrieved sits as judge in its own case and, if it is strong enough, inflicts upon the supposed offender the punishment it thinks deserved, it is to prevent nations and empires making war on others when *they* think it right to do so, it is to introduce a system of common law amongst the nations, to organise a police force that shall control all states alike, to set up a tribunal to whose decisions all alike must bow, that it is proposed to form a league of the nations of the whole world. *Not only this.* It is intended that this league shall be something more than a negative thing, settling disputes and maintaining peace. Its ardent supporters are hopeful that it may be a useful instrument for making co-operation between the different peoples, in industrial enterprise and other good works, a practicable and a real thing.

Now, it is a matter of grave concern to us all what attitude we take to the League of Nations. If, on the one hand, we take the right path in dealing with this question, we shall contribute something to the progress and happiness of our race; in hackneyed phrase, we shall be "doing our bit" towards bringing into actual existence the new heaven and the new earth of which some have seen a vision, and for which so many, through these past four dreadful years, have been longing and praying. If, on the other hand, we take the wrong path, we shall prove ourselves the enemies of true civilisation, we shall be doing our best to put back the hands of the clock, to retard the onward march of mankind. What, then, is the path we ought to tread, what is the part we have to play in relation to this problem?

If we begin by emphasising the adjective used in our first rough definition of the idea, we shall get a clue to the answer. The proposed League of Nations is to be a *voluntary* union. This is the essence of it. Yet we speak as if it would be a league embracing all the nations of the world. This is the *hope* of those who advocate the League. They believe that, if once such a confederacy is established, if a certain number of states make a beginning on a voluntary basis, and work out the idea well, substituting devotion to the common cause for that narrow patriotism which, with all that has been good in it, has yet so disfigured the pages of past history, then gradually other states will of their own free-will ask to be admitted to the League, until in course of time the whole family of men shall be gathered under one flag, and all minor loyalties shall be merged in a common loyalty to the United States of the World. This is the end aimed at and hoped for; but it is to come about by voluntary agreement. And it is to be an agreement of states, not of statesmen or diplomatists, not of emperors or kings.

On these terms we see at once how the time is not yet ripe for India as a nation to be a partner in the League. According to present intentions, only nations that are fully self-governing are to be admitted. Probably, on the whole, India herself would not want the present Government of India to decide for her the matter of her entering the League of Nations. It is a question for the people of India to decide, and as yet the machinery is not in existence for ascertaining the people's mind. For the present, therefore, India cannot decide. But the time is coming when India must decide. For that time we have got to prepare. It is not too soon to make a beginning. We have a part to play even now. Whether a state or nation has the opportunity for formal self-expression or not, its general trend of life depends upon the spirit of the families and the individuals that compose it. Psychologists will tell us that the spirit of a state is a different thing from the spirit of its separate familiees. Different, yes; but not alien to it. The spirit of a nation *depends upon* the spirit of its members. This is true, whatever be its form of government. In order, then, to fit ourselves and our country for a place in the proposed League,

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This first of all is required of us, that we embrace the *idea* of the League of Nations with willing hearts and minds. And what is that idea?

There is a fine English word for the state which seems to have come into use in this connection in England at the time of Oliver Cromwell. If we look up our English history, we shall probably find that the chapter which tells of Cromwell's regime is headed "The Commonwealth." The first experiment in thorough-going democracy made by the British people was not a very successful experiment, but there was a good idea at the back of it. Men desired to share with one another all the good things that come from living together as an organised state. They believed there was such a thing as common wealth, wealth—that is to say—or well-being that was common to all, and that existed only in so far as it was actually shared by the members of the community as a whole. To-day we have reached a further stage, when we speak of the commonwealth of nations. But, as in the time of Oliver Cromwell, only those truly took their place in the commonwealth, in the State, who recognised that there was such a thing as common wealth, who lived not to aggrandise themselves but to advance the common interests of their people, so to-day only those nations can fitly take their place in the commonwealth of the world which recognise that there is such a thing as common wealth, that indeed the most precious things of life are the things that nations like individuals can share with one another, yes, that depend for their very existence upon the common life, the pursuit of common interests and common ideals. This is the great idea that has inspired the proposal for a league of nations. This is the idea that we are asked to embrace. Are we ready for it?

Some think it necessary for eastern peoples who in modern times have reached a new consciousness of nationhood to pass through similar stages to those exhibited in the gradual evolution of western states. Such thought is now antiquated and out of date. It was never a very reasonable contention. Just as the hospital patient of to-day passes through no intermediate stages, but enjoys forthwith—provided he has the faith to accept them—the use of chloroform and all the other fruits of past labours in the field of surgery the wide world over, so—given the right spirit, the faith to make the venture—a people may pass at a bound, without innumerable intermediate stages, from a lower to a higher civilisation. We have seen it in the case of Japan, whose people, caste-ridden sixty years ago, have so effectually, through patriotic self-sacrifice of a most marvellous description, exorcised the evil spirit of unbrotherliness, and as a united nation have made such unprecedented strides, that already they are reckoned as one of the "five great powers." The same spirit is needed in every other people aspiring to greatness. Given that spirit, such marvellous development is possible again. We may in the future see something even more wonderful. The world has moved so fast and so far during the five years just gone, that the ideals of Japan are already out of date. Their defects are manifest. Ours must be a loftier patriotism. Why? Because we have seen a vision of something higher and better than Japan could possibly see fifty years ago. And we cannot be disobedient to the heavenly vision without permanently suffering the consequences. So is it with the individual. So is it with the nation. It is essential, therefore, that with the vision of the United States of Mankind shining before our eyes India's development shall be on broader lines and in harmony with a deeper spirit.

The idea of nationality was at one time a broadening influence, an inspiring conception. To backward peoples it may still be an uplifting thought. But we have seen beyond it. It is not to be desired, then, that India shall go through a long apprenticeship during which the idea of nationality—now a narrow one for every person of real culture—is bound to work much evil as well as perhaps some good. In the past it has wrought both good and evil. In the future—with the possible exception indicated, namely, of people who are out of the swim of the world's life—it must be more fruitful of evil than of good. And what is to take its place? There is another idea which has wrought some good in the world, and also very much evil—the idea of imperialism. This, too, has become for every right-minded man and woman a narrow idea, almost one of sinister import. It

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is to this we owe the bloodshed of these dark years, with all its attendant horrors, with all the nameless atrocities no sane person had ever dreamt to be possible. The idea of imperialism, as an inspiration to high living and noble service, is also dead, and must be discarded for ever. In the future the nation, and likewise the empire, that confines its thought to itself and its own narrow interests, as opposed to the interests of the whole race of men, will assuredly reap from the narrow idea of nationality and the narrow idea of imperialism more evil than good. And so, if we would make the most of the opportunity the present world-situation affords, it is imperative that with willing hearts and minds we embrace the great idea that lies behind the proposal for a league of nations,—that is to say, that we rise above the narrow patriotism of country and of empire to the broad conception of the Patriotism of Humanity.

It is claimed that India is a land of ancient spiritual ideals. That the claim is not an empty one sayings like these from the *Bhagavadgita* show :—

"Janaka and others attained to perfection through action ; then, *having an eye to the welfare of the world*, thou mayst perform action."

"As the ignorant act from attachment to action, O Bharata, so should the wise act without attachment, *desiring the welfare of the world*."

"Rishis, their sins destroyed, their duality, their selves controlled, *intent upon the welfare of all beings*, obtain the peace of the Eternal."

If desire of any kind is sanctioned by the *Gita*, it is desire which is directed, not to personal or national ends but only to the good of humanity, the advancement of the whole world. The idea that lies behind the league of nations scheme is, therefore, not a new idea in India. And because it is not new, because it is at least as old as the *Gita*, no patriotism is worthy of India's continued and wholehearted enthusiasm which does not concern itself with the good of every branch of the human race. It ought not to be so difficult for India as for some other countries to take this comprehensive and cosmopolitan view.

Of course it is not easy, especially in these days when love of country burns within many breasts with all the ardour of a new-found passion, to get away from the narrow kind of patriotism. Indian, English, Scotch,—we are all proud of our own people, proud of our past history—at least of some of it, proud of all that is good in the spirit of our country. And it requires an effort, first of all to see, and then in the second place frankly to appreciate, what is good in a civilisation and a history and a spirit in many ways different from our own. Such effort is *the great need* of our time. But no honest effort in this direction goes unrewarded. If we persistently make the effort, the difficulty will disappear in the joy of our discoveries, and our mutual appreciation of our respective traditions will enhance the beauty and the value of both. Indeed, what is highest and best in both of our traditions is just this cosmopolitan spirit; and so we are most loyal to our motherland, and most loyal to our empire, when we are most successful in overcoming our national and imperial pride and in losing ourselves in the service of our fellow-men, be their race or colour what it may. National pride is a natural thing, and everything natural is good and has a function to fulfil. And what is the function of our natural love of country but just this, to be a stepping-stone to higher things ?

This, then, is the first part and the major part of our duty in regard to the League of Nations,—that we as individuals, as families, as communities, cheerfully and enthusiastically welcome the idea that has inspired the scheme, with all that it involves of willing subordination of our personal and communal and even national interests to the welfare of humanity. That this voluntary and hearty acceptance of the spirit of the League, by us and by the other plain people of the world, is of infinitely greater importance than the work of the Conference in Paris, it would not be difficult to show. What it has to do with is the manufacture of machinery; what we have to do with is the generation of steam to drive that machinery and make it go. It has to organise the new international police, to regulate questions of armies and navies, boundaries of territory and other external matters ; we have to supply the inward motive power, the spiritual dynamic without which the most perfect paper scheme must remain a dead letter. For what is it that binds men and peoples together ? However indebted we may be, on occasion, to the police and to the army, it is neither the

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nor the other body that really makes life and peace secure. It is the practice, on the part of the people themselves, of justice and mercy and faith in human nature, it is the good-will that prompts these virtues and the good-will that responds to them,—these are the forces that bind men together, these are the forces that bind nations together.

Having, therefore, welcomed the idea of the League of Nations, we are now able to answer the further question, How are we going to realise that idea? How are we, while still our people remain outside the League, going to carry out the idea in practice and so fulfil even now our part in this great scheme? The answer is in one way very simple. And yet, if we grasp it aright, we shall see clearly how it is that our part, and the part of all the plain people in the world, is of fundamental importance. For it is a matter of the very elements of morality. The very essence of justice and mercy and trust in our fellow-men is that they have no limitations. Justice to be real must be a wider thing than justice towards our own people. And so with mercy. The question whether men belong to our community or another community, our nation or another nation, simply does not arise in this connection. Every true act of justice, every true act of mercy, has behind it—unconsciously, no doubt, for the most part, but none the less really—the big idea of the League of Nations. The faith in human nature by which alone such a scheme can be made to work is needed for our every-day life. Conversely, everytime we speak the truth because it is the truth, everytime we show mercy because we love mercy, we are doing something of international value, we are contributing to the positive forces of good-will in the world, disarming prejudice and banishing suspicion, and creating a pure and healthy social atmosphere in which men will know themselves to be brothers, whatever their nation, whatever their creed, whatever their caste. An atmosphere of this kind is infectious, for there is something in every man, in every woman, and most of all in every child, that responds to genuine and hearty good-will. And what can be nobler and more satisfying than to cultivate persistently, in the whole range of our being, the spirit of good-will? In this way we are linked up with all that is highest and purest in human life, with the very Source indeed of life itself. For what is active, earnest, persevering good-will but the most sincere because most unselfish form of prayer, through which, as the poet tells us,

"the whole round earth is
"Bound by gold chains about the
feet of God."

The foregoing has been written in full view of the fact that many criticisms have been passed upon the proposals now emanating from Paris. Doubtless there have been many disappointments, and there may be more as negotiations proceed. Sordid elements have been mixed up with what is pure. And all honest criticism that will help to remove blemishes is good. The most searching scrutiny is welcome, so long as it is marked by insight and understanding and sympathy. No organisation as such, new or old, can command our reverence or excite our enthusiasm. What counts in the case of this scheme is that behind it, inspiring all that is good in it, is an idea, an ideal, with boundless capabilities and potentialities, provided we, and the other plain people of the world, recognise the day of our visitation and know the things that belong to our peace. As spiritual citizens of the world, it is ours to cultivate the civic virtues—the scorn of private gain, delight in serving the community, to rise above all that is petty and personal, to grow strong in that righteousness which exalteth individual, and nations alike, in that purity which will make our strength as the strength of ten, above all, in that which has been named the best of gifts—charity, which "makes no parade and gives itself no airs, which is never rude, never resentful, never glad when others go wrong, always slow to expose, always eager to believe the best, charity which never fails."

ANDREW R. LOW.

Jaipur, Rajputana.

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SWAMI VIVEKANANDA

II.

"NO religion on earth," wrote the Swami, "preaches the dignity of humanity in such a lofty strain as Hinduism, and no religion on earth treads upon the necks of the poor and the low in such a fashion as Hinduism."

"The Hindu must not give up his religion, but must keep religion within its proper limits and give freedom to society to grow." "Can you become an occidental of occidentals in your spirit of equality, freedom, work and energy, and at the same time a Hindu to the very backbone in religious culture and instincts? This is to be done and *we will do it.*"

"We agree with those who say 'what has religion to do with social reforms?' But they must also agree with us when we tell them that religion has no business to formulate social laws and insist on the difference between beings, because its aim and end is to obliterate all such fictions and monstrosities..... The terrible mistake of religion was to interfere in social matters. But how hypocritically it says (and thereby contradicts itself), 'social reform is not the business of religion!' True, what we want is that religion should not be a social reformer, but we insist at the same time that religion has no right to be a social lawgiver. Hands off! Keep yourself within your own bounds and everything will come right..... Specially therefore must you bear in mind that religion has to do only with the soul and has no business to interfere in social matters..... It is as if a man after forcibly taking possession of another's property cries through the nose when that man tries to recover it—and preaches the doctrine of the sanctity of human right!! What business had the priests to interfere (to the misery of millions of human beings) in every social matter?"

"Liberty is the first condition of growth. Your ancestors gave every liberty to the soul, and religion grew. They put the body under every bondage, and society did not grow. The opposite is the case in the West—every liberty to society, none to religion. Now are falling off the shackles from Eastern society as from those of Western religion."

Again,

"There cannot be any growth without liberty [the Swami was never tired of emphasising this idea]. Our ancestors freed religious thought and we have a wonderful religion, but they put a heavy chain on the feet of society, and our society is, in a word, *horrid, diabolical.*" "India's doom was sealed the very day they invented the word *Mlechchha* and stopped communion with others..... It is good to talk glibly about the Vedanta, but how hard to carry out even the least of its precepts!"

"India is to be raised, the poor are to be fed, education is to be spread, and the evil of priestcraft is to be removed. No priestcraft, no social tyranny! More bread, more opportunity for everybody!..... Root out priestcraft from the old religion and you get the best religion in the world. Do you understand me? Can you make a European society with India's religion?"

"We have the doctrine of Vedanta, but we have not the power to reduce it into practice. In our books there is the doctrine of universal equality, but in practice we make great distinctions. It was in India that unselfish and disinterested work of the most exalted type was preached, but in practice we are awfully cruel, awfully heartless, unable to think of anything besides our mass-of-flesh bodies."

"To advance oneself towards freedom, spiritual, mental, physical, and help others to do so, is the supremest prize of man. Those social rules which stand in the way of unfoldment of this freedom are injurious, and steps should be taken to destroy them speedily. Those institutions should be encouraged by which men advance in the path of freedom."

It is not to be wondered at that such a thoroughgoing lover of freedom, both in thought and action, should have chafed bitterly against the dead weight of custom and authority, and mere mechanical forms of worship.

"In this country men are born according to Shastric injunctions, they eat and drink by prescribed rules throughout life, they go through marriage and kindred functions in the same way; in short, they even die according to Shastric injunctions. This hard discipline, with the exception of one great good point, is fraught with evil. The good point is that men can do one or two things well, with very little effort, having practised them every day through generations..... But all these things are done by people guided like lifeless machines;—there is no mental activity, no unfoldment of the heart, no vibration of life, no flux of hope; there is no strong stimulation of the will, no experience of keen pleasure nor the contact of intense sorrow; there is no stir of inventive genius, no desire for novelty, no appreciation of new things. Clouds never pass away from this mind, the radiant picture of the morning sun never charms the heart. It never occurs to the mind if there is any better state than this; where it does, it cannot convince; in the event of conviction, effort is lacking; and even if there is effort, lack of enthusiasm kills it out. If living by rule alone ensures excellence, if it be virtue to strictly follow the rules and customs handed down through generations, say, then, who is more virtuous than a tree, who is a greater devotee, a holier saint than a railway train? Who has ever seen a piece of stone transgress a natural law? Who has ever known cattle to commit sin?.....Is that education, as a result of which the will being continuously choked by force through generations, is now wellnigh killed out?.....It is more blessed, in my opinion, even to go wrong impelled by one's free will and intelligence than to be good as an automaton. Again, can that be called society which is formed by an aggregate of men who are like lumps of clay, like lifeless machines,

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heaped up pebbles? How can such society fare well? Were good possible, then instead of being years for hundreds of years we would have been the greatest nation on earth, and this soil of India, instead of being a mine of stupidity, would have been the eternal fountainhead of learning."

Referring to the fondness of some of Paramhansa Ramkrishna's disciples for worshipping his person, the Swami wrote:

"I know why they busy themselves with those effete ceremonials. Their spirit craves for work, but having got no outlet they waste their energy in ringing bells and all that."

The wail of despair which broke out in one of the Swami's letters written nearly twenty-five years ago at the sight of the puerilities in which we Hindus indulge in the name of religion deserves to be quoted in full:

"There is no hope for our nation. Not one original idea crosses anyone's brains, all fighting over the same old, threadbare rug—that Ramakrishna Paramhansa was such and such,—and cock-and-bull stories—stories having neither head nor tail. My God! Won't you do something to show that you are in any way removed from the common run of men? Only indulging in madness!..... To-day you have your bell, to-morrow you add a horn, and follow suit with a chowry the day after; or you introduce a cot to-day, and to-morrow you have its new silver-mounted, and people help themselves to a rice-porridge, and you spin out two thousand cock-and-bull stories—in short, nothing but external ceremonials. This is called in English, imbecility. Those who whose heads nothing but that sort of silliness others, are called imbecile. Those whose heads have a tendency to be troubled day and night over such questions as whether the bell should ring on the right or on the left, whether the sandal-paste mark should be put on the head or anywhere else, whether the light should be waved twice or four times,—simply deserve the name of wretches, and it is owing to that sort of notion that we are the outcasts of fortune, kicked and spurned at, while the people of the West are the masters of the whole world..... There is an ocean of difference between idleness and renunciation. If you want any good to come, just throw your ceremonials overboard, and worship the Living God, the Man-God—every being that wears a human body—God in his universal as well as individual aspect. The universal aspect of God means this world, and worshipping it means serving it,—this indeed is work, not indulging in ceremonials. Neither is it work to cogitate as to whether the rice-plate should be placed in front of the god for ten minutes or for half an hour,—that is called lunacy. Millions of rupees have been spent only that the temple-doors at Benares or Brindaban may play at opening and shutting all day long! Now the Lord is having His bath, now He is taking His meals, now He is busy with something else, we know not what..... And all this, while the Living God is dying for want of food, for want of education. The Banias of Bombay are opening hospitals for bugs—while they are doing nothing for men—even if they die! You have not the brain to understand this simple thing—that this is a plague with our country, and lunatic asylums are all over.....'Let some of you spread the idea, and preach this worship of the universal aspect of godhead—a thing that was never undertaken before in our country.....Spread ideas,—go from village to village, from door to door—then only will there be real work. Otherwise, lying complacently on the bed and ringing the bell now and then is a sort of disease, pure and simple.....Be independent, learn to form independent judgments. That such and such a chapter of such and such a Tantra has prescribed a standard length for the handle of a bell—what matters it to me? Through the Lord's will out of your lips shall come millions of Vedas and Tantras and Puranas."

Truly did Vivekananda say that the worship of the universal aspect of the Godhead was a thing never undertaken before in our country. What he meant will be clearer from a fine passage in a letter to a European disciple:

"I have lost all wish for my salvation. I never wanted earthly enjoyments, I must see my machine in strong working order, and then knowing sure that I have put in a lever for the good of humanity, in India at least, which no power can drive back, I will sleep, without caring what will be next; and may I be born again and again, and suffer thousands of miseries, so that I may worship the only God that exists, the only God I believe in, the sum-total of all souls,—and above all, my God the wicked, my God the miserable, my God the poor of all races, of all species, are the special object of my worship."

Hitherto, asceticism in India has always revolved round the individual desire for personal salvation, and has often displayed itself in an intensely selfish dissociation from the world and its concerns. It was the great glory of Vivekananda to have transformed the discipline of asceticism into a passionate humanitarianism. From his biography we find that this strain in his character and activities was the result of the influence exercised on his mind by Comte's Positive Philosophy. The enthusiasm of humanity, the stimulus to social service, which, more than any aggressive defence of Hinduism, confers on Vivekananda the title to be ranked among the greatest of modern Indians, was communicated by the West, and he found in the Vedantic doctrine of the equality of all souls a philosophic background for the successful transplantation of this Western ideal on Indian soil. This doctrine of social and public service was, therefore, the *Practical* Vedanta which he preached. His heart bled for the poor and the downtrodden in India, and he sacrificed his life for them.

"And Oh, how my heart ached to think of what we think of the poor, the low in India. They have no chance, no escape, no way to climb up. The poor, the low, the sinners in India have no friends, no help they cannot rise, try however they may. They

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sink lower and lower every day, they feel the blows showered upon them by a cruel society, and they do not know whence the blow comes. They have forgotten that they too are men. And the result is slavery..... Ah, tyrants! you do not know that the obverse is tyranny and the reverse slavery. The slave and the tyrant are synonymous.....the wail of woe, of misery, of degradation and poverty, that has filled the Indian atmosphere—the result of centuries of oppression. They little dream of the ages of tyranny, mental, moral, physical, that has rendered the image of God to a mere beast of burden; the emblem of the Divine Mother, to a slave to bear children, and life itself, a curse." "Onward forever! Sympathy for the poor, the downtrodden, even unto death—This is our motto."

Writing to the late Maharaja of Mysore, who was one of the Swami's most devoted admirers, he said:

"The one thing that is at the root of all evils in India is the condition of the poor..... Priest-power and foreign conquest have trodden them down for centuries, and at last the poor of India have forgotten that they are human beings. They are to be given ideas; their eyes are to be opened to what is going on in the world around them, and then they will work out their own salvation. Every nation, every man, every woman, must work out one's own salvation. Give them ideas—that is the only help they require, and then the rest must follow as the effect. Ours is to put the chemicals together, the crystallisation comes in the law of nature. Our duty is to put ideas into their heads, they will do the rest."

"I do not believe in a religion or God which cannot wipe out the widow's tears or bring a piece of bread to the orphan's mouth. However sublime be the theories, however well-spun may be the philosophy—I do not call it a religion so long as it is confined to books and dogmas."

"I am poor, I love the poor. I see what they call the poor of this country [America] and how many there are who feel for them. What an immense difference in India! Who feels there for the two hundred millions of men and women sunken for ever in poverty and ignorance?... Let these people be your God... Him I call a Mahatman whose heart bleeds for the poor, otherwise he is a Duratman.... So long as the millions live in hunger and ignorance, I hold every man a traitor who, while being educated at their expense, pays not the least heed to them."

The Swami had a high opinion of the inherent capabilities of the masses in India. In one letter he says:

"The only hope of India is from the masses. The upper classes are physically and morally dead."

To the Maharaja of Mysore he wrote:

"The poor in the West are devils; compared to them ours are angels, and it is therefore so much the easier to raise our poor. The only service to be done for our lower classes is to give them education to develop their lost individuality."

In the *Parivrajaka* (*Wanderer*), addressing the middle classes, the Swami wrote:

"You vanish into the inane, and let the new India emerge. Let it emerge from the plough, from the cottage of the cultivator, from the basket of the fisherman, the cobbler, and the sweeper. Let it emerge from the grocer's shop, the graindealer's oven; let it emerge from the factory and the mart, let it emerge from the bush, the jungle, the hill and the mountain. The thousand years of tyranny which they have silently endured have given them unrivalled patience. They have endured eternal sorrow, and have gained a steady vitality in the process. With a handful of barley for breakfast they can upturn the world; with half a loaf the universe will not suffice to hold their vigour. They have a wonderful vitality—death cannot thin their numbers. They have also inherited a marvellous good breeding, unknown anywhere else. So peaceful, so loving, so affectionate, such uncomplaining industry, and the lion's strength in action! Ye skeletons of the past, here in front is your successor, the India of the Future."

Therefore, "the poor, the ignorant, the illiterate, let these be your God. Know that service to these alone is the highest religion."

"If in our country any one is born in a low caste, there! he has no more chances, he is gone. Why, foresooth? What an oppression! In this country [America] everyone has hopes, has something to stand upon, has opportunities."

"Here everyone is anxious to help the poor. In India there is a howling cry that we are very poor, but how many charitable associations are there for the well-being of the poor? How many people really weep for the sorrows and sufferings of the millions of poor in India? Are we men?"

The practical reduction of religion into mere ceremonial purity in which the only evil to be avoided is pollution by touch, and the total indifference of the sadhus and sanyasins, the wandering monks of India, the hereditary guardians of the Hindu religion, to the sufferings of the masses, always evoked the Swami's utmost indignation.

"Are we men? And those thousands of Sadhus and Brahmins, whom you find sauntering amongst you, what are they doing for these degraded, poor and downtrodden masses? Simply saying, 'don't touch me, don't touch me!' To what a degraded state have they reduced the religion eternal! Where is religion now? Only don't-touchism—don't touch me, don't touch me—that is all!"

"My brother, what experiences I have had in the South of the upper classes torturing the lower! What bacchanalian orgies within the temples! Is it a religion that fails to relieve the misery of the poor and turn men into gods? Do you think our religion is worth the name? Ours is only don't-touchism, only 'touch me not,' 'touch me not.' Good heavens! a country, the leaders of which have for the last two thousand years been only discussing whether to take food with the right hand or the left, whether to take water from the right hand side or from the left,..... if such a country does not go to ruin, what else will?..... A country where millions of people live on the flowers of the *mahua* tree, and a million or two of Sadhus and a hundred million or so of Brahmins suck the blood out of these poor people without even the least effort for their amelioration, —is that a country or hell? Is that a religion, or the devils dance? My brother, here is one thing for

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to understand fully—I have travelled all over India, and seen this country [America] too—can there be an effect without a cause? Can there be punishment without sin?—We are so many Sannyasins wandering about, and teaching the people metaphysics,—it is all madness. Did not our Master use to say, 'an empty stomach is no good for religion'? Know that those poor people are leading the life of brutes, simply due to ignorance. We have for all ages been sucking their blood and trampling them under foot."

"Monks and Sannyasins and Brahmins of a certain type have thrown the country into ruin. Instead all the while on theft and wickedness, these pose as preachers of religion! They will take gifts from the people and at the same time cry 'don't touch me!' And what great things they have been doing! If a potato happens to touch a brinjal, how long will the universe last before it is deluged?' 'If they do not apply earth a dozen times to clean their hands, will fourteen generations of ancestors go to hell, or twenty-four?' For intricate problems like these they have been finding out scientific explanations for the last two thousand years—while one-fourth of the people are starving."

"The poor, the ignorant, the down-trodden, let these be your God. A dreadful slough is in front of you—take care; many fall into it and die. The trouble is this, that the present religion of the Hindus is not in the Vedas, nor in the Puranas, nor in Bhakti (Love), nor in *Mukti* (salvation)—religion has entered into the cooking-pot. The present religion of the Hindus is neither the path of Knowledge nor that of Reason,—it is 'don't-touchism.' 'Don't touch me! Don't touch me!'—that exhausts its description. See that you do not lose your lives in this dire irreligion of 'don't-touchism' Must the teaching—आत्मवत्-सर्वभूतेषु—Looking upon all beings as your own self—be confined to books alone? How will they grant salvation who cannot feed a hungry mouth with a crumb of bread? How will those who become impure at the mere breath of others, purify others? Don't-touchism is a form of mental disease. Beware! Expansion is life, all contraction is death. All love is expansion, all selfishness is contraction. Love is therefore the only law of life."

Deeply conscious of the intense selfishness born even in the higher sort of the religious mind in India by too exclusive a devotion to the doctrine of personal salvation, Vivekananda waged a life-long war against this idea. He endeavoured by all the means in his power to inculcate in the minds of his disciples the great reason that the only road to salvation lay through the service of man. To one of his disciples, who preferred religious meditation to active social service, he said:

"You will go to hell if you seek your own salvation! Seek the salvation of others if you want to reach the Highest! Kill out the desire for personal salvation! That is the greatest of all Sadhanas."

When the country was in the grip of a famine, the Swami told a gentleman who came to him for religious instruction,

"No, so long as even a dog of my country remains without food, to feed and take care of him is my religion, and anything else is either non-religion or false religion!"

To a Pandit who came to him at about the same time to argue on the Vedanta Philosophy, he said:

"Panditji, first of all you try to ameliorate the terrible distress that is prevailing everywhere, the heart-rending cry of your hungry countrymen for a morsel of food, and after that come to me to have a debate on Vedanta. To stake one's whole life and soul to save the thousands who are dying of starvation—this is the essence of the religion of Vedanta!"

Another preacher told him that he did not consider it his duty to help the famine-stricken wretches, as they only suffered for their own Karma. It is this callous indifference of the Sadhus and Sanyasins to the misery around us that drew forth the Swami's invectives against the ideal of salvation prevalent among them, and the exhortations in favour of a life of vigorous, active, social service.

"Do not talk,—work, work, work!..... There is too much talk, talk, talk!—We are great, we are great! Nonsense! We are imbeciles; that is what we are! To work, my brave men, to work! You have not caught my fire yet—you do not understand me!"

"My child, what I want is muscles of iron and nerves of steel, inside which dwells a mind of the same material as that of which the thunderbolt is made. Strength, manhood, Kshattra-Virjya and *Brahma Teja*."

"Work on unto death—I am with you, and when I am gone, my spirit will work with you."

"I look back and scarcely find any action I have done for self—even my wicked deeds were not for self. So I am content."

"Ramanuja, Sankara, seem to have been mere pandits with much narrowness of heart. Where is that love, that weeping heart at the sorrow of others? Dry pedantry of the pandit—and the feeling of only oneself attaining salvation hurry-scurry! But is that possible?..... Can it be attained with any shred of 'I' left in us?

"Sankara had not the slightest bit of Buddha's wonderful heart,—dry intellect merely."

"We want some disciples,—fiery youngmen—do you see!—intelligent and brave, who dare to go to the jaws of death, and are ready to swim the ocean across."

"He alone is a child of Ramakrishna who is moved to pity for all creatures and exerts himself for them even at the risk of incurring personal damnation..... This is the test: he who is Ramakrishna's child, does not seek his personal good. They wish to do good to others even at the point of death.'

"Go to hell yourself to buy salvation for others. There is no Mukti (salvation) on earth to call my own..... Now is the turn for you to banish the desire for Peace, and that for Mukti too! Don't worry..... heaven or hell, Bhakti or Mukti, don't care for anything, but go, my boy, spread the name of the Lord from door to door! It is by doing good to others that one attains his own good, and it is by leading others to Bhakti and Mukti that one attains them himself..... Remember these few points: (1) We are

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Sannyasis, who have given up *everything*—Bhakti, and Mukti, and enjoyment, and all. (2) To do the highest good to the world, everyone down to the lowest,—that is our vow. Welcome *Mukti* or hell, whatever comes of it."

"Off with your ideas of *Mukti* and *Bhakti* ! There is only one way in the world—'परोपकाराय दि सतां जीवितं' 'परार्थे प्राज्ञ उत्सृजेत्'—The good live for others alone, the wise man should sacrifice himself for others. I can secure my own good only by doing your good. There is no other way, none whatsoever .....It is this God manifested through Humanity who is doing everything in this world. Is there a different God sitting high up somewhere ? To work, therefore !"

The Swami's comparisons of American with Hindu women are instructive :

"I have seen here women by the thousands who are white like the snow of this country. And how free they are ! It is they who do everything. Schools and colleges are full of women. But in our unfortunate country women cannot walk out of doors with safety to their modesty. And how kind they are ! And how pure are their women ! None are married below the age of twenty five or thirty. And they are free like the birds of the air. Marketing, getting a living, managing shops, attending colleges, doing the Professor's work,—everything they do, and yet how pure ! Those that are rich are day and night busy helping the poor. And what do we do ? Our girls must be married at the age of eleven, or they will become corrupt ! Are we men, my dear."

"Great God ! I am struck dumb with wonderment at seeing the women of America.....There are thousands of women here, whose minds are as pure and white as the snow of this country. And look at our girls, becoming mothers before their teens !..... We are horrible sinners : and our degradation is due to calling women 'despicable worms,' 'gateways to hell,' and so forth."

"Well, I am almost at my wit's end to see the women of this country !..... They are like the Goddess of Fortune in beauty, and like the Goddess of Learning in virtues !—they are the divine mother incarnate and worshipping them one verily attains perfection in everything. Great God ! are we fit to be counted among men ? If I can raise a thousand such Madonnas—incarnations of the Divine Mother—in our country before I die, I shall die in peace. Then only will your countrymen become worthy of their name. Even your men are not fit to be placed side by side with these women—let alone your women ! Good God ! What horrible sinners, to marry girls at the age of ten !"

"How many beautiful homes I have seen, how many mothers whose purity of character, whose unselfish love for their children are beyond expression, how many daughters and pure maidens, 'pure as the icicle on Diana's temple' and withal with much culture, education and spirituality in the highest sense !"

"Can you better the condition of your women ? Then there will be hope for your well-being. Otherwise you will remain as backward as you are now."

"Why is it that our country is the weakest and the most backward of all countries ?—Because Shakti is held in dishonour here."

And yet, though the Swami held the woman of America in such high regard, when an American lady friend advised caution in dealing with the missionaries, he could enter a spirited protest as follows :

"You are good, you are so kind, I will do anything for you ; but do not be angry, I see you all are mere children..... Pooh ! I try to pacify the priests." "Sister, do not take me amiss. But you are babies and babies must submit to be taught..... If you cannot cheer those that dash this false God, society, to the ground and trample on its unmitigated hypocrisy,—if you cannot cheer them, pray be silent, but do not try to drag them down into the mire with such false nonsense as compromise and becoming nice and sweet..... What ! measure my soul according to what the bond slaves of the world say ! Pooh ! sister, you do not know the Sannyasin."

Vivekananda had of course the very highest regard for his Master, Paramahansa Ramkrishna. He knew that faith had a tendency to degenerate into fanaticism, knowledge into dry intellectualism, and love into meaningless sentimentalism. "A harmony of all these is the thing required. Ramkrishna was such a harmony." "He was the embodiment of all the past religious thought of India." Though he had the deepest reverence for his Master, his advice to his brother-disciples regarding the cult of Ramkrishna was thoroughly sound, and shows how far in advance he was of the majority of the devotees who would worship the Master as God incarnate. "Ramkrishna never enjoined me," he told his disciples, "to introduce his worship and the like..... I was not born to create a new sect in this world, too full of sects already."

"I am the servant of the servants of his servants. But narrow bigotry militates against his principles, and this makes me cross. Rather let his name be drowned in oblivion, and his teachings bear fruit instead !

"Write a sketch of the life of Ramkrishna, studiously avoiding all miracles." "I advise you to keep clear of them and the fools who write them."

"Great sages come with special messages for the world, and not for name, but their followers throw their teachings overboard, and fight over their names —this is verily the history of the world."

"Propagate his character, his teachings, his religion. This is the only spiritual practice, the only worship....."

"Spread only what he came to teach. Never mind for his name—it will spread of itself. Directly you insist on everybody's accepting your Guru, you will be creating a sect, and everything will come to the ground, so beware !"

"It is not necessary to preach that Ramkrishna Paramhansa was an incarnation, and things of that sort. He came to do good to the world, not to trumpet his own name,—you must always remember this. Disciples pay their whole attention to the preservation of their master's name, and throw overboard his teachings, and sectarianism, etc., are the

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...talk..... Try to give up ceremonials. They are ...e meant for Sannyasins..... I have nothing to do ...ith sectarianism, or party-forming and playing the ...rog-in-the-well, whatever else I may do..... It is im...ssible to preach the catholic ideas of Ramkrishna ...aramhansa and form sects at the same time..... Only ...e kind of work I understand, and that is doing ...od to others, all else is doing evil."

"Paramhansa Deva was my Guru, and whatever ...ay think of him in point of greatness, why should ...e world think after me? And if you press the ...ut hard, you will spoil everything. The idea of ...orshipping the Guru as God is nowhere to be met ...ith outside Bengal....."

"The masses will have the person, the higher ones ...e principle; we want both. But principles are ...iversal, not persons. Therefore stick to principles."

Though the problem of sea-voyage, ...roscribed by the Smritis for the Kali Age, ...as practically solved itself now, still it ...s useful to hear the Swami's views on the ...bject:

"And you, what are you?..... talking twaddle ...l your lives, vain talkers, what are you? Come, ...e all these people and then go and hide your faces ...shame. A race of dotards, you lose your caste if ...u come out! Sitting down these hundreds of years ...ith an ever-increasing load of crystallised superstition on your heads, for hundreds of years spending ...l your energies upon discussing the touchableness ...untouchableness of this food or that, with all ...manity crushed out of you by the continuous ...cial tyranny of ages—what are you?...Come, be ...en! Kick out the priests who are always against ...ogress. Because they would never mend; their ...arts would never become big. They are the offspring of centuries of superstition and tyranny. ...ot out priestcraft first. Come, be men. Come out ...your narrow holes and have a look abroad. See ...w nations are on the march."

"B— and G— may remember, one evening at Pondicherry, we were discussing the question of sea-voyage ...ith a Pundit, and I shall always remember his ...ntal gestures and his *Kadapi Na* (Never)! They ...o not know that India is a very small part of the ...orld, and the whole world looks down with contempt upon the three hundred millions of earthworms crawling upon the fair soil of India and trying to oppress each other."

"I wish at least that a million Hindus had travelled all over the world!"

In reply to the address presented to ...m by the citizens of Calcutta, the Swami wrote:

"I am thoroughly convinced that no individual or ...ation can live by holding itself apart from the community of others, and wherever such an attempt has ...en made under false ideas of greatness, policy or ...ness, the result has always been disastrous to ...e secluding one. To my mind, the one great cause ...f the downfall and the degeneration of India was ...e building of a wall of custom—whose foundation ...as hatred of others—round the nation, and the real ...m of which in ancient times was to prevent the ...dus from coming in contact with the surrounding ...ddhistic nations. Whatever cloak ancient or ...dern sophistry may try to throw over it, the inevitable result—the vindication of the moral law, ...hich none can hate others without degenerating himself—is that the race that was foremost amongst the ancient races is now a bye-word and a scorn among nations. We are object-lessons of the violation of that law which our ancestors were the first to discover and discriminate. Give and take is the law and if India wants to raise herself once more, it is absolutely necessary that she brings out her treasures and throws them broadcast among the nations of the earth, and in return be ready to receive what others have to give her. Expansion is life, contraction is death. Love is life and hatred is death. We commenced to die the day we began to hate other races, and nothing can prevent our death unless we come back to expansion, which is life. We must mix, therefore, with all the races of the earth. And every Hindu that goes out to travel in foreign parts renders more benefit to his country than hundreds of young men who are bundles of superstitions and selfishness and whose one aim in life seems to be like that of the dog in the manger."

The result of our isolation is to be seen in our 'frog-in-the-well' attitude of which the Swami says:

"Nowhere in the world have I come across such 'frogs-in-the-well' as we are. Let anything new come from some foreign country, and America will be the first to accept it. But we?—Oh, there are none like us in the world, we men of Aryan blood!"

The injunctions in our law-books (*Smritis*) against sea-voyage need not deter us.

"The Smritis and the Puranas are productions of men of limited intelligence and are full of fallacies, errors, class-feeling and malice. Only parts of them breathing broadness of spirit and love are acceptable, the rest are to be rejected."

The Swami's observations on the attitude of the Americans towards spiritual matters deserve notice.

"This great nation is progressing fast towards that spirituality which is the standard boast of the Hindus." "Where on earth is there a better field than here for propagating all high ideas?..... here, where man feels for man, and women are goddesses!" "My ideas are going to work in the West better than in India." "Here thousands of people listen to and understand my lectures, and these thousands are benefited. But can you say the same thing about India?" "Here one lives in the company of scholars, and there one must live among fools—there is this difference as of the poles. People of this country organise and work, while our undertakings all come to dust, clashing against laziness—miscalled renunciation—and jealousy, &c."

The Swami had the clearest perception of the defects of the Indian character, among which he placed mutual jealousy in the front rank.

"Jealousy is the central defect of every enslaved race." "The secret of the Westerner's success is combination,"

which connotes implicit trust and obedience. He who wants to lead must learn to obey.

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"The whole national character is one of childish dependence..... You do not deserve to live if you cannot help yourselves." "Can you put life into this dead mass—dead to almost all moral aspiration, dead to all future possibilities ?" "I know, my son, I shall have to come and make men out of you. I know that India is only inhabited by women and eunuchs..... The brave alone do great things, not the cowards." "In India the one thing we lack is the power of combination, organisation, the first secret of which is obedience."

His letters to his followers are accordingly full of noble exhortations.

"It is character that pays everywhere.....your country requires heroes ; be heroes !" "Be unselfish even unto death, and work." "Great things can be done by great sacrifices only." "Purity, patience and perseverance overcome all obstacles. All great things must necessarily be slow." "Always hold on to the highest."

Lest the fact of our being a conquered race makes us diffident of success, the Swami was careful to remind his followers that "spiritual ideals have always come from the downtrodden." He was sick of the self-depreciation and false humility which is so often mistaken for good manners in India.

"Say 'अस्ति, अस्ति', Everything is—cherish positive thoughts. By dwelling too much upon 'नास्ति, नास्ति' 'It is not, it is not,' (negativism), the whole country is going to ruin ! 'सोऽहं, शिवोहं' 'I am He, I am Shiva' ! What a botheration ! In every soul is infinite strength ; and should you turn yourself into cats and dogs by harbouring negative thoughts ? Who dares to preach negativism ? Whom do you call weak and powerless ? 'I am Shiva, I am Shiva' ! I feel as if a thunderbolt strikes me on the head when I hear people dwell on negative thoughts. That sort of self-depreciating attitude is another name for disease—do you call that humility ? It is vanity in disguise !" "To me, the thought of oneself as low and humble is a sin and ignorance.....He who always thinks of himself as weak will never become strong....."

The Swami's views on politics will appear from the following few extracts :

"The wonderful structures of national life which the Western nations have raised, are supported by the strong pillars of character, and until we can produce numbers of such, it is useless to fret and fume against this or that power. Do any deserve liberty who are not ready to give it to others ?..... I, for one, thoroughly believe that no power in the universe can withhold from anyone anything he really deserves."

"None deserves liberty who is not ready to give liberty. Suppose the English give over to you all the power. Why, the powers that be then, will hold the people down, and let them not have it. Slaves want power to make slaves."

Though there is considerable truth in this, we must not forget that the struggle for power between the "Haves" and the "Have-Nots" is not confined to India, and that liberty is essential in order to bring about those very conditions of success the absence of which Vivekananda so deeply deplored.

Material civilisation is necessary.

"We talk foolishly against material civilisation. The grapes are sour. Even taking all that foolishness for granted, in all India there are, say, a hundred thousand really spiritual men and women. Now, for the spiritualisation of these, must three hundred millions be sunk in savagery and starvation ? Why should any starve ? How was it possible for the Hindus to have been conquered by the Mahomedans ? It was due to the Hindu's ignorance of material civilisation. The Mahomedans taught them to wear even tailor-made clothes. Would that the Hindus had learnt from the Mahomedans how to eat in a cleanly way without mixing their food with the dust of the streets ! Material civilisation, nay even luxury, is necessary to create work for the poor. Bread ! Bread ! I do not believe in a God who cannot give me bread here, giving me eternal bliss in heaven !"

The activities of the Ramkrishna Mission seem to be somewhat exclusively directed towards feeding and clothing the poor—a form of social service which has prevailed in our country since ancient times, but which produces no permanent results, as it does not go to the root of the evil. Education, more than poor-relief, was the aim of Swami Vivekananda, as will appear from the following :

"Get every evening a crowd of the poor and low, even the Pariahs, and lecture to them about religion first, and then teach them through the magic lantern and other things, astronomy, geography, &c., in the dialect of the people."

"I see it before my eyes, a nation is advanced in proportion as education and intelligence spread among the masses. The chief cause of India's ruin has been the monopolising of the whole education and intelligence of the land, by dint of pride and royal authority, among a handful of men. If we are to rise again, we shall have to do it in the same way, *i.e.*, by spreading education among the masses, ... Education, education, education ! Travelling through many cities of Europe and observing in them the comforts and education of even the poor people, there was brought to my mind the state of our own poor people, and I used to shed tears. What made the difference ? Education was the answer I got. Through education, faith in one's own self, and through faith in one's own self the inherent *Brahman* is working up (in them), while the *Brahman* in us is gradually bec oming dormant."

The Swami strongly pleaded for liberty in food and dress.

"Liberty is the first condition of growth. Just as man must have liberty to think and speak, so he must have liberty in food, dress and marriage and in every other thing, so long as he does not injure others."

The Swami often discussed how India, in the Vedic times, a beef-eating country,

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had, through the influence of Buddhism, been mostly converted into vegetarianism. He considered that those who wanted to lead the spiritual and ascetic life of Sannyasins, should live on a vegetable diet, but

"so long as man shall have to live a *Rajasik* (active) life under circumstances like the present, there is no other way except through meat eating..... Taking the lives of a few goats as against the inability to protect the honour of one's own wife and daughter, and to save the morsels for one's children from robbing hands—which of these is more sinful?... the forcing of vegetarianism upon those who have to earn their bread by labouring day and night is one of the causes of the loss of our national freedom."

To Sister Nivedita the Swami said :

"I disagree with those who are giving their superstitions back to my people... My hope is to see again the strong points of that India, reinforced by the strong points of this age, only in a natural way. The new state of things must be a growth from within."

In a letter to a lady disciple he says :

"Why make people do virtuous deeds by teaching superstitions ? I say, liberate, undo the shackles of such people as much as you can. Can dirt be washed by dirt ? Can bondage be removed by bondage ?"

On theosophy the Swami's views will be sufficiently evident from the following :

"Spirituality has nothing to do with the display of psychic powers, which, when analysed, show that the man who performs them is the slave of desire and the most egotistical of egotists. Spirituality involves the acquisition of that true power which is character. It is the vanquishing of passion and the rooting out of desire. All this chasing after psychic-illusions, which means nothing in the solution of the great problems of life, is a terrible wasting of energy, the most intense form of selfishness, and leads to degeneracy of mind and physical conditions. It is this nonsense which is demoralising our nation. Turn your attention to the realities of life about you. What we need now is practical common sense, public spirit and a philosophy and religion which will make us MEN, which will make us stand on our own feet. We want a religion which will give us faith in ourselves, a national self-respect, and the power to feed and educate the poor and relieve the misery around us. What will you do with a *Mahatma* residing somewhere in the Himalayas and appearing before you from the sky, when the people around you are dying of starvation and the millions are degenerating for want of education ? Nonsense ! If you want to find God serve man ! If you want to acquire power, serve your brother-men."

About religious music of the kind known as *Sankirtans*, which are so common among Vaishnavs, the Swami said :

"A nation of dyspeptics indulging in antics to the accompaniment of *khol* and *karatal* and singing kirtans and other songs of sentimental type !... Is it any wonder that hearing day and night from boyhood those soft and sentimental songs and music, the nation is becoming more and more effeminate ? What degradation can be more complete ?...We must stop for the present those songs and music which stimulate the softer feelings in men, and instead, make them hear and cultivate those in *dhrupad* and the like. We must revivify the country through the thunder notes of the Vedic rhythm. In all our spheres of activity we should display the austere loftiness of spirit which heroism breathes. In following such an ideal of manliness alone is there the welfare of the motherland."

The following from the Swami's biography on Hindu-Mahomedan unity will be read with interest :

"In his own personal experience he had seen that the Mahomedans as a race were as generous, as human, and as Indian at heart as the Hindus, and also that the enlightened ones among them understood and appreciated the culture of Hinduism as well, realising the intimate relationship between the philosophy of Sufism and the Advaita Vedanta and other social and religious elements. Therefore, in his own mind, the distinctions between Mahomedan and Hindu, which the Swami as a young man had thought to be insuperable barriers to a unified Indian consciousness, were entirely modified and in many respects obliterated. He thought of all as Indians, and often he seemed to foresee, as a renewed possibility, that which had already been a fact in the history of the Indian Past, namely, that Mahomedan and Hindu, seeing the necessity of confederation and national organisation, would put aside their religious sectarianism and join hands as in the days of Akbar and Shah Jehan."

The cant and hypocrisy under which Hindu parents habitually disguise their social cowardice, has been well brought out in the following, taken from one of the Swami's letters to a lady-disciple :

"Oh, what an example of self-denial are our widows ! Oh, how sweet is child-marriage ! Is another such custom possible ? Can there be anything but love between husband and wife in such a marriage ?"—Such is the whine going round now-a-days. But as to the men, the masters of the situation, there is no need of self-denial for them ! Is there a virtue higher than that of serving others ? But the same does not apply to Brahmans—you others do it ! The truth is, that in this country parents and relatives can ruthlessly sacrifice the best interests of their children and others, for their own selfish ends, to save themselves by a compromise with society, and the teaching of generations rendering the mind callous, has made it perfectly easy.

A girl of eight is married to a man of thirty and the parents are jubilant over it. And if anyone protests against it, the plea is put forward, 'our religion is being overturned.' What sort of religion have they who want to see their girls becoming mothers before they attain puberty even, and offer scientific explanations for it ? Many again, lay the blame at the door of the Mahomedans. They are to blame, indeed ! Just read the *Grihya Sutras* through and see what is prescribed there as the marriageable age of a girl... And in the Vedic *Aswamedha* sacrifice, the queen would be subjected to unspeakable ignominy, and all the priests and gods would scandalise themselves by drunken orgies. That Sita was in banishment, and king Rama performed the *Ashwamedha* alone, gives me immense relief. This is to be found

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in all the *Brahmanas*, and all the commentators admit it. How can you deny them ?

No Hindu of modern times had a more intimate knowledge of, and a deeper reverence for the past culture and achievements of the race, and yet the Swami was emphatically of opinion that the future India would be greater than the past. In reply to the Calcutta address he wrote :

"The past [of India] was great no doubt, but I sincerely believe that the future will be more glorious still." "There were many good things in the ancient times, but there were bad things too. The good things are to be retained, but the India that is to be, the future India, must be much greater than ancient India."

For mere senseless glorification of the past, and blind opposition to western enlightenment, the preaching of unworldliness as a convenient excuse for avoiding the stern duties of the householder's life, the fatal and suicidal mistake which identifies our present social and moral torpor with the spiritual equilibrium of the *sattvic* stage, and other delusions of the same kind, Vivekananda had nothing but the clearest condemnation, as the following extracts from his various books will show :

"The man who says, 'I have nothing to learn,' is on the way to death. The nation which says, 'we know all,' is on the verge of ruin. 'Live and learn.' Only the thing to be learnt must be adapted to our needs, and the real core of the genius of the race must be preserved, but all else must be learnt.....In this way we must learn everything that the foreign nations have to teach us, but by preserving the national character intact, and adapting the teaching to our requirements."

"We must keep our national inheritance always to the fore, and we should strive to bring these treasures to the knowledge of all, from the masses upwards ; at the same time, we must fearlessly open all doors. Let the light come from all quarters ; let the West flood us with its dazzling rays. That which is weak and faulty, is liable to death—what is the use of sticking to it ? That which is vigorous and strength-giving, is immortal, who can destroy it ?"

"Of course if we set to work instead of sitting inactive, we shall go wrong now and then. Even so, is it not better to be half-fed than to go hungry ? Is not action, in which good and evil is mixed up, better than absolute, stock-like inaction ?"..... When *Sattva* predominates, man becomes inactive in supreme meditation ; when *Rajas* predominates, man acts, both ill and well ; when *Tamas* prevails, man becomes once more passive and inactive. Now how is one to judge from the outside whether the *Sattvic* or the *Tamasic* element predominates in our national character ? Whether we are in that *Sattvic* stage of ineffable bliss which is beyond joy and sorrow, or whether we are slowly rotting in a sort of lifeless, stock-like, *Tamasic* stupor, without energy and therefore inactive,—answer this, ask your own mind. But no answer is really necessary, the result we see all around us gives the answer. The stability of the *Sattvic* stage is due to the concentration of the highest Spiritual Energy, such passivity is the parent of the highest power..... Owing to the influence of the Jains and the Buddhists, we have been immersed in *Tamas* ; the whole country is crying to the Lord, but he has turned a deaf ear to us these one thousand years. Why shouldn't He ? Even a man does not listen to a fool ; let alone God. The way to proceed therefore is to follow the advice of the Lord in the Geeta, 'Don't be a weakling ! Therefore arise and earn fame.' "

"The Buddhists said, 'there is nothing like salvation, so let the whole world be saved.' I say, is that ever possible ? The Hindu scriptures declare, "you are a householder, you need not dwell too much on such topics, you follow your *Dharma* (Duty)." This indeed is the proper advice. Has the advice of the Buddhists any substance in it ? You cannot combine with two men in any act of public service, and yet you run after salvation ! The Hindu scriptures declare, of course, salvation is far higher than *Dharma*, but you must first do the latter. The Buddhists really made a confusion in regard to all this. Non-killing is good, non-enmity is a high idea, but the Shastras tell you, if any one gives you a slap on your cheek, unless you return it ten times over, you shall be committing a sin. Manu says, even if a Brâhmin be your assailant, it is no sin to kill him. This is the truth, and you should not forget it. None but the brave deserve to enjoy the good things of the earth. Display heroic qualities, lead the worldly life in all the approved methods, then you are a virtuous man. If on the contrary you lead a contemptible existence, silently enduring all the kicks you get, you suffer hell in this world as well as the next. This is what the scripture says, and is the truth, and nothing but the truth. Do your duty ; don't do wrong, don't oppress others, do good to others to the best of your ability. But for a householder to suffer injustice is a sin, you must retaliate instantly. Earn money with great enthusiasm, maintain your family and dependants, engage in philanthropic activities. Unless you do this you are not even a man—how can you expect salvation ?"

"Shall the smoke of the Vedic sacrifices cover the entire Indian horizon once more with a thin cloud, or shall the blood of sacrificial animals remind us again of the holocausts of King Rantideva ? Shall cow-sacrifice, horse-sacrifice, the Levirate, and other ancient customs prevail in our midst, or shall India be converted into a vast monastery through the deluge of Buddhism ? Shall the law of Manu come again into full swing or discrimination in matters of food continue to exercise such wholesale influence as it has now acquired ? Shall the caste system prevail ? Shall it be based on merit or continue forever to depend on birth ? With regard to the different kinds of food permissible to the different castes, shall the doctrine of pollution remain as it is in Bengal, or shall it assume the rigidity obtaining in Madras, or shall it be practically absent as in the Punjab ? Shall marriage in the *anulom* form be again permitted between the different castes, as laid down by Manu, and as prevalent to this day in Nepal, or shall it remain as exclusively endogamous as in Bengal ? It is difficult to answer these questions. The existence of the most contradictory practices among different castes and families in the same part of the country makes the solution still more difficult. What will the future bring forth then ?—That which we have

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haps never had. That which the Greeks had, at touch of which sparks from the European battery repeatedly galvanised the world with tremendous power—that is what is wanted. We want that enterprise, that love of liberty, that spirit of self-help, that steadfast endurance, that activity, that unity, that love of progress. Instead of keeping our gaze fixed for ever on the past, we want to look ahead into the infinite future, and we want the vitalising, force-giving energy of an intense *Rajas* coursing through our every vein.....Don't you see that under the cant of *Sattva* the whole country is sinking into the sea of *Tamas?* Where the inertia of the most thoroughgoing dullness tries to cover its folly under the guise of spiritual aspiration; where the born sloth wants to pass off his worthlessness under the specious name of non-attachment; where cruelty under the guise of religious austerities passes for virtue; where none looks to his own incompetence, and everybody tries to throw the blame on others; where mere learning by rote is synonymous with knowledge, genius is confined to chewing the cud of undigested lore, and above all, where our sole pride is in glorifying our ancestors;—that a country so situated is sinking in *Tamas*, needs no demonstration.....Therefore the *Sattvic* stage is still far off.....Can the *Sattvic* state be attained without passing through *Rajas?*

We shall conclude our article with a warning and an exhortation, both among the best things which Vivekananda has written and which furnish the key to his message to India:

"Nothing great can be achieved through trickery. With love, passion for truth, and infinite energy, everything may be achieved. Therefore be manly in your efforts."

"Thou, Hero, take courage, be proud that you are an Indian,—say, in pride, 'I am an Indian, every Indian is my brother'....., say, brother, 'India's soil is my highest heaven, India's good is my good,' and pray day and night, 'Thou Lord, Thou Mother of the Universe, vouchsafe manliness unto me,—Thou Mother of strength, take away my unmanliness and make me man.'"

A HINDU ADMIRER.

SOUNDS OF THE HEART

He closed my mouth; He sealed my lips with the red seal of His wrath, and bade me listen to the music of my own heart.

And bending low in the awful shadow of His presence, I listened.

Heard the clatter of the feet of them that ever hastened away, eager for they knew not what. I heard the cry of untamable birds flying swiftly beneath the stars, with the dark circle of the Earth far below their never-resting eyes:

And I heard the deep moaning of an old temple bell, echoing the sorrows of the silent, echoing the passing of all things, and the peace that surely awaiteth them that endure to the end.

E. E. SPEIGHT.

IN MEMORY OF MYRON HENRY PHELPS

AN AMERICAN BARRISTER WHO WAS INTERESTED IN THE THOUGHT AND PHILOSOPHY OF INDIA AND IN THE WELFARE OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE.

ALL religions, all philosophies agree in the belief that not the outward details of life, but the inward hope and desire, spiritual hunger and achievement, are the elements of which character is made and by which destiny is decided. Outwardly, Mr. Phelps' life of nearly sixty years was an active and useful one, including the practice of his profession, extensive travel, the authorship of several books, and a practical, personal share in not a few philanthropies. But beneath and beyond all these, his keenest interest throughout his whole life centred in a deeper knowledge of spiritual things, and his most earnest and persistent desire

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until the very day of his death, (which occurred in Bombay, in December, 1916), was to seek the true source of such knowledge. Friends and associates of his early life unite in recalling his earnestness in these matters even as a boy, his reverence for truth, his sincerity. And only a short time before his death he talked at length with the writer of this memorial, of these things that were nearest his heart.

After long consideration, and in a sincere and singleminded desire that Mr. Phelps' memory may live not only in the hearts of his personal friends but also in the hearts of all in whom he was interested, all with whom he sympathized, the writer has decided to make known in this way somewhat of the burthen of that last long conversation, hoping that thereby in some measure, some manner, the knowledge of it may tend toward fulfilment of Mr. Phelps' desires, as he expressed them at that time.

He had been speaking of the years that were past, of his study of Eastern philosophies and phases of Western thought, of his having found something of good in all, and his profound conviction that though ultimate truth still far transcends the grasp of human understanding, yet hope of attainment of even a fragment of the knowledge of it is well worthy the utmost effort man can make. (It was in this hope that he had for years lived the life of an ascetic, subordinating every detail of existence to the goal desired, despite the counsel of physicians who believed that he was thereby undermining his health). Mr. Phelps spoke of his desire to live longer, not only that he might make fuller preparation for the life to come before leaving this present life, but also because his long continued suffering had widened and deepened his sympathies with all who suffer, whether in body or mind, and he greatly wished to give expression to his sympathy in some helpful way. His heart went out to all who were lonely, all who were in sorrow, or deprived of the common comforts of life, all who suffered for conscience sake. In many ways, Mr. Phelps' own life had been a lonely and a sad one. His mother had died in his infancy. His temperamental reserve and sensitiveness prevented his making friends readily and sometimes even tended toward a misunderstanding of his true character. Even before his last illness, he had borne much physical suffering with great patience—patience and gentleness were always outstanding traits of his character.

Mr. Phelps spoke also at that time of differing beliefs as to the future of the soul after death, of the comfort he himself would feel could he carry with him beyond this life the assurance of having in some signal way lightened the burdens of many here, and of his very natural desire, hope, that the new life might prove for him less lonely, less sad than this had been, that the thoughts, the friendships of those he had known here might perhaps go with him into the unknown.....

Myron Henry Phelps.

Since Mr. Phelps' death, the writer has felt an increasing sense of obligation to

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make known this touchingly earnest though humble and hesitating expression of his deepest desire. May it not be possible that some thought of love, of sympathy, of hope for his happiness, his well-being, can—(warm from the heart of a soul here who knows what suffering means) reach him, wherever he may now be, and bring to him comfort, or help? Those who read this may believe that the soul is indestructible, yet may hold differing opinions as to the future that may await it after death;—may believe that the spirit cannot die but that hope and love are perishing things, and prayer only a waste of time. It was one of the deepest, most poignant hopes of Mr. Phelps' heart that truth and hope and unselfish love, the willingness to sacrifice oneself for the good of others, are indeed of the very essence of the soul itself and equally indestructible; that wherever the soul may find a home after the death of the body, it may still be within the reach of sympathy, of good will, of prayer. That this may be true, was perhaps the last wish to which Mr. Phelps gave expression on earth. And in making it known the writer hopes thereby to make him, his true character, more widely known and more intimately remembered, and to win for him perhaps a wider circle of well-wishers, of friends, of those who will somtimes spare for him an earnest thought of sympathy and understanding.

Such property as he left is all, after the necessary settlement of obligations, to be used to help humanity in his name, in memory of his desire to be able to do more to this end before he died.

And whatever may be the widely diverging faith or unfaith of those who may read this memorial, can they not nevertheless unite in at least a kindly wish, if not some simple kindly act, in the memory of one who suffered much and was patient under suffering, who tried to help those who were in trouble, the lonely, the oppressed, the misunderstood? Surely no one of us can say he knows all that can ever be known, and that outside the limits of his own faith there can never at any time be any other thing worthy of faith? The ages to come may hold some fuller, deeper understanding of the things of the spirit?—Some brighter light of truth may some day shine on the faith we now hold dear? Even those who believe that prayer is useless, yet cannot think it harmful? Every one who lives wastes some time in some way—can we not hereafter give some of our idle moments to at least kindly thought of this (on earth) lonely, suffering and yet loving soul—it can certainly do neither our selves nor any one else any harm. The writer believes beyond all shadow of doubt that it will do good because unselfish love is a spiritual thing beyond the reach of the laws of earth, and that such thoughts must surely find their way to this soul that perhaps even now waits for them. But even with those who do not believe, such thought would—at least in some slight measure—turn the trend of the thinker's mind toward kindliness, toward the value of truth and things spiritual. So that by such means also Mr. Phelps' memory—the memory of all that was truest and best in his character, his faith—may live on in many hearts here—hearts that know, as he did, the meaning of suffering and sorrow, and thus keep burning for him the memorial flame. It is this tribute that he would have loved rather than any monument in stone or bronze.

And blessing will surely rest on all who thus share their life and their love in such spiritual fellowship.

E. H.

THE AMERICAN PUBLIC LIBRARY

By Dr. Sudhindra Bose, M.A., Ph.D.,
Lecturer in Political Science in the State University of Iowa.

"To be aristocratic in taste and democratic in service is the privilege and glory of a public library."
—*Bliss Perry.*

I remember my first vivid contact with the American library when I found myself installed, several years ago, as an assistant in one of the principal public libraries in the United States. I was in the main Reading Room, which was of majestic size, with its richly carved walls, with its countless rows of tables and chairs, with its forests of high-standing shaded electric lamps, its huge chandeliers hung from the lofty gold-foiled ceilings, and with its

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thousands of volumes of reference works easily accessible on shelves. But with all this there was nothing of the obtrusive soulless machine about the library. The green plants in window sills, and the red autumn leaves in decorative brass pots on our desk gave a personal touch, a cheerful homelike atmosphere. Seemingly harassed club women were taking notes copiously; book-devouring university students were plodding through mountains of reference volumes; tired but alert business men were buried deep in ponderous tomes; and crowds of younger men and women were rumaging through the latest works of fiction or of travel. Once in a while spectators would drop in, would go silently on tip-toe through the cork-carpeted aisles of the large room, would walk across monastic corridors and down the sweeping white marble stairways. The fitting motto of the scene in the Reading Room was well expressed in golden letters over the dark folding entrance door: "*The World Is Founded On Thoughts And Ideas, Not On Cotton Or Iron.*" And as often as I looked at that quotation from Emerson I asked myself, Isn't that wonderful?

Democratization of Library.

Perhaps the most interesting thing about the American library is the democratization of the use of books. The mediaeval European method of chaining books to shelves is not, and has never been, maintained in America. In the Reading Rooms of the American public libraries, books are placed on shelves for the free use of all readers without formality of any kind. These books are not only the usual works of reference such as cyclopaedias and dictionaries, but they also embrace a good working library of general literature—history, law, philosophy, religion, poetry, drama, standard novels, biography, and science. The readers can browse along among these books at will, or, if they prefer they can select a few from the shelf, take them to a table and consult them to their heart's content.

Besides the general Reading Room, there are the Art Rooms, the Exhibition Rooms, the Periodical Room, the Newspaper Room, and the Music Room—all flung open to any one who will come. In modern library buildings, special Study Rooms are often provided for those who carry on research upon topics demanding the use of a considerable number of books for days or weeks.

A limited number of books can be drawn from the library for home use. The common practice is to allow two books to a person at one time. Teachers and students of schools and colleges are sometimes given special cards, which permit them to borrow a larger number of books and keep them a longer period than usual. The fine for keeping a book overtime is generally two or four pice a day. In New York Public Library, which has a circulation of more than 6,000,000 a year, approximately seventy-five thousand rupees are collected annually from this source alone.

The right of drawing books from a public library belongs to any whose name appears in the city directory, who can furnish a guarantee against the loss of books lent him or who can simply bring a certificate of character as a responsible person. The present tendency is to have as few requirements and restrictions as possible.

Most of the libraries have what they call the "open shelf" system, which permits the users ready access to the main book stacks. Instead of consulting a catalogue, and asking an attendant to get their books, the users, if they wish, can go straight to the shelves and help themselves. There are some who maintain that the open-access libraries lead to the loss of books. I know from my experience in library work that that is true; but such losses are regarded as wholly insignificant when compared with the resulting public convenience. The value of the open shelf system has been happily expressed by a former librarian of Philadelphia Free Library:

> "I have no hesitation in saying that there is no limit whatever to the number of books to be placed on open shelves..... The loss from theft has in our case proved insignificant. The number of books lost in a year does not amount in value to the salary of one employe. The safeguards of closed shelves would require the services of several attendants, and the difference between closed and open shelves, so far as the services of the public is concerned, does not admit of discussion. Persons using libraries by means of catalogue cards only, cannot gain one-third of the benefit that is procurable by a person who has free access to the books themselves."

Public libraries in large cities are open for use not only during week days from 8 in the morning till 10 at night, but also on Sundays and legal holidays from

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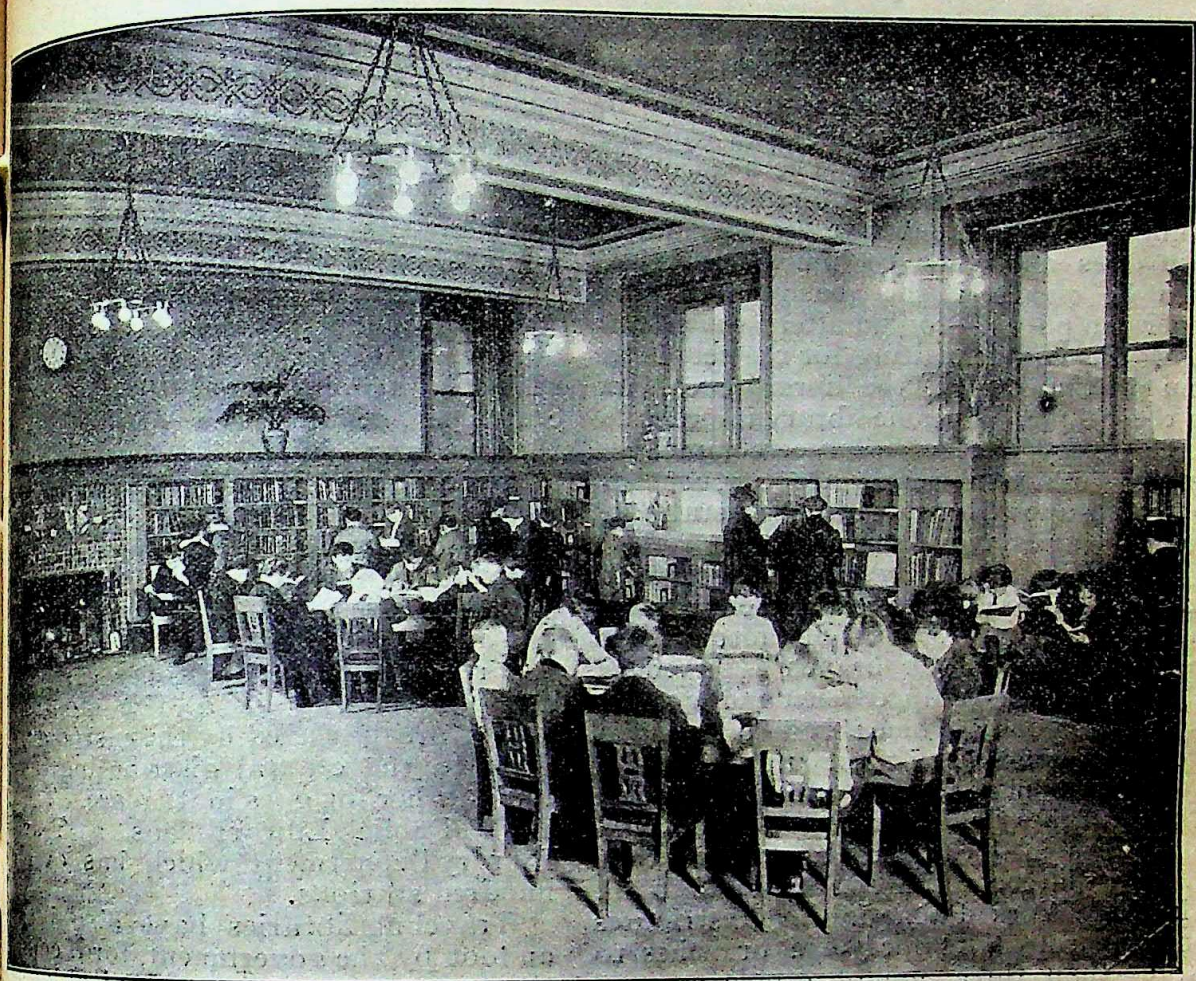

A Corner of a Children's Reading Room in a Public Library in U. S. A.

to 10. These longer hours of opening add a great deal to the convenience of the reading public, undoubtedly.

Creating Library Habit.

One of the main problems of the head of a public library is to allure people to its possessions. For the library is not a mere museum, a collection of books; it has become a dynamic agency for their wise distribution. "The modern public library believes," remarked Dr. Arthur E. Bostwick, chief of the St. Louis Public Library, "that it should find a reader for every book on its shelves and provide a book for every reader in its community, and that it should in all cases bring book and reader together." The modern librarian, who is a sort of book missionary, uses many novel methods to attract the public. In a certain town that I happened to visit, I found its public library making shop-keepers enclose library folders in every package that went to their customers. These folders inquired, "How do you spend your leisure hours?" and then invited persons when they found "spare time hanging heavy" on their hands to come to the library and read "good literature".

The use of clever posters to stimulate interest in current topics is frequent. The year Rabindra Nath Tagore won his Nobel Prize I saw the following notice on a board at the entrance to a public library:

"Nobel Prize

Awarded each year to the best work in the following:

Physics
Medicine
Chemistry
International Peace
Idealistic Literature."

The notice included also pictures of Maurice Maeterlinck, Bjornson, Roosevelt, Kipling and Tagore. Under Tagore's likeness blazed forth these words:

"He wins the Nobel Prize. Rabindra Nath Tagore's mysticism brings him fairly close to Maeterlinck and the dreams of the new Celtic school."

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Subsidiary Agencies.

The librarian does not sit down in austere seclusion in his office and wait for the community to come. The head of an American library is the Mohamet and the community, the mountain. If the mountain does not come to him voluntarily, then he makes it his business—in the American phrase—to "go after" the mountain. Instead of waiting for the people to come to the library, the library goes out to the people. A public library in order to reach every part of a large community employs many subsidiary agencies, consisting of branch libraries, deposit stations, home libraries, travelling libraries.

Big cities are fairly dotted over with branch libraries not pretentious monumental buildings, but fully adequate to their purposes. Each branch is served by a staff of well-equipped men and women, especially young women. It is to be understood, of course, that the branch has its own permanent limited stock of books. The branches, however, can and do send for books in the central library and thus make its larger resources available to all. The New York Public Library distributes books through its forty-one branches to more than three million people a year.

Neighborhoods which are too small to warrant the expense of a branch library are cared for by deposit stations. They are scattered in drug stores, grocery shops and other places too remote to be supplied at the main library. The stations lack the trained librarian. They are under the charge of the proprietor of the establishment. In the deposit stations there are from two to five hundred volumes which are changed frequently. The service, as in the Chicago Public Library, is interchangeable. A borrower having drawn a volume at the main library may return it to a station, or having drawn a volume from a station may return it to the central library. Again, he may borrow books from one station and return them at another. Order lists for books may be left at any deposit station. These lists are sent to the main library, and books are rushed by automobiles making daily deliveries.

The Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh in its aggressive measures to reach every class of people in the city has instituted what it calls home libraries, which may be considerd typical. They are a collection of books sent out once a week in small cases directly into the homes of the poor people. The plan is this: "A visitor from the Library distributes the books in each case and spends an hour among the children who assemble for the occasion at the home of one of their number."

The most recent plan for the broadcast distribution of books is the traveling library. It is sent to clubs, factories, police stations, small villages, country schools, centrally located farm houses—wherever there is any special need of books. The library consists of groups of the best and most interesting books carefully chosen so as to comprise from fifty to six hundred volumes. This library is placed in suitable boxes or portable cases with a written catalogue, and sent to some local person who is held responsible for its proper custody and use. At the end of a few months, the books are gathered by the custodian, sent back to the central distributing agency, and another lot goes in its place. The New York Public Library has a Traveling Library Department which has over nine hundred stations.

Traveling libraries have also been set on foot by the government, for it considers them to be among the most vital agencies for good citizenship. Almost every state legislature makes appropriations of money and appoints a Free Library Commission to maintain a system of traveling libraries. They furnish books on travel, fiction, history, biography, useful arts, and miscellaneous literature to rural communities which are either too far away from town and cities, or are too small to support local libraries.

Traveling libraries are also fostered by private individuals and societies. During one summer I was stopping in a small country hotel in the mountainous regions of Colorado, I found in our hotel an interesting little Traveling Library. It had been lent by a private philanthropic organization. The Library had in its circulation list about seventy books. The landlady, who was the custodian of the Library, let the villagers have the use of the books free of charge. "In the work of popular education," rightly said Mr. Melvin Dewey, the famous American originator of so many far-reaching library methods, "in the work of popular education, it is, after all, not few great libraries, but the thous-

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d small that may do most for the ople."

Library Service.

The American library is not a mere ack of books, and the librarians no mere retakers or dragons to guard their racy. The library is mostly service, gressive service. Go into a modern rary, and stop at its Information Desk, instance. You will see the clerk at the k explaining to one the reference volum- directing another where to look for terial, rescuing a casual reader from fruitless search, or guiding a stranger the proper shelves.

People who for some reason cannot come the library may send in their requests information by mail or telephone, and se requests are promptly attended to. e telephone is a very important adjunct every library, and it is used in asking a stant succession of questions on the st diverse subjects imaginable. Over e telephone they ask: How high is ount Everest? What are the best books r Christmas gift? How do you spell such- d such a word? Can you tell me which the best musical magazine published in erica? May I have my book renewed another week? Will you give me a list books and magazine articles on co-opera- n? And the versatile young lady at the her end of the telephone wire gives the ormation desired. The Free Public rary of New York has recently tabulated at it answers annually about five ousand telephone inquiries for informa- n from its constituency.

Another instance of the "popularization" library service may be seen in the Public riting Room maintained by the St. Louis ublic Library. It is a room fitted with airs and tables for the use of the public write private letters. Pen and ink, ith paper and envelopes of medium grade, e supplied free by the attending custo- an, and paper and envelopes of better rade, as well as postage stamps, may be ought in the room at cost. This is not all. e custodian takes dictation in shorthand, es typewriting, and receives orders for anslations from foreign languages at rent rates.

American libraries, which are not aintained for the merely book-reading ublic, are thoroughly socialized; they e used to their maximum. Libraries contain lecture halls, rooms for women's study clubs, young men's debating societies, and meeting places for carrying on the work of various civic organizations. There is nowhere any suspicion of charity. The attitude of the librarian is that of a courteous host toward invited guests. They come and go much as they would in their own homes.

Library and Children.

Some thirty or forty years ago children were excluded from almost every public library. And if they came at all, they found very few books for their use. Gradually, the barriers to the admission of children were broken down: the age limit for admission was reduced to 18; it dropped to 12, then to 10, next to 8, and now has disappeared altogether. To-day, all children are admitted to the Children's Department of the public library.

A visit to the Children's Department is always interesting. The rooms for "little folks" are equipped with low chairs, tables, and book cases especially suited to children. Bright pictures, bits of tapestry, and cheerful hangings give these rooms an attractive appearance. Here are kept juvenile books and magazines adapted to the age and taste of "little visitors". Sometimes, one finds a separate Study Room containing atlases, globes, and hanging maps, where the children of over-crowded homes may come for a quiet hour to prepare their school lessons.

The Children's Department has a library staff of its own, and even separate catalogues. Usually children's librarians are young women, college graduates, with expert training for library work with children.

A fine feature of the children's room is the abundant supply of stereoscopes and stereopticons. The Cincinnati Public Library operates moving picture shows which take children on a "tarry-at-home journey" to Japan, India, Switzerland, France, and many another distant land.

The Children's Department has "story hours" to attract children of all ages. The plan of story telling is briefly this: groups of children are gathered within the library rooms in the winter months, and in the playgrounds during the summer, to hear, told by a trained story teller, folk tales, fables, myths, legends, ballads, or stories from Shakespeare's plays. The object of

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story telling is more than pure entertainment. The story teller tries by the subtlety of her art to awaken ambition, stir to moral courage, and lift the quality of reading. At the close of the story, it may even be suggested to the children that they "can get more such stories in the library", and take them home to read for themselves.

The public library is considered an integral part of the local educational system. Hence the Children's Department co-operates directly with the public schools in an effort to cultivate a taste for good literature in the young. Sometimes the school authorities will set apart a room in the school building for library purposes. And the public library will install there a collection of books, and have them under the charge of a trained librarian. Again, the library, as an important ally of the school, will send members of the library staff to visit the rooms of the public schools. They will display books with attractive bindings, tell of the enjoyment and benefit to be had from reading the books, and invite all to come to the main library and get books.

It was Rousseau who remarked that "childhood has its own ways of thinking, seeing and feeling." In synthesis, this is the underlying idea of the Children's Department of the American public library. If the reading of the children is to make positive gain in richness and breadth, it should be guided and directed from the children's point of view. To this end, the children's librarian and her assistants seek to learn through personal visits to the homes of the children their tastes and interests. The Minneapolis Public Library has recently reported that its experts have found home visiting invaluable. They have not only been successful in persuading "doubtful parents that the library habit is a good one", but they have connected many boys and girls of the community, through a personal knowledge of their habits and character, with desirable books of the library.

Financing the Library.

There are in the United States eighteen thousand regularly established libraries. The funds at the disposal of the libraries are generally derived either from the government or private gifts or both. In former days the dying man in the West would ask the Catholic priest how he could invest his money so as to buy eternal happiness in heaven. Now it has become the fashion in this country to think less of what an American calls "the measly little shriveled soul", and more about universities and libraries which will promote happiness here on earth. Indeed, few other American public institutions seem to attract the gifts of the well-to-do as does the public library. Memorial libraries are to be found everywhere in America. The greatest library philanthropist of the United States is Andrew Carnegie, the multi-millionaire "iron-king". He has so far distributed over three hundred and sixty million rupees among some two thousand institutions. The hard-headed practical philosophy of this greatest of library givers is well expressed in the following inscription on one of the marble panels of St. Louis Public Library:

I CHOOSE FREE
LIBRARIES AS THE
BEST AGENCIES
FOR IMPROVING
THE MASSES OF
THE PEOPLE
BECAUSE THEY
ONLY HELP THOSE
WHO HELP THEM-
SELVES. THEY
NEVER PAUPERIZE.
A TASTE FOR
READING DRIVES
OUT LOWER TASTES.
ANDREW CARNEGIE.

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INTER-CASTE MARRIAGE IN BUDDHIST INDIA

PROFESSOR Rhys Davids, the author of "Buddhist India," uses the term Buddhist India to denote "ancient India during the period of Buddhist ascendancy." In this essay "Buddhist India" is used in a more restricted sense, denoting those countries in India and that period in which the Buddhist Hinayana Sutras originated. In most of these Sutras Gautama Buddha is represented as the speaker and the scene is laid in Kosala, Videha, or Magadha. So according to the preambles these Sutras refer back to Kosala, Videha, Magadha and the neighbouring countries of the lifetime of Buddha himself. But from internal evidence it is clear that many of these Sutras, particularly those that are extant in Sanskrit version only, were compiled long after Buddha's *parinirvana*. Here an attempt will be made to illustrate the Hindu attitude towards inter-caste marriage in Buddhist India from some of the Buddhist Sutras.

I.

Our first document is the well-known *Ambattha Sutta* of the collection called *Digha Nikaya* (Sanskrit, *Dirghagama*). It has been translated into English by Prof. Rhys Davids (*Sacred Books of the Buddhists*, vol. II, pp. 65-95). Buddha, with about five hundred followers, was staying in the wood near Ichchhanankala, a Brahman village in Kosala (Oudh). There he was interviewed by a learned Brahman, Ambattha, a pupil of the famous Brahman teacher Pokkharasadi (Pushkarasari) of Ukkattha (Utkata) in the same kingdom. Ambattha's rudeness gives rise to a discussion of the question whether the Brahmans or the Kshatriyas are the higher of the two. Ambattha admits that his ancestor Kanha (Krishna) was the son of Disa, a slave of King Okkaka (Ikshaku) from whom the Sakyas traced their descent; and that this Kanha, after becoming a Rishi, married a daughter of king Okkaka. Then Buddha says :—

'What think you, Ambattha ? Suppose a young Kshatriya should have connection with a Brahman maiden, and from their intercourse a son should be born. Now would the son thus come to the Brahman maiden through the Kshatriya youth receive a seat and water (as tokens of respect) from the Brahmans ?'

'Yes, he would, Gotama.'

'But would the Brahmans allow him to partake of the feast offered to the dead, or of the food boiled in milk, or of the offerings to the gods, or of food sent as a present ?'

'Yes, they would, Gotama.'

'But would the Brahmans teach him their verses or not ?'

'They would, Gotama.'

'But would he be shut off, or not, from their women ?'

'He would not be shut off.'

'But would the Kshatriyas allow him to receive the consecration ceremony of a Kshatriya ?'

'Certainly not, Gotama.'

'Why not that ?'

'Because he is not of pure descent on the mother's side.'

Similar answers are given by Ambattha to similar questions regarding a son born of a Brahman youth and a Kshatriya maiden. Buddha concludes, 'Then, Ambattha, whether one compares women with women, or men with men, the Kshatriyas are higher, and the Brahmans inferior.' Though marriage is not clearly mentioned, a Brahman youth or maiden and a Kshatriya maiden or youth, whose male issue was recognised as a full-fledged Brahman must have lived as a married couple. If it may be assumed that this dialogue gives a faithful picture of social life in Buddhist India—and there is no reason to the contrary—the interdict against intercaste marriage should be traced, not to Brahman narrowness, but to Kshatriya pride.

II

Our second document is tale No. 33, Sardulakarna-avadana, of the collection called *Divyavadana*, which mainly consists of *avadanas* or edifying tales extracted from the Vinaya Pitaka of the Mula-sarva-

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stivadin sect. About the age of the Sardulakarna-avadana the editors of the *Divyavadana*, Cowell and Neil, write, "Parts of the narrative are of considerable interest, and, whatever we may think of the date of some later chapters, the framework of the avadana itself must be of great antiquity. It was certainly translated into Chinese in the third century of our era" (p. 655). Buddha was staying in Anathapindada's garden in Jetavana at Sravasti. One day Ananda, one of Buddha's leading followers, went to the city of Sravasti to beg alms. After taking his food he went to a well. At that time a Chandala maiden named Prakriti was drawing water from that well.

Ananda said, addressing that Chandala maiden, "Sister, give me water to drink."

Prakriti replied, "O venerable Ananda, I am the daughter of a Chandala."

Ananda said, "O sister, I do not ask you to name your family or caste. If you have water to spare, please give it to me, I shall drink."

At this Prakriti offered water to Ananda, which he drank and then went away. But the maiden was so much charmed by the auspicious signs in the body and face and in the voice of Ananda that she fell in love with him and determined to have him as her husband. On returning home with water Prakriti requested her mother, who was a skilful magician, to draw Ananda to her by means of some spell. Prakriti's mother at first refused to adopt such a course on the ground that Raja Prasenajit of Kosala would resent it and Sramana Gautama (Buddha) would be able to make her spell ineffective. But as Prakriti told her mother that she would either have the monk Ananda as her husband or commit suicide, the latter began a magical rite to attract Ananda. Spellbound, Ananda was drawn to the house of the Chandala, where he began to shed tears and thought of Buddha. Becoming aware of Ananda's plight Buddha recited a *mantra* (magical formula) which rendered the *mantra* of Prakriti's mother ineffectual and Ananda was free to return to Jetavana.

On the following morning Prakriti went to the city-gate and stood waiting for Ananda. When Ananda entered the city for begging alms Prakriti followed him like a shadow, walking while he walked, stopping while he stopped, and waiting at the door outside when he entered a house for alms. As soon as he recognised Prakriti's design he ran to Buddha, of course followed by Prakriti, and cried, "Save me, O Bhagavan! Save me, O Sugata!" Buddha asked Prakriti, "O Chandala maiden, what do you want the monk Ananda for?"

Prakriti replied, "I want the venerable Ananda as my husband."

Buddha, "Have you been permitted by your parents to marry Ananda?"

Prakriti, "I have been permitted, O Bhagavan, I have been permitted, O Sugata!"

Buddha, "Then let them signify their consent in my presence."

This interview led to the inevitable result. The Chandala maiden was admitted to the Buddhist order as a *bhikshuni* (nun). But the news of the admission of an outcast Chandalini created a sensation in the city of Sravasti, and the citizens, headed by Raja Prasenajit, flocked to Jetavana to know the reason why from the lips of the Bhagavat. Buddha then narrated the life-history of Prakriti in her previous birth.

On the Ganges once upon a time there lived a Raja of the Chandalas named Trisanku with many thousands of Chandalas. In his previous birth Trisanku was a Brahman well-versed in the Vedas and the subsidiary sciences. In his present birth as a Chandala he still remembered the contents of those works. The Chandala chief had a son named Sardulakarna to whom he imparted knowledge of the Vedas and the subsidiary sciences. At that time there was a very learned Brahman named Pushkarasari who had received a prosperous village named Utkata as a royal gift. Pushkarasari had a very handsome and accomplished daughter named Prakriti. One morning surrounded by a large number of Chandalas Trisanku went to Pushkarasari and said, "Give your daughter Prakriti to my son Sardulakarna as wife; I shall pay you as much money as *kulasulka* (present due to your family) as you think fit." Enraged at this audacious proposal, Pushkarasari reminded Trisanku that no one, be he a Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaisya, Sudra, Chandala or Pukkasa, marries out of his own caste. Trisanku replied :—

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यथा भस्मनि सौवर्णे विशेष उपलभ्यते ।
ब्राह्मणे वान्यजातौ वा न विशेषोऽस्ति वै तथा ॥
यथा प्रकाशतमसो विशेष उपलभ्यते ।
ब्राह्मणे वान्यजातौ वा न विशेषोऽस्ति वै तथा ॥
न हि ब्राह्मण आकाशान् मरुतो वा समुत्थितः ।
भित्त्वा वा पृथिवीं जातो जातवेदा यथारणेः ॥
ब्राह्मणा योनितो जाता श्वपाला अपि योनितः ।
श्रेष्ठत्वे वृषलत्वे च किंवा पश्यसि कारणम् ॥
ब्राह्मणोऽपि मृतोऽत्सृष्टो जुगुप्स्योऽशुचि रुच्यते ।
वर्णास्तथैव चाग्नयो का तु तत्र विशेषता ॥

* * *

तदिदं ब्राह्मण ते ब्रवीमि । संज्ञामात्रक मिदमेतल्लोकस्य यदिदमुच्यते ब्राह्मण इति क्षत्रिय इति वा वैश्य इति वा शूद्र इति वा । सर्वमिदमेकमेवेति विज्ञाय पुत्राय मे शार्दूलकर्णाय दातव्यं मानविकामनुप्रयच्छ भार्यार्थाय यावन्तं कुलशुल्कं भवते तावन्तमनुप्रदास्यामि" (*Divyavadana*, pp. 623-625).

Substance—There is no real difference between the Brahman caste and the other castes. The Brahmans and Chandalas are born in the same way. The dead body of a Brahman is as impure as that of a man of any other caste.....Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaisya and Sudra are mere names. Knowing all these (castes) to form one single (community), marry your daughter Prakriti to my son Sardula-karna."

Still more enraged at this Pushkarasari explained the law of intercaste (*anuloma*) marriage and the origin of the four *varnas* from different parts of the body of Brahma. Trisanku's reply is very interesting. A few extracts from it can only be given here :—

यथा हि दारका बालाः क्रीडमाना महापथे ।
पांशुपुञ्जानि संपिण्ड्य स्वयं नामानि कुर्वते ॥
इदं चौरमिदं दधि इदं मांसमिदं घृतम् ।
न च बालस्य वचनात् पांशवोऽन्नं भवन्ति हि ॥
वर्णा स्तथैव चत्वारो यथा ब्राह्मण भाषसे ।
पांशुपुञ्जाभिधानेन योगोऽप्येष न विद्यते ॥
न केशैर्न कर्णाभ्यां न शीर्षेण न चक्षुषा ।
न मुखेन न नासया न ग्रीवाया न बाहुना ॥
नोरसाऽप्यथ पार्श्वाभ्यां न पृष्ठेनोदरेण वा ।
नोरुभ्यामथ जङ्घाभ्यां पाणिपादनखैर्न च ॥
न स्वरेण न वर्णेन न सर्वाङ्गैर्न मैथुनैः ।
नानाविशेषः सर्वेषु मनुष्येषु न विद्यते ॥ (p. 626).

* * * *

तद्यथापि भोः पुष्करसारिन् गवाश्व-गर्दभोष्ट्र-मृग-पक्षि-जैड्कानां जरायुज-संस्वेदजौपपादुकानां नानाकरणं प्रज्ञायते यदुत पादतोऽपि मुखतोऽपि वर्णतोऽपि संस्थानतोऽपि आहारतोऽपि योनिसंभवतोऽपि नानाकरणं प्रज्ञायते । न च तेषां चतुर्णां वर्णानां नानाकरणं प्रज्ञायते । तत्तस्मात् सर्वमिदमेकमिति । (p. 627).

Substance—The four castes are like dust balls made by little girls at play and named curd, meat, *ghi*, &c. As such names can not transform dust into curd, *ghi* and meat, so names like Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaisya, Sudra cannot transform men into different classes of beings. "All men have similar physical features. So there are no hereditary varieties among men...Cow, horse, ass, camel, deer, bird and other kinds of animals have different physical characteristics and habits. Such varieties of characteristics are not found among men. Therefore all men belong to the same (caste).

As in the last quoted clause and what follows in the text, so in the Pali Vasttha Sutta (No. 35 of the Sutta Nipata) appeal is made to comparative morphology to show that caste distinctions are unscientific. Mr. (now Lord) Chalmers writes :—

"There are numerous generic and specific marks distinguishing the several grasses and trees, worms, moths, beasts, birds, and fishes ; but these numerous marks are not found on men as on all other living creatures ; the distinctions between man and man are individual, not specific or generic. Herein, Gotama was in accord with the conclusion of modern biologists that "the *Anthropidae* are represented by the single genus and species, man,"—a conclusion which was the more remarkable inasmuch as the accident of colour did not mislead Gotama, as it did within living memory the citizens of a free and enlightened republic." (J. R. A. S., 1894, p. 346).

The remarks contained in this dissertation on caste embodied in Pali and Sanskrit Buddhist texts are based on observation of the physical features of men of different castes. In our own day on similar grounds—absence of differentiating physical characteristics in different castes—Nesfield came to the conclusion that *varna* or caste originated not from actual difference of colour (*varna*) that is, of race, in different groups of men, but from

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differences of occupation. These texts also show that at the time of their composition the physical differences that originally distinguished the different castes* had practically disappeared in Aryavarta partly through the influence of physical environment and partly through race mixture.

Now to return to our narrative, Trisanku's arguments demonstrating the fundamental unity of different castes softened Pushkarasari, who ultimately consented to give away his daughter Prakriti to Sardulakarna. In course of his further argumentation Trisanku named two well-known Brahman sages of mixed parentage :—Dvaipayana born of the Nisada woman Kali and Rama (Parasurama) born of a Kshatriya mother Renuka (p. 637). After narrating the story Buddha explained to the audience that at that time he himself was born as Trisanku, Ananda as Sardulakarna, Sariputra as Pushkarasari and Prakriti, the Chandala maiden, as Pushkarasari's daughter (p. 654).

III

Our third document, Divyavadana No. 26 (Pamsupradana Avadana), is a historical romance. When Vindusara, son of Chandragupta Maurya, (erroneously represented in our text as son of king Nanda), was reigning at Pataliputra, a Brahman of the city of Champa had a beautiful daughter born to him about whom the astrologers predicted that she would be married to a king and give birth to two sons one of whom would be the overlord of the four quarters of the earth and the other would renounce the world. The Brahman took his daughter to the court and offered her to king Vindusara who sent her to the royal harem. There other wives of the king grew jealous of her and assigned to her the duties of a barber. In course of time Vindusara was pleased with the girl and requested her to ask for a reward. The girl implored the king to treat her as his wife. The king replied, "You are a barber woman, I am king, Kshatriya Murdhabhisikta, how can I have intercourse with you ?" The girl then told her story. Vindusara made her the chief queen and had by her two sons, Asoka and Vitasoka. As Chandragupta Maurya "contracted marriage alliance" with Seleukos Nikator, so there is nothing incredible in this story about his son.

It should be pointed out that Gautama Buddha was not a social reformer but the founder of a new order of monks in the recruitment of which caste distinction was ignored. Buddha's lay followers (*Upasakas*) remained what we should now call Hindus. But these Buddhist tales, like some of the epic tales such as that of Santanu's marriage with Satyavati, show that though in ancient India intercaste marriage was practised only by a minority, the majority that did not do so could not and would not stand in the way of the minority.

RAMAPRASAD CHANDA.

* For the writer's views on the origin of caste see *The Indo-Aryan Races*, pp. 33-36.

AGRICULTURAL IMPROVEMENT IN INDIA

BY. K. V. TAMHANKAR, B. AG.

"Although it must be clearly recognised that Indian industries are now, and will be in future, chiefly based on the agricultural products of the country, we find that important and valuable as these are, much still requires to be done for their development. The extent to which they are manufactured whether for export or internal consumption, instead of being sent out of the country as raw materials, can, in some cases, be largely increased; and the Agricultural Department will find great opportunities and sometimes an urgent necessity of improving the output and quality of many Indian crops."

(Report of the Indian Industrial Commission.)

I.

WRITERS on Agricultural Improvement in India often lose sight of the fact that the question of Agricultural Improvement is not merely related to Scientific research alone, but it largely

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pends on the spread of education in general, and agricultural education in particular, and on the rural economy of the country. Research work is undoubtedly of great importance, as it brings about new methods and new principles, leading to the economic betterment of the cultivating classes. But unless, there is the peasantry, who can understand those improvements, and have the means to put them in practice the preaching of new principles would be of no avail. It is therefore obvious that all the factors underlying the subject of Agricultural Improvement, must be taken into account. It is difficult to say which of them is of the greatest importance; and a scheme, which contemplates the handling of any one of these, without consideration of the other two, cannot be said to be complete. It may be that all the three factors cannot be easily solved at the same time. Perhaps it may be very difficult to effect any economic change, in the condition of the rural population all at once. Whatever difficulties there may be, they in no way minimise their importance. With this great principle before us we are not in a position to say that in India at least the three factors have received equal consideration while research work has been going on apace, education lagging considerably behind and rural economy remains untouched except for the small amount of work done by co-operative societies. Simultaneous advancement along all these lines is extremely desirable, if any real work in the direction of Agricultural Improvement is to be accomplished.

It is proposed to treat the subject under three heads: (1) Improvement in Crops; (2) Agricultural Education; (3) Rural Economy. We shall take up the subject of scientific research first, as substantial work has been done by the Imperial as well as the Provincial Departments of Agriculture.

Improvement in Crops and Scientific Research.

Stray attempts were made to improve Indian cotton, in the first quarter of the nineteenth century in the cotton growing tracts. Foreign varieties of cotton were freely introduced without attention to their climatic requirements, and it is no wonder that these early attempts ended in failure. It must be noted here that these attempts were made by Government, not of their own initiative but through the outside pressure brought to bear, by English merchants at Home. As nothing substantial was achieved, it would be useless to give a detailed account of what was being done in several provinces. The idea of the formation of a Department of Agriculture was first conceived as far back as 1869, after the disastrous famine in Bengal and Orissa in 1866. More famines were however required in other tracts of India, to convince the authorities both in India and in England, of the imminent necessity of Agricultural Improvement in India. The Famine Commision of 1880 laid down a scheme for the formation of Provincial Departments of Agriculture. In 1881, the Government of India 'decided to postpone Agricultural Improvement, until the scheme of agricultural enquiry had been completed.' The arrival of Dr. Voelcker in India in 1889 marks an important phase of Agricultural Improvement in India. The publication of his 'Agricultural Improvement in India' generally indicated broad lines of improvement. Not only did it dispel the erroneous ideas of some men in England and in India, who had a very poor estimation of the agricultural methods followed here, but it also strongly pointed out the defects and the ways of improvement to those, who were too conservative to observe them. The importance of Dr. Voelcker's book is very great, and it has deservedly occupied a high place in the agricultural publications bearing on Indian agriculture. No one interested in Indian agriculture should fail to make a critical study of the work.

It was not however until the appointment of Mr. Mollison, as Director General of Agriculture in 1901, that Government seemed to take up the subject seriously. Whatever may be the failures of Lord Curzon in India, he did one very useful work, in that, that he gave a great impetus to the scientific work in agriculture, by organizing the Imperial Department of Agriculture, and he instilled a new life into the Provincial Departments of Agriculture. Provincial Colleges of Agriculture were started, to produce men, who would go to the rural tracts and serve as a nucleus of Agricultural Improvement, and also to provide men fit to take up the work of scientific research.

Prior to the year 1901, serious atten-

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tion cannot be said to have been given to agricultural improvement, in the various provinces, as the Directors were also saddled with the work of Land-Record. A mass of information and statistics were collected by those officers; and it cannot be said to be useless work, though it has very little to do with research work in agriculture. The need of whole-time Directors of Agriculture was soon brought home, and they were then freed of the revenue work. Without further going into further details of organization of Provincial departments of agriculture, let us briefly review the work, so far done by these departments.

As mentioned before, cotton was the first crop that attracted the attention of Government. Wheat was the next crop, and jute and other fibre crops, oil seeds, indigo, sugarcane and rice stand in descending order. It is natural that the export crops should be taken up first, as it is in the interests of both the buyers and the producers.

Cotton.

Of the total cultivated area in India, more than 6 p.c. is under cotton, and this is likely to increase in consonance with the increasing world-demand for cotton. As mentioned before, early efforts were mainly directed to the introduction of exotic varieties, in Bombay, the Punjab, the United Provinces and Madras. Experience has shown that, that is not the only method of improvement. Selection, hybridization, improved methods of cultivation, play a more important part, than what is usually understood, in the improvement of any crop. Climate and water-supply also determine the suitability of a new variety. Dharwar American, Cawnpore American, Upland Georgian, or Buri, Cambodia, and Egyptian are the instances, of exotic varieties, that have achieved some success and have become established in parts of Bombay, United Provinces, Central Provinces, Madras and Sindh respectively. All these varieties have longer staple, and finer texture than those of indigenous varieties in those provinces. Though the average yield of cotton in Egypt and America is 450 lbs. and 200 lbs., it is considerably less in India.

Mr. Mollison in Bombay first pointed out that exotic varieties were generally unsuited to the climatic conditions of India, and therefore new methods of improvement must be followed. As a careful study of all indigenous varieties in every province was thought very necessary, it was soon undertaken and an Imperial Cotton Specialist was appointed.

The following are some of the Deshi types of cotton: Broach, Kumpta, Oomra, Bengal, Karunganui, etc., the length of staple varying from ½″ to 1″. The outturn of cotton in India in 1913-14 was estimated at about 5,913,000 bales of 400 lbs. each. Out of these the yield of long stapled varieties was about 500,000 bales, or about $\frac{1}{12}$ of the total outturn of cotton in India. In the same year about 2,900,000 bales of cotton were exported bringing in about 40 crores of rupees to the country. Japan is the largest buyer of all foreign countries. Most of the countries require long-stapled cotton, and the supply is chiefly provided by America. 'An increase of a penny a pound in the value of cotton produced in 14,000,000 acres, which grow the short-stapled varieties at present, would yield over 6 crores of rupees, justifying amply the immediate expenditure proposed.' This will show how vast the field for research work, there is, for the Agricultural Department. Mr. Mackenna in his 'Agriculture in India' says, 'The small cultivator requires and is content with little, and so long as he can get the necessary minimum without undue exertion, he is not likely, willingly at all events, to undertake more laborious cultivation, unless the advantages are beyond doubt.' But where these advantages have been clearly brought to his notice, the Indian cultivator has not been slow to take up new varieties of seed or new methods of cultivation. Experience has shown that cultivators have willingly responded to the call of Agricultural departments in Bombay, and Berars, to accept selected seed of cotton.

So far, much work has been done in Bombay in popularising Broach cotton in Dharwar and supplying selected seed to cultivators in Gujerat and Khandesh. In the Southern Marhatta country, Kumpta is chiefly grown, and there is, I believe, much room for improvement. In Central Provinces, a local variety—white-flowered roseum—has been selected and developed and selected seed is supplied to cultivators. In the United Provinces and Madras work on similar lines has been going on with success.

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The spread of long-stapled varieties will always depend on the water supply, which can only be assured by the construction of canals. Black cotton-soil tracts are mostly to depend on precarious rainfall during a season of three to four months, and consequently the plants are stunted, with few balls, and the yield is poor. Costly manures are thus out of question, and the tillage is also not quite satisfactory. The holdings are too small to enable a farmer to have his own pair of bullocks, in many cases, and the never-failing Kunda and Hariali render inter-culture ineffective.

The question of cotton improvement cannot be fully solved by introducing a new variety, or giving selected seed to cultivators. The difficulties of the farmer must be carefully studied, and the means of taking the fullest advantage of the teachings of the Agricultural Department, must be brought within his reach. So long as the Agricultural Department concerns itself with one side of the question only, the farmer's problem will remain unsolved.

WHEAT.

This crop occupies nearly 10 P.C. of the total cultivated area of India, and 4 to 5 million tons of wheat are exported to foreign countries. As an exporter of wheat, India ranks third, but the outturn of wheat per acre in India is only about one third of that in England. The principal defects of Indian wheat are: (1) Weak straw, (2) Low yield, (3) Susceptibility to rust-disease. And besides these the diversity of seasons acts as a great hindrance to the spread of any one variety of a selected type, throughout the country. As to the milling qualities, experts in England have expressed that there are many types in India, quite suited to the English Market.

As in the case of cotton, foreign rust-resisting varieties did not prove successful in India. These varieties which were mostly Australian and required a long season for maturity, could not withstand the hot dry winds of March in the plains of India. Greater success however was obtained by introducing suitable varieties from one province into another province. Wheat from the United Provinces was introduced into the Southern Shan States and the Muzaffarnagar variety into Bombay, Sindh. But greatest success will be achieved, it is hoped, by the new types of wheat, that are being evolved at Pusa, by Mr. and Mrs. Howard, on Mendelian lines. Mr. Mackenna says:

'So far as one can predict, the establishment, throughout India of these Pusa wheat is the solution of the improvement of Indian wheat. It has been calculated that a safe estimate of the gain to Indian wheat growers, if the crop were replaced by varieties like Pusa, would be rupees 15 per acre per year. The rate at which extension will take place will depend on the efficiency of provincial organisations for seed distribution. In view of the favour with which these wheats have been received, and the cordial co-operation of provincial officers, it is a modest estimate to assume that in the course of a very few years, the area under Pusa wheats will reach at least five million acres. This means an increase in the near future, in the value of the agricultural produce of India of 750 lacs of rupees or five million pounds.'

SUGARCANE.

India is the largest sugarcane growing country in the world, the total acreage under sugarcane being 2,659,800 in 1913-14. In spite of the enormous quantity of gur produced in the country, the imports of foreign sugar had reached the figure of 800,000 tons, costing about 15 crores of rupees, before the World-war. In 1913-14, the outturn of gur was estimated at about 3,428,000 tons. Besides this quantity, 150,000 tons were expected from palm trees. Thus the total quantity of gur and sugar required for consumption is about 3,578,000 tons. The average yield of gur per acre in India is 1·2 tons while in other sugarcane growing countries in the world it is more than 3 tons per acre. In Bombay it is 3·1 tons, and in parts of Madras the same figure is reached. Now, if the average yield of gur per acre could be increased in India, the total yield would be 82,000,000 tons, i.e., more than double the quantity of gur and sugar required for home-consumption; so that India will be able to export 3,600,000 tons of raw sugar annually, bringing nearly 65 crores of rupees to Indian cultivators! On the contrary, owing to the very low yield of gur per acre, India is actually losing 80 crores of rupees, every year. These figures will give an idea of the enormous possibilities of improvement and the vast economic advantages that would arise therefrom. The deterrent factors however are many: Sufficient water supply and the necessary capital are the first requisites of a crop like sugarcane. The first is wanting in some tracts, while the second

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is needed everywhere. The report of the Indian Industrial Commission says that

> the obstacles in the way of increasing local production lie mainly in the poor type of cane, and the inferior cultural methods in the principal cane areas, the United Provinces, Bihar, Bengal, and the Punjab; and in the very small holdings on which cane is grown, with the consequent impossibility of securing the regular supply for a modern cane factory.

In Bombay, Bengal, and the United Provinces the Agricultural departments paid early attention to cane cultivation. And the introduction of iron-mills is due to the efforts of the officers of Agricultural Departments. The Manjri sugarcane experimental station in Bombay has done valuable work. In the United Provinces, the Hadi process of sugar manufacture seemed for a time to have a great future before it, but the hopes have not been realised. The great obstacles in the cane cultivation are want of heat and water in Northern India, while in the South water-supply falls short of the requirements. In the former case, the difficulty can be got over by introducing varieties suited to the tract, while extension of canals and the use of pumping machinery will help considerably to reduce the want of water supply.

The red-rot disease also acts as a great hindrance to the extension and successful cultivation of this crop; and in finding out new varieties, susceptibility to this disease must be carefully guarded against. In this connection the work of Dr. Barber is being watched with interest in Madras. In Java, disease-resisting varieties were produced by cross-fertilization; and work on similar lines is being carried on by Dr. Barber. Work of this nature requires years of patience and experimenting to produce substantial results. Manuring and careful cultivation play a very important part in the production of cane, as in the case of other crops. The cultivation of sugarcane in the canal areas of Bombay stands very high, the warmth of the climate being a natural advantage there. Added to this, owing to the shrewdness of the Deccani Kunbi, who rarely fails to observe the requirements, manurial as well as cultural, of his crops, cane cultivation in the Deccan stands as model, and compares favourably with that in other countries of the world.

Perhaps, the greatest amount of good yet remains to be done in connection with the manufacture of gur. The iron-mills are no doubt superior to old wooden or stone-mills. But the extraction of juice by a power-driven mill is still higher than that, obtained by a bullock-driven iron mill. Power-mills will certainly give one per cent. of gur more than the ordinary iron-mills. The total loss to the country caused by the wasteful methods of manufacture nearly amounts to 60,900,000 rupees, annually. The installation of power-mills in cane-growing tracts is a matter of first importance, and the agricultural departments will be doing an immense amount of good, by encouraging the installation of power-mills.

The estimate of loss, just given above, will be seen to be a moderate one, because the report of the Industrial Commission says 'where these small power-driven mills have been introduced, it has been definitely established that they have increased the value of the product from a given acre of land by from 25 to 30 per cent.'

Machinery and better cultivation mean more capital, which is becoming an ever-increasing want in India. The Indian cultivator, who is notoriously debt-ridden, has very little to invest for the present requirements of agriculture, and it is out of the question for the present, that he will be able to invest more. Manuring is also becoming more costly and great difficulty is experienced in canal areas, in obtaining sufficient supplies of concentrated manures. Chemical manures are destined to play an important roll in agriculture, and unless means are devised to manufacture them in the country, it will go very hard with Indian cultivators to buy them from foreign countries.

Appendix C, to the report of the Indian Industrial Commission gives a detailed account of the present state of the sugar industry of India, and the conclusions therefrom are not very hopeful. Man to man, the Indian cultivator is not inferior to his foreign brother but so long as he is unable to invest more in agriculture the talk of improvement will be a cry in the wilderness.

Oil-seeds.

The export trade of India in oil-seeds is very large nearly amounting to 25 crores of rupees annually. The following table is taken from the report of the Indian Industrial Commission.

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Crops	Area in 000, acres 1913-14	Value of export Rs. 000 1913-14
Castor	Not shown separately	20,500
Copra	,,	15,506
Cotton	15,844	21,251
Groundnut	463	48,814
Linseed	2,268	66,871
Rape and Mustard	4,083	44,737
Sesamum	4,278	21,043
Total non-essential oils, excluding copra and cotton	14,658	275,006

Considering the value of exports, Linseed stands first, Groundnut second, and Rape and Mustard third; while the order is reverse, regarding the acreage under each of the three crops, excepting groundnut which stands third.

As to the work of the Agricultural Departments the report of the I. I. Commission says:

'Little has been done hitherto by the over-burdened Agricultural Department to improve the local types of oil-producing plants or to investigate the condition under which oil is formed in the seeds. The methods of oil extraction have been equally neglected, and we recommend that the important matter should be examined by the experts, who, we hope, will be available in the future.'

Let it not, however, be denied to the credit of the Agricultural Department, that foreign disease-resisting varieties of groundnut have been introduced in parts of India; while in Burma, it has become a crop of considerable importance, bringing prosperity to those tracts, which are mostly unsuited to any other crop. As regards Linseed, nothing seems to have been done by the Department, and Rape and Mustard have the same tale to tell. It will be thus seen that this important field remains yet unexplored. No one doubts the possibilities of improvement, as in the case of other crops. Let us hope that the Agricultural Department will soon bestir itself and undertake this important branch of work. The following are the lines of work in this respect:—

(1) Selection of hardy and better yielding varieties, suited to the climatic conditions of the tract. (2) Cross-fertilization on Mendelian lines to produce the desired characters. (3) Introduction of new varieties from foreign countries. (4) Manurial requirements to be carefully studied and means to be devised to meet them. (5) Proper rotation of crops, which is of considerable importance in agricultural economy. A giant variety of sunflower is grown in Southern Russia on thousands of acres, yielding an excellent oil like safflower oil. We do not know if this plant is grown anywhere in India for oil.

Along with the question of oilseed crops, the question of oil-extraction also deserves special attention from an industrial as well as agricultural point of view. Oil cakes are being now largely used as manure, and the demand will go on increasing with the extension of canals. The oil-industry in India is still very backward, through want of capital and technical skill. It is time for capitalists to take up the industry, and the new Department of Industry should spare no pains to help these ventures.

Indian soils are notoriously deficient in phosphates, and the drain is growing every year, without recuperation. Consequently, the yield of grain or oil-seed is very poor, and the quality is far inferior in India. Now it is a well known fact that phosphates are highly important in the building of bodies of animals. It therefore goes without saying that the population, living on food poor in phosphorus should be weak both in body and intellect. It is therefore extremely necessary that the phosphates should be returned to the soil, by using oil-cakes, as manure. This is only possible if oil-mills worked by power are scattered over the country, and only oil is exported to foreign countries. It would not be too much to say that it behoves Government to help this industry by advice as well as by guidance and it would be a material help for the solution of the problem of manure supply in India.

Rice.

This crop occupies thirty-five per cent. of the total cultivated area in India. About nine per cent. of the total production is available for export, the value amounting to 27 crores of rupees. If we deduct from this figure, the value of the Burma rice, which amounts to 21 crores, the remaining six crores is the value of India's rice export. Burma is the greatest rice producing country in the world, and India has to import rice from Burma, to the value of about seven crores of rupees annually; and it is feared that she will have to import more rice, as the area under export crops, other than grain,

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goes on increasing as in the case of Bengal, where jute has supplanted rice, and Bengal now cannot satisfy the demand for rice.

As an important staple crop, Agricultural Departments ought to have undertaken it for research and improvement very long ago. As an export crop it may not compete with cotton or wheat, but as a food crop, it occupies a high place. Mr. Mackenna pleads that "it is probably due to the magnitude and complexity of the subject that little progress has so far been made." If the task is difficult or complex, why should it not be handled with redoubled energy ?

Improvement and specialization of varieties of maize have been successfully achieved in the United States of America, and work on similar lines may be undertaken in India. It is largely a work of botanists, having a thorough knowledge of the principles of Plant-breeding. Dr. Hugo De Vries, who recently brought this subject into prominence, has very clearly indicated the lines on which a work of this nature may be carried on. In the selection of varieties of rice, the nutritive value must always be taken into consideration. Unlike wheat, rice is not subject to any dire fungoid disease. Insects however do enormous damage to the rice crop every year.

There are hundreds of varieties of rice, each having a special character. These characters must be studied and the desired combination may be effected by cross-fertilization. Varieties only useful for starch must be isolated, as in the case of maize in America. Higher nutritive value, productivity and fineness are the important characters, in the selection of varieties for human consumption.

In many parts of India, cultivation of rice stands in direct need of improvement. Transplanting of seedlings is more economical than broad casting of seed, as considerable amount of seed is saved. Mr. Clouston's work in Central Provinces has effected considerable improvement in this respect. Rice being an acquatic plant, the use of chemical manures will always remain limited, as there is the danger of the manure being altogether washed away. In Bombay perhaps, experiments on rice were undertaken long before. One of the objects of these experiments is to find a substitute for rab-burning, which is considered very essential by cultivators in preparing the seed-bed. But the practice is a nuisance to the adjoining forests, because cultivators collect leaves and small branches of forest trees for rab-burning. Experiments, in this connection have revealed many facts which were not understood before. Rab-burning is useful in three ways: (1) it acts as a manure; (2) it liberates plant and improves the physical properties of the seed-bed; (3) it kills harmful organisms in the soil. This particular case has been given here simply to show that agricultural practices in India cannot be discarded as useless and based on traditions.

Green manuring perhaps will be of more use in the case of rice; in parts of Madras, Dhencha or wild indigo has come to be used as a green manure and in part of Bombay 'sann' has been found to be considerably useful as a green manure for rice.

Jute, Indigo and other crops.

Up to the discovery of synthetic Indigo, natural indigo had a very important place in the exports of India. But in 1897 the artificial product gave a rude shock to the indigo cultivation in India, and the area under this crop has been gradually declining. In India, Bihar occupies the foremost place, in Indigo cultivation. In Madras, it has greatly declined, while in Bombay, the area under indigo is negligible. In Bihar, most of the planters are Europeans, and up-to-date methods are employed in the manufacture of the dye-stuff. In 1908 one of the planters visited Java, and brought with him the seed of the variety grown there. This variety which came to be known as Java indigo proved a success in Bihar and the area under the crop rapidly increased. Later on, however, the crop was attacked by an insect pest, and the plants also did not flourish well, owing to defective physical condition of the soil: both these difficulties have now been removed, and the work of selecting better types is going on at Pusa.

Indigo is a leguminous plant, and the nodules on the roots contain bacteria which assimilate free nitrogen of the atmosphere. In order to supply the required air, inter-culture is necessary, and water-logging is extremely harmful. The amount of indican, or colouring matter in the leaves, depends on the development of bacteria in the root-nodules. In this connection, it would be interesting to try inoculation of soils, deficient in bacteria.

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e do not know, if it has been tried at sa, but the experiment is worth the ention of those engaged in research ork. With all the desired improvements oth in the cultivation and manufacture indigo, it is a question, whether natural digo will ever regain its former position.

JUTE.

Of recent years, Jute, the principal fibre op of Bengal and Assam, has attracted nsiderable attention, as it has become menace to the rice-crop, the average ea under crop being about three million res. Jute is exported to the United ngdom, Germany, France, and the United ates of America to the value of about irty crores of rupees. There are jute ills at Calcutta, where gunny cloth is anufactured. Last year, these mills eared more than seven crores as net rofit! In the United Kingdom, Dundee is e chief place of jute manufacture. The creasing number of mills at Calcutta as greatly diminished the importance of undee. The Jute industry in Calcutta entirely in the hands of European erchants.

Scientific work on Jute dates from the ppointment of Mr. Finlow as fibre-pert in 1904. In 1905 Mr. Finlow ured throughout India, and he found at jute could be grown, in Burma, N. ihar and Assam. Since 1905, the work selection of jute varieties has been ing on and better types have been parated.

Manurial experiments have shown that w-dung is the best manure for jute. Oil kes and green-manure are also advan-geous. Government have come to know e danger of any rise in the cultivation jute in Bengal, and attempts are being ade to obtain increased yield of jute. rom 1872 to 1913, the area under jute as been trebled; and if this goes on at e same raté, the people of Bengal will ere to depend for food grain on Burma. his is not at all desirable and Government ould not fail to take timely measures to t a stop to the increase in area.

There are various other kinds of fibre ants in India, but none perhaps is of y considerable importance. Sann otalaria juneor) and Ambadi (Hibis-s cannabinis) are fibre crops grown in mbay and Madras. Sisal hemp is other fibre plant, growing in places of moderate rainfall. In the Deccan it is extensively grown as a hedge plant. It however deserves better treatment, and if waste lands are planted with sisal hemp, the money invested would be returned with profits.

INSECT PESTS AND DISEASES.

These are very common throughout India. Mr. Lefroy, the first Imperial Entomologist at Pusa, has done much spade work. He has laid down the lines on which future workers should do their work. Life histories and habits of insects must first be studied; without a knowledge of which, it is impossible to suggest remedies or preventive measures. Valuable work has been done during the last fifteen years in this respect. It has been demonstrated to cultivators that insect-pests can be prevented or destroyed, and they are not the scourge of Heaven, sent for the destruction of crops, and consequently beyond control.

It has been estimated that damage, amounting to nearly fifty crores of rupees, is done every year by insect pests. This at once shows the gravity of the work; the magnitude and complexity of the works, however, are proportionately greater. It requires years of patient work, and careful study, to bring about tangible results.

Diseases : Enormous damage is done to crops every year by different kinds of Fungoid and Bacterial diseases. Red rot of sugarcane, Rust of wheat, Smut of Jwar, and Tikka disease of groundnut are examples of diseases, causing considerable damage to the crops, they attack. Some of these diseases are such, that they cannot be detected before they have finished their work. In such cases, preventive measures are more useful. Smut of Jwar can be best prevented by steeping the seed in a solution of copper sulphate. In the case of groundnut, disease-resis ting varieties have been introduced, and the cultivation has rapidly revived. The work of the mycologist has thus been of immense practical use to cultivators.

With regard to the remedial measures, it must be remembered that they must be adopted on the whole of the affected area; otherwise, they would not be successful. The difficulty is enhanced in a country like India, where the majority of holdings are small, and farmers are not acquainted

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with modern scientific methods of treatment. The farmer must clearly understand that he would not only himself suffer loss, if he remained inactive, and did not use remedial measures in time, but he would also be inflicting injury on his neighbours' crops, by allowing his own farm to be a breeding place of insect pests and diseases. Lectures accompanied by demonstrations are of more practical use, than issuing printed leaflets, which he does not understand on account of his illiteracy.

This then is a brief review, so far as merely the crops are concerned, of what has been done, and what yet remains to be done. In the next part of the article it is proposed to deal with the educational side of Agricultural Improvement.

WILLIAM ARCHER'S "INDIA AND THE FUTURE"

By Lajpat Rai.

I

HINDUISM is a vast sea of beliefs and doctrines, customs and manners, which have been developing, growing and accumulating in the course of milleniums. Hinduism existed when there was no civilization in Europe, long before the dawn of history; it flourished when Greece and Rome were at the zenith of their glory; it is alive now and hopes to thrive and live in the future. It is not a religion but a system. It is not a creed but a mode of thought. It allows an amount of individual freedom in thought, the like of which is not known to any other religious system of the world. It gives absolute freedom of worship to every individual, according to his own taste, belief and development. Its moral standards are extraordinarily elastic. Its ethical code is suited to the social and intellectual evolution of the various groups for which its provisions are meant. Its laws, rules and commands are not of universal application; nor do they stand good for all eternity. Hinduism is extraordinarily flexible, changing, adaptive and progressive. It has sustained a population of hundreds of millions for a period of thousands of years, and is not known to have borrowed a single idea, or article of faith from the outside. Up till the 5th century B. C, it reigned supreme, through the length and breadth of India, and even in some countries beyond its borders. About that time, it gave birth to another system of thought, since known as Buddhism, which overflowed its boundaries and influenced practically the whole of Asia, East, West, North and South.

Up to the rise of Buddhism, Hinduism believed only in ideas, and not in the names of the personalities who gave out these ideas. Its culture was more impersonal than personal. Hence the fact, that posterity does not know the names of those who composed the Vedas and the Upanishads, or of those who founded the different schools of Hindu philosophy.

Buddhism was and is a child of Hinduism. Outside of India, it has existed as an independent system of thought and life. It was the first missionary religion of the world and has survived the rise of the other missionary religions born since. Many of the modern religious and social practices of the Hindus bear the mark of Buddhistic thought, but as a definite creed it disappeared from India more than a thousand years ago.

It is generally admitted by scholars, that Hinduism has not borrowed anything worth mentioning from the outside, yet the Hindus developed a literature and a system of thought which contain within their bosom some of the best, the most elevating, the most uplifting, and the most invigorating ideas known to the world. Many a scientific truth, rediscovered by Europe within the last 500 years, was known to the early Hindus. They were the *first* to develop a system of medicine, a system of notation, and many more things, upon which the great edifice of modern civilization has been constructed. They were early to discover that the earth moved round the sun, and was not flat.

Hindu literature is as vast, extensive and indeterminate as Hinduism itself. Speaking historically, it is a growth of *at least* 5000 years if not more. Within this period there was not a day *perhaps* when something was not composed. These 5000 years of the life of Hinduism may be divided into three periods, that of growth, stagnation and decay. It is rather difficult to say that it was ever stagnant. From the period of growth and progress it started at once to decay. By decay we mean comparative decay in vigour of thought and ideas, certain degeneracy of conception, and a vast corruption of practice. The last period is a curious mixture of soundness and unsoundness. Alongside of the most fanciful mythology, the most absurd and seemingly ridiculous stories of the origin and progress of the world, the most pernicious and sometime even revolting practices in religion, flourished the most elevating and uplifting ideas and the purest and noblest conceptions of life both here and hereafter. Thus in course of time, Hinduism has come to be a sea of varying and sometimes conflicting beliefs and customs and practises. Yet it has managed to maintain its lofiness and purity, without diminution or abbreviation. In this apparent conflict, and chaos, however, there is a certain unity of idealism, and also a certain uniformity of practice which distinguishes it from other religious systems of the world. The period of decay has now ended and Hinduism is once more on the upward course. A new life has sprung up; new blood is coursing in its veins. The old dried up bones are being re-invigorated and stregthened. The whole

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ntry is alive with vigorous thought and the ntry is ringing with cries of revival, reform and onstruction.

As with Hinduism, so with Hindu Literature. ring the course of centuries, Indian literature s undergone a curious process of accumulation. me of the best products of the period of growth d progress have been polluted by subsequent itions and interpolations. This is particuly true of the Epics and the Codes. The Mahabhata, which now contains over 100,000 lines, is beved to have originally consisted only of 10,000 lines. e Ramayana also, has been tampered with, ough not to that extent. The latest rescensions of e Epics are placed somewhere in the first ten nturies of the Christian era, when Hinduism was ot treading the path of decline. The same may be id of the Code of Manu, the latest edition of which s said to have been compiled in about 200 A.D. Yet ere is hardly anything in Hindu literature, and Hindu mythology, which does not find some kind of arallel in the literature and mythology of other ations of the world—we mean nations which count.

The Hindu Community, too, is the one community its size in the world, living in one country under e denominational nomenclature. It includes within s ranks men and women in all stages of intellectual d social evolution, from the most primitive to the ost modern in their mental and moral equipment.

Under the circumstances it is no wonder that a reign student can find *anything* he is looking for praise or damn India and its civilization, in dian literature and Indian life. It all depends on e point of view, with which he starts, or on the st impressions his mind receives. It is thus underandable why India—a study of Indian literature d Indian conditions—leaves such entirely different, metimes diametrically opposing impressions on the nds of different foreign students. A critic has ngle, more than ample, material from which to ect, to prove that India is a "barbarous" country, nfit to associate with the "civilised" countries of e world on terms of equality. The proselytizing ssionary and the superior Imperialist, both find ough *evidence* to base their condemnation of Hindu ligion and Hindu life. They pick up what suits eir respective themes. Even a rationalist and a ientific enquirer finds plenty which is "revolting" his sense of "propriety, decency and right." While ndemning and criticising India, these critics ignore, ther forget for a moment, the history of the rest f the world, and the literatures of other nations. ey judge India by absolutely modern standards d finding a good deal there, which is below the ghest and the best of these standards, they proounce an unfavorable verdict and think they have estroyed a hydra-headed monster. If India were olitically free, and economically self-regulated, such condemnation, however wholesale or sweeping, ould not matter much. In fact the chances are at it would not be indulged too often, *for fear of orting the susceptibilities of a powerful community*". ut as it is, India is neither politically free, nor conomically self-regulated, and most of this faultnding and dissection of Indian thought, Indian e and Indian literature, has an ulterior motive hind it. This motive may be conscious or unconscious; but so long as such critics must insist on India ing politically and economically controlled from ut, by men of their own race and blood, the dian patriot must be excused, if he cannot help eing a political and economic motive behind such criticism. Nor does it improve the situation, that a critic of this kind should see the wisdom of admitting that British rule in India cannot last forever. No human institution can. An admission of such an obvious fact can hardly be called evidence of openmindedness. Remember *British Connection* and *British Rule* are not one and the same thing.

It is quite in keeping with human nature that one should presume the superioity of one's own people, see the mote in the other man's eye quite concernedly, while ignoring the beam in his own. Humility is a peculiar weakness of the East; it finds no worshippers in the West, except when the West wants to impose it on others. The westerners believe in "boosting" as an essential factor for the psychology of success. This is a commercial age and boosting pays. Boosting of one's own goods involves the running down of the rivals in the market. No two things could be "the best in the world", an expression very common in commercial advertisements. "Boosting" is by no means confined to the domain of commerce. It is an extremely useful weapon in the region of politics too. It stimulates effort to keep what one has and supplies fresh momentum to get more. An Imperialist's psychology is greatly helped by a belief in his people's superiority and in the inferiority of those, whom it is intended to dominate and exploit. It strengthens the former, and weakens the latter. It is necessary to constantly repeat it, and to harp on it to maintain that degree of "efficiency" which is essential for its continued success, and so we find that all Imperial and masterful people have since the beginning of the world, posed as saviours of their victims, "the chosen of the gods," the possessors of a superior morale and culture as compared with those whom they wanted to rule and exploit. Their right to govern, they think, has been guranteed by the gods. Secondly, a constant repetition of their superiority, skilfully and adroitly done, hypnotises the victims into a belief of their own inferiority and "barbarism", and gradually wins them over to the side of willing obedience and quiescent submission. A conqueror is always a better man than the conquered, at least in his own estimation. It is to his interest to produce the same belief in the conquered people. The Aryan conquerors of India called the ancient inhabitants of the country "barbarians"; the Moslems in their turn, called the Hindus "barbarians", and the British in their turn have called both by the same name. The Romans called their subjects barbarians; and so did the Greeks and the Persians. Even Chengiz Khan the Mongol, and Tamerlane the Turk, claimed to be more civilized than the Hindus, the Persians and the Europeans, whom they conquered and reduced to the position of subjects. The Germans of to-day are doing exactly the same thing. They believe their "Kultur" to be the best in the world, and that by enforcing it at the point of the bayonet, and by bringing the world under their subjection they would be conferring a boon on the latter. The truth is, that the very fact of "subjection" is proof presumptive of the inferiority of the subject race, and as long as the latter remains convinced of its inferiority, they must continue in subjection. It is the business of the master to foster that belief both in himself as well as in the other. That is the way of Imperialism.

Mr. William Archer, the author of the book under review, is not an Imperialist, though he is awfully shy of being considered a Little Englander, and is anxious to establish that negation by canstant

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reiteration. "I am no little Englander," says he in protest (p. 19), "on the contrary, I regard the British Empire as *one of the greatest*, and possibly *one of the most beneficent* facts of history." The italics are mine. Ever since the dawn of history, Imperialists, all the world over, have been using identical language. It is a necessary part of their make-up. But Mr. Archer is not an Imperialist, because with his keen intelligence and acute mind, he feels that "the time is ripe for the open recognition and promulgation of a greater view of England's duty and opportunity in India" and that "the brutally contemptuous attitude of the West to East ...has had its day."..."Bad manners are *no longer* (Italics mine) good form," (thereby clearly implying that once they were) and "racial superiority, if it exists at all, is not to be demonstrated by bluster and swagger." The curious thing is that Mr. Archer should believe that a mere recognition, however "explicit", that England's rule in India cannot last forever and is only "*a means, not an end*" furnishes him a complete justification for a display of that very same "bluster and swagger" and "bad manners," which he condemns in others.

In his Prologue, Mr. Archer justified his effort, which he calls an "addition to the mountainous mass of Anglo-Indian literature" by the fact, that "he had something to say which has not" to his knowledge, "been fully, explicitly and dispassionately said before." Comparing his work with that of his predecessors he wants his readers to understand that "others have spoken with a passionate partisanship, or with a querulous pessimism, which has lessened the weight of their words," while he sees no reason either for "pessimism" or for "invective." Now this is only another illustration of the European habit of "boosting" or self-complacency. There is very little in this book, which has not been said before, by other writers, not even his much vaunted discovery, that British rule in India cannot last forever and is only a means to an end. Yet, there is hardly any other book, written by any Anglo-Indian of scholarly reputation, (we are not speaking of super-rabid writers) who has displayed such "passionate partisanship" and who has made such a free use of superlative "invective" in criticising everything Hindu—their religion, their social life, their culture, their literature and their art, as Mr. Archer has, in this work. The book bristles with invective, exaggerations, misinterpretations, omissions and special pleading. There is also a good deal in it, which is truly just, and to the point, the value of which, for constructive purpose, has been considerably "lessened" by his "invective" and "passionate partisanship." That is why I am sincerely sorry for Mr. Archer. I know Mr. Archer personally. We met both in India and in England. I have absolutely no doubt of his sincerity of purpose. He means well. His study is fairly comprehensive and he has devoted much time and thought to the writing of his book, but unfortunately his "invective" and his one-sidedness have marred the usefulness of his effort. Mr. Archer is a man of strong views. He is temperamentally uncompromising and unsparing in crititicism, dogmatic and one-sided in statement. His book is a sweeping condemnation of everything Hindu—their religion, their customs, their manners, their art and, of course, their opposition to the British. "Barbarians," "barbarism," "barbarous" are the words on which he harps times out of number. He is conscious of that fact (p. 90), but in his judgment "they express the essence of the situation." A critic of that calibre can hardly be considered reliable, because even the worst enemies of India do not deny her a civilisation in the past. Mr. Archer has to admit that in certain places, but these half-hearted, forced admissions exasperate him all the more to the use of strong language. At times he feels that "the tokens of barbarism in manners and religion, on which" he has "been dwelling are *indeed superficial*" (italics mine ; mark the force of the word indeed), but his disgust at the social degeneracy of the Hindus is so strong that he is not prepared to withdraw or soften his judgment as to India never having had any civilisation at all. "There never was a great civilization in India," says he, "but there must have been in the epic ages a splendid barbarism. In the course of hapless centuries, it sank into the Hinduism we see to-day." "Splendid barbarism," as plentifully proved by the present war and its orgies, by excesses resulting from physical and intellectual intoxication, is perhaps, the very expression which an equally critical Asiatic might, more justly, apply to the civilization of Europe, but then, we shall have to confess that the world has not yet developed beyond the stage of this "splendid barbarism." Mr. Archer is fully conscious of this fact, because he practically admits this in his Prologue (p. 6). He knows very well that "the struggling out of the *age of faith* into *the age of knowledge*" is a very, very recent phenomenon and that signs are not wanting which do not remove it from the range of possibility, that before Europe finally emerges out of this struggle, it may have a fearful relapse into real barbarism compared with which the "barbarism" of India may be civilization itself. No one deplores more than the educated Indian the "secular stagnation" of India but it should not be forgotten that during the period the world of Europe has been carrying on its struggle towards "secular" progress, India has been under the iron heel of a foreign bureaucracy who laid down for it the pace of progress according to the exigencies of their rule. Even now, there are parts of Europe and of America, whose "barbarism" is neither "splendid" nor "picturesque" nor even "venerable". The whole thing turns upon one's idea of civilization. There are phases of European "civilization" which no Indian would wish for his country. One comes across them in the most civilized cities of Europe and America, in the saloons of London, Paris, Berlin, New York, in the Ghettos of Italy, Greece and Russia and in the packing houses of Chicago.

Mr. Archer's book may be divided into two parts: (a) which deals with those aspects of Hindu religion and culture which Mr. Archer has selected for the exercise of his vituperative criticism ; (b) in which Mr. Archer discusses politics. There is a good deal in (a), which when examined in proper perspective, minus his exaggerations and his invective, is true and just. To the modern Indian reformer there is nothing new in it. He has been saying some of those things for the last one hundred years. If his efforts have not met with adequate success, one of the contributory causes of that has been not only the apathy of the rulers but their actual association with and laudation of the forces of reaction. Can Mr. Archer deny that high Government officials have been encouraging orthodox Hindus in high places, to impress upon their countrymen the desirability of unquestioned obedience to authority, whether priestly or kingly, and have been installing "loyalty" above patriotism and rationalism? Viceroys and Lieutenant Governors have been

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stalling religious education of the most reactionary ...d, which in their judgment imposes upon their ...vers the duty of implicit obedience to the king ...d the priest. The "secular stagnation" of India is ...rtly due to her Government. While Brahmins ...rocating political reforms have been denounced, ...hmins and priests advocating "secular stagnation" ...ve been lauded and exalted. Caste rivalries in ...ular life have been set up, encouraged and ...bilised. I, for one, would have welcomed Mr. ...cher's iconoclastic condemnation of popular ...duism, and of the caste system, but for the ...ges of exaggeration and partisanship into which ...has descended. For some time past, I have been ...plorng the tendency of indiscriminate glorification ...the past of India to which some, though only a ...ry few, educated Indians were falling a prey, in ...tation of their western brothers. Mr. Archer's ...ticism would have been really helpful and useful in ...ring these Indians of this habit, if he had only ...ed sober language and been even tolerably moder-...e and fair in his selections of the things attacked. ...s the book stands, however, it is likely to be dismissed as the latest exhibition of that "swagger and bluster" which the writers of the West have been persistently showing towards the East and to which the East has become quite accustomed. In the political portion of the book Mr. Archer is fairly accurate and impartial when he deals with facts, but he is hopelessly wrong when he comes to the defence of British policy, in answer to the criticisms of the Indian Nationalists. The latter portion is only a reproduction of the usual Anglo-Indian special pleading which one may better read in the books of the actors themselves. The air of impartiality which Mr. Archer assumes deceives nobody. In fact as one proceeds with the reading of the book, one gets more and more suspicious that the object of this book is not reform, but that the whole stage was set for a particular purpose and that that purpose was to prejudice the Indian claim for immediate autonomy. The book was written before the war had broken out, but it was published just when the Indian claim for Home Rule began to come into prominence. This may be purely accidental, but it is significant.

COORG, A CENTURY AGO

TO students of Indian History the administrative methods of Indian rulers have an absorbing interest, as the ...ews of the East about some of them have ...culiarities which are in many respects ...marked contrast to those of the West. ...me functions of social life (hospitality, ...instance,) which in the West are con-...ered to be generally beyond the sphere ...government control and others which ...e considered to be the peculiar domain ...Trades Unions and guilds, such as fixing ...prices of goods, are in India enforced by ...yal command.

The orders or *hukumnamahs*,* as they ...e called, issued in the year 1811 from the ...wan Kutcheri of Linga Raja Wodayar, ...ja of Coorg, are in these respects inter-...ting as illustrating the principles of ...vernment which are essentially Indian. ...ese *hukums* are also instructive in res-...ect of the internal condition of Coorg a ...ntury ago. But in view of the generally ...rmed estimate of the character of this ...ja, these *hukums* assume an extraordi-...ry value in defending him. In Richter's ...oorg Manual this Raja is described as ...aving all the traditional caprice and inhumanity of an oriental ruler, maiming and murdering his dependents without remorse and without control." Writing in 1817, Lieutenant Connor considered "his abilities not above mediocrity" and was inclined to think, he took little active part in the administration of the State. A German missionary, Dr. Moegling, has described him as having "a greediness after gold, no matter how obtained, and a bottomless depth of cunning....."

A reader of these *hukums* will be puzzled to reconcile the account of the Raja's character as given by the above authorities with the tender solicitude and paternal care displayed in every one of the *hukums* issued by him.

Born in 1775, he succeeded Virarajendra the Great in 1810 under rather peculiar circumstances. On the death of Virarajendra, the kingdom devolved by will to his daughter Devammaji. Rule by a woman being, however, a departure from the usual custom, was unwelcome to the people and the Rani voluntarily abdicated her throne in favour of Lingaraja, the last but one Rajah of Coorg.

The opening years of the Rajah's reign seem to have been devoted to the preparation of a system of "sist" or revenue accounts when all land was measured

* Hukumnamahs of Lingarajendra Wodayar, ...ja of Coorg, Translated by A. T. Curgenven, B.Sc., ...

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and classified and their assessment fixed. That landowners still trace their possession to these "sist pattas" is a tribute to the thoroughness with which the work was done. This in itself would have been sufficient to credit the ruler with an anxiety to be just to all his subjects. It was in his reign, too, that the palace in the fort at Mercara, now used for Government offices, and the splendid Temple dedicated to Vonkara Iswara, were finished. It might incidentally be mentioned that in the construction of the latter, iron bars and mortar are used, a precurser to the modern ferro-concrete.

These *hukums* then have their origin in this period when the Rajah was endeavouring to systematise his government. The *hukums* are 53 in all, dealing with various administrative matters and though addressed actually to the Parpathigar* of Bettictnad are in fact circular orders for the guidance of the officers of the District. The first *hukum*, for instance, issued on the 1st day of the bright half of *Chaitra*, *Prajotpatya* year (4913 *Kaliyuga*), corresponding to 25th March 1811, is addressed to the Parpathigars, Shanbogs, Potails, Takkas† and the people of Bettictnad. Though the *hukums* follow no methodical plan, they can for our purpose be treated conveniently under 4 or 5 different heads.

Being essentially an agricultural country, the problem of agricultural prosperity and the allied one of assessment are by far the most important. We will therefore deal first with *hukums* treating of these abjects.

The most noticeable and gratifying feature about them is that the State seemed to take a very real and lively interest in the welfare of the ryot and in every way tried to encourage cultivation. The new settler was helped with loan of cattle and paddy from the palace farms in addition to the land he required. The paddy and cattle were to be returned when he was able to stand on his own legs (11).‡ To tide over times of difficulty he could borrow from the palace either grain or money at the remarkably low rate of 1 per cent per annum (12). Among the duties of the potail one was that he was required to see that the lands of any ryot, who unfortunately fell sick in the cultivation season, were ploughed by his neighbours (26), a very salutary provision in such a malarial country as Coorg. The potail was also required to encourage the ryots to cultivate various pulses, vegetables, etc., in the gardens adjoining their houses and on every Monday in the cultivation season was required to inspect the village and rebuke any ryot who, instead of working, was idling away his time. Once a fortnight a report was to be submitted to the parpathigar about the progress of cultivation in his nad (26). Liberal provision for the remission of taxation was made in the case of lands newly brought under cultivation.

Lands brought under cultivation for the first time had full remission for 8 years and ¼, ½, ¾ full revenue was to be collected after the 9th, 10th, 11th and 12th years respectively. If however it had been once cultivated but lying fallow for the past 50 years or if it had been low lying timber-clad waste, full assessment was paid after the 8th year and ½ and ¾ assessment was to be paid in the 6th and 7th years respectively. The ryot had to pay ½, ¾ and full assessment after the 5th, 6th and 7th years in the case of one cultivated land lying fallow for only 25 to 50 years (11). Under certain conditions the ryot could give up a portion of the holding which he found too large for him (13 and 45).

The assessment was calculated in 4 instalments in the months of *Magha*, *Phalguna*, *Chaitra* and *Vaisakha* (14) and not in other months, as "in other months the ryots will have to reap the grain and the palace dues will not be collected." There was, it would seem, no system of coin currency of the State and either grain or coins of any description could be accepted in payment of the land tax, the State specifying from time to time the rates of exchange at which different coins were to be received (4). If paddy was given it was to be stored agreeably to the instructions laid down in the 5th and 6th *hukums*.

The land assessment seems to have been very low and indeed, Connor mentions "the extreme lightness of the land tax". The absence of indication, moreover,

* The officer in charge of a nad, an administrative Division.

† Headman.

‡ The figures within brackets refer to the number of the hukum.

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Mercara Fort, Palace.

bout the difficulty of collecting it seems o confirm the statement.

Intimately connected with assessment is he question of land tenure. The basis of enure at the time was evidently feudal. he officers of the Government were paid in nd and land was given on "jama" right here in return for services to be rendered, ch as following the chase with knife and n, discharging police duties, etc., a vourable rate of assessment was charg- Lands which were not held in service enure were called "Sagu" lands and had pay in consequence double the above tes. For extraordinary and meritorious rvice rendered to the State there was e "Umbli" rate, *i.e.*, specially light sessment. Mention is made in the 35th kum of certain persons who on account their services were allowed to pay the x on their land at *Umbli* rate. In return these privileges one man out of three m those households had to render rvice in the Palace for a fortnight and return home, he being supplied with d and raiment at the Palace expense ring the period he worked. It is, how- er, incorrect to say that no service was manded of the *Sagu* ryot. A certain ount of service was probably expected him, though not to such an extent as was required of the *Jama* ryot, since we find from the 46th *hukum*, that such *sagu* ryot could by paying 3 *Varahas* instead of the usual 2½ for assessment, exempt himself from all services. We have observed already that a light assessment was fixed in the case of the *Jama* ryot and a lighter one for special meritorious service. It remains to observe that in the case of traitors a penal assessment of Rs. 12 per 100 *batties* of land was levied (52).

The land-tax was reduced to $\frac{1}{10}$ of the produce as against $\frac{1}{6}$ sanctioned in the Shastras, says the 3rd *hukum*: "In the *Dharmashastras* appertaining to Rajas it is written: that by this shall the policy of a raja be governed of the crop harvested—$\frac{1}{6}$ shall be the share of the palace, while $\frac{5}{6}$ shall remain with the cultivator. *Now guided by divine wisdom and desiring that our people may live in happiness and ever pray for our welfare, renown and prosperity, we take one-tenth and leave nine-tenth to the cultivator* (Italics are ours). The usual or *sagu* rates was 2½ varahas (Rs. 10) for 100 *batties* of land or about 10 Rs. for 3 acres. The normal *jama* rate was Rs. 5 for 100 *batties* of paddy land, while Rs. 3, 2½ and 1 were the special *umbli* rate for the same extent of land.

Besides the land-tax there was also a

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kind of profession and house tax varying from 0-4-8 to about 1 Re. for different professions and certain dues on account of marriage, childbirth, attaining puberty, funeral ceremonies and other religious functions ranging from 0-4-8 to 0-9-4. Lastly in connection with the Huttani festival, held when the harvest is gathered, ¼, ½ and ¾ and 1 *pata* maund (50 tolas) of ghee was to be delivered by ryots cultivating 25, 50, 75 and 100 *batties* of land. At the same time ¾ *batty* of paddy was to be taken from owners cultivating 25—50 *batties* and 1½ *batties* from those cultivating over that. These taxes were originally of an eleemosynary character, being voluntarily presented to the *Haleri Jangama* (a priest) who ultimately became king of the land and imposed it as a tax.

We will now briefly review, as being next in importance, the *hukums* dealing with the procedure and administration of justice. These *hukums* do not mention the higher branches of judicial administration, probably because these were beyond the powers of the Parpathigar, who was empowered only to try minor offences, the major ones being sent to the Dewan Kutcheri and in the last resort to the king in person. But what does refer to this subject, however, is extremely interesting. Evidently there were 4 courts, those of the Potail, Takka, Sime Amila and Dewan Kutcheri, each of which could entertain only a certain class of cases. What they were is not mentioned. It is evident on the other hand that these courts could interfere in cases, which are generally outside the pale of civil and criminal courts as we have it at present. "Whoever goes to the village potail with an account of his troubles of other matters shall be heard *privately and with sympathy*" (italics are ours), says the 20th *hukum*. "If trifling it must be redressed and he must be sent home with his mind set at peace." If it be beyond his powers he must be referred to the proper courts.

The method of trial was by jury. "Four men of good sense and repute (two on either side) shall be sought whose award will be marked by equity and truth." The panchayatdars were to give their finding after hearing the evidence before "one in authority." Provision was made to meet cases in which the parties demurred to the finding. "In such cases the reason for dissent shall be demanded before the arbitrators, whose decision, if it appear just, shall prevail." If it appears partial, the matter was to be submitted to the Dewan Kutcheri.

Next follow some directions as to the way the trial was to proceed. The parties whether rich or poor, were not to sit during the deliberations of the Panchayat. At its conclusion, the successful suitor was to take his seat as became his rank. But he whose case was lost "shall not sit in the assembly—and if of mean condition shall stand apart."

The arbitrators were not usually paid. But in cases as the recovery of gold, silver or money pawned, "as the time of the arbitrators is taken from the palace and devoted to plaintiff," the latter was required to give 10 parts out of 100 of the property *recovered*. Of these 5 parts were to go to the palace and out of the remaining 4 were for the arbitrators and one to the person presiding over them.

The punishments to be inflicted for certain minor offences is given and seem curious. For abuse it was to be returned doubly by the adversary if successful; for assault double the beating administered by the person beaten. The offender in a case of criminal misappropriation was fined 1½ times the value of the misappropriated article. The value of the article was given to the complainant, the other half being credited to the Palace (20). Five slaps on either cheek were considered sufficient punishment for brawling and breach of the peace (16).

The only other *hukums* dealing with the subject are the 39th, 51st and 47th. The first concerns itself with the guardianship of minors. They were to be the nearest kinsmen of the minor or in default the Potail. What remains of the property after deducting the cost of management was to be given to the minor on his attaining majority (39). The second lays down the principles for the extradition of offenders. The rule was that offenders from neighbouring states found in Coorg were to be exchanged for a corresponding number of fugitive offenders from Coorg (51). The last one treats of the policing and guarding of frontiers.

The third group or classification of these *hukums* may fitly be called "Rules for the guidance of public servants and officers," inasmuch as they prescribe the attitude of Government officers towards

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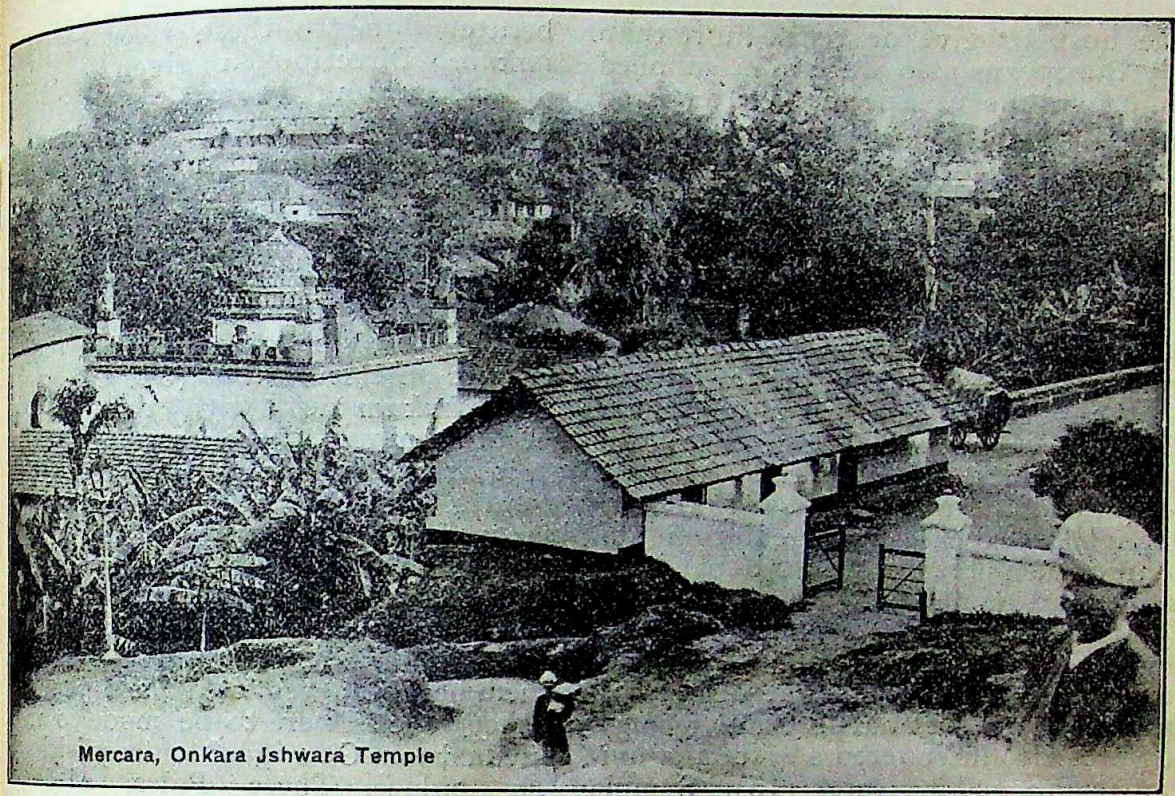
Mercara, Onkara Jshwara Temple

Onkara Jashwara Temple, Mercara.

ubjects and are interesting in the extreme. ays the 2nd order, "Remember the com- ands set forth in these *hukumnamas.* ollect the palace dues with discretion and ligence which is rightly due." "Oppress t the people," it warns, "or collect more inking to gain the favour of your pro- ector. By such collection the treasury is t filled." It goes on : "Many and varied e the ways of the people. Do you who ear the badge of power guide them in e ways of virtue and cherish them as a other its child," and ends with a solemn arning "whoso disobeys these commands ll endure misery both in this and the xt world. So say the *Dharmashastras.*" e remaining *hukums* which deal more less with office routine are not so portant. The first *hukum* deals with e hours of work to be observed in the d kutcheri, the 21st the registration of "*Uttaras* and *Nirupas*" issued from the lace, the 18th with the necessity of eedy despatch in official communications d the 31st with the forms of address be used. In addition to the directions the Shanbog and the Parpathigar to be and scattered in various other *hukums,* 40th and the 53rd *hukums* deal specifi- ly with the duties of these two respon- sible officers. The Shanbog was to act as the remembrancer of the Parpathigar and to record all matters coming to his knowledge. All other executive work was to be done by the Parpathigars of whom there were two, each having 20 days duty and 10 days off duty every month. The treasury was to be kept open till 27½ *galiges* (about 5 o'clock) after sunrise for the transaction of business, after which it was to be closed and sealed (22). The 44th *hukum* insists on there being neither erasures nor corrections in the accounts to be submitted by the Parpathigar and Shanbog.

Many *hukums* about miscellaneous matters touching the welfare of the people next claim our attention. Of such nature is the 12th *hukum* dealing about loans to needy ryots, which has been already referred to. "For 10 *varahas* charge 1 *hana* (0-6-5) as interest, for 100 *batties* one *batty* of paddy," the rate of interest working out at one per cent. Food was to be given to any stranger "if he scrupled not to eat it," otherwise food materials for a meal. Should such a person be sick, "let him be fed once or twice and tended," says the 42nd *hukum*, "for that is but ordinary courtesy. It is left to the pleasure

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of the host to give or refuse more than this." Europeans also were to be supplied with provisions at specified rates and bill for the same to be presented and cashed at the Palace treasury (48). The Potail and neighbours are warned against entering the house of a person who died leaving property but no heirs, lest, as the 10th *hukum* naively puts it, "they might remove his cash, jewels and good cattle and substitute those of no value." But Parpathigar, the Shanbog, the Potail and the Takka were to enter together, make an inventory and enter the same in the Palace accounts. New settlers in want of cattle might apply for such to the Palace. The expenses of cremation and funeral of such persons were to be borne out of that money. If, however, he died very poor the same were to be performed at public expense. Directions are also given in the same *hukum* (49) for the disposal of dead bodies of lepers and pregnant women. The State also introduced a system of uniform weights and measures (15). Sample specimens with the Royal seal were to be distributed to various *nads* and those without such seals were forbidden to be used. Foreign traders were to sell their wares only in certain places near a kutcheri, as "it is not required that they shall paddle their wares from door to door throughout the *nad*" (34). We have already noticed the *hukums* directing help to be given to villagers handicapped by illness. The State also, whenever there was surplus paddy in the Palace store, would order the distribution of the same to persons in straitened circumstances (6). The remaining *hukums* deal with subjects which range over a wide area, from the 38th fixing the minimum price of paddy, the 36th advising about the siege of elephant pits, the 50th offering rewards for the slaying of tigers, and the 9th for searching for absconders, to the 37th dealing with passports, the 23rd with the forms of marriage, 24th with *Jama* coolies and the 32nd with *pooja* in Siva temples.

The remaining *hukums* concerning as they do the requirements of the Palace form a series by themselves. We must observe in the first place that sandal wood, bees wax and cardamums were monopolies of the State. The mode of cutting and the length of the logs of sandalwood trees are laid down in the 41st and the punishment for damage deliberately done to these trees in the 43rd *hukum*. Directions are given in the 28th order regarding the mode of and the time for collecting honeycomb from trees standing on State land. Wax from combs on trees on private land was to be sold to the Palace at the rate of Rs. 8 and Rs. 7 per maund for the refined and unrefined variety respectively (28). Cardamums collected in the forests leased by the State was also to be given to the Palace at certain specified rates (3). The 7th and 33rd *hukum* deal with the collection of certain minor forest produce. How certain articles of home manufacture such as "mats, umbrellas, baskets, winnowing fans, sieves, etc.," were to be obtained is mentioned in the 27th *hukum*. "12 mats and 12 umbrellas" were to be collected according to custom from each hut of the Pales,* inasmuch as the "house tax on them had been remitted last year." The other articles were to be made to order by Medas† and Gourigas* on requisition from the palace. These Pales, Medas and Gourigas were to be paid from the paddy in the palace stores accordiug to prescribed scale.

The rem aining *hukums* deal with the cultivation of the palace lands. These were lands set apart for the use of the Royal Household. "From that household which owns 2 ploughs, 2 men and 2 women, 1 plough, 1 man and 1 woman are required to come and assist for 3 days in the cultivation of the palace lands." "Those who will help will be well fed and be given betel leaf and nut and the women oil for their body." "By exacting labour more than 3 days," says the 29th *hukum*, "the displeasure of the State is incurred. Nor should houses having only one plough, pregnant women, and those just delivered be asked to come. To such the parpathigars shall themselves give assistance and if they harass them, they expose themselves to punishment." Apart from help in cultivating palace lands, a ryot had to give as many days' service to the Palace as he had ploughs (8). The parpathigars are ordered not to disobey this rule but "having regard to the number of the ploughs and men a ryot employs and other circumstances claim service accordingly." Prompt obedience to summons

* Different classes of Panchamas.
† Basket weaving class.

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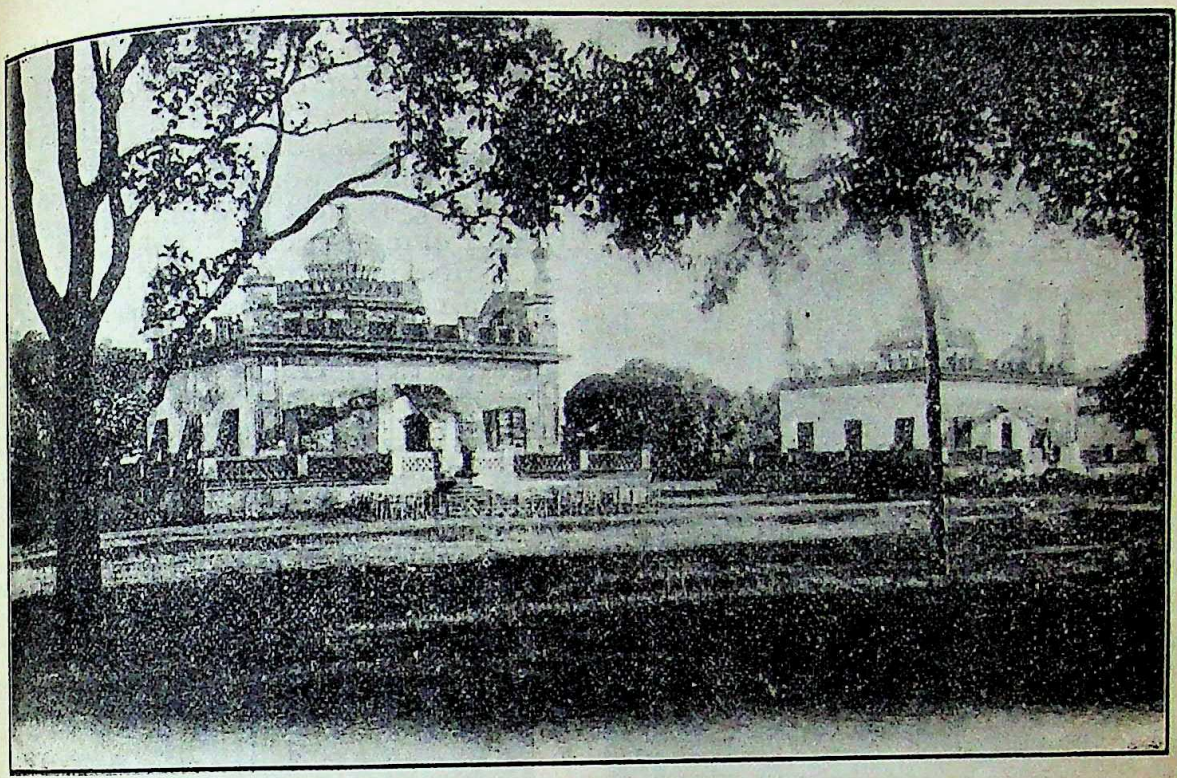

Rajah Tombs, Mercara.

for Royal occasions was required of all. Those bearing arms on hearing the news directly or indirectly were required to hasten at any hour of the day or night passing word to neighbouring villages (19).

This concludes a brief survey of these hukums and one cannot but be struck with the fact that the author of these hukums could not have been a heartless and greedy tyrant. The high purpose and large degree of beneficence observable in several *hukums* are quite remarkable. It is probable that these *hukums* were actually carried out in practice and they were responsible for the prosperity and contentment in the land. At any rate, they give us an insight into the attitude of the Ruler to the ruled and shows us that the government was paternal in its relations to the people.

R. S. SANJIVA RAU.

A NEW IMAGE AT BENARES

PASSING along an alley in the Mahalla called Hararbag in the city of Benares, I suddenly came across an image of unique interest, situated at the foot of a Pipal tree (*Ficus Religioso*, Skt. asvattha) and bearing marks of daily worship by the Hindus, who passed by it every morning. What presumably the original site of the image was, there is now no means of ascertaining. The singularly novel appearance of the image at once attracted my attention and led me to examine it very closely. What struck me at the first sight was the peculiarity of the faces borne by the image. So far as my knowledge of the Indian Museums goes, I may almost venture to say that no such image as this has ever been collected in any museum in any part of India. I hunted up several books on Indian Iconography* but none of them possessed any account or *Sadhana* which might at all apply to this image.

* Foucher "Iconographic Bonddhique", Grunwedel's "Buddhist Art in India", Grunwedel's "Mythologie

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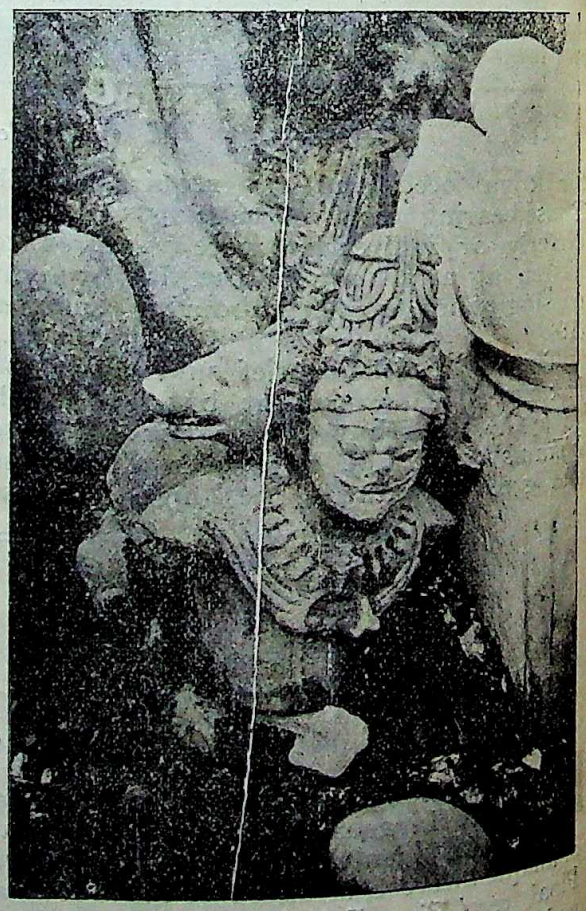
Front.

I immediately took descriptive notes of the sculpture on the spot, which I give below, and arranged to take two photographs which are also published herewith.

The image is made of black stone probably of the basalt class. The lower portion of the image, below the loins, lay buried under ground. I proceeded, of course, to have it unearthed but some people with a religious bias intervened and totally prevented me from making such an operation. I very much expected to find that the position of the feet of the image, as well as the pedestal, would possibly show the figures of seven boars and the Buddhists' Maxim "Ye dharma hetu prabhava" etc., and I was seriously disappointed when I was prevented from seeing them. The upper portion of the sculpture, of which alone I can speak positively, represents the figure of a deity having four distinct heads. The front head is that of a Tantrik goddess richly adorned with ornaments on the neck and in the ears. There is a pyramid-shaped crown or head-dress girdled by an ornamental chain upon the head. The head at the back is that of a male figure having a pair of moustaches. This head, too, has a crown made of clotted hair. There is also a necklace round the neck of this head.

The two other heads on each side represent the faces of beasts. The one on the right side is that of a boar with a small tusk; the one on the left, being greatly mutilated, cannot be identified accurately. It seems to be the face either of a dog or a tiger, as may be inferred from the thick jaws which are still extant. The image has lost its two hands and the tip of its nose.



Back.

Now, the most puzzling thing appears to be the identification of the whole image or the determination of its proper name. The boar face and the female face are indicative of a *Marici* or *Varahi* figure.

der Tibet und Mongolia", V. A. Smith's History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon, "Catalogues of the Calcutta Museum, the Peshawar Museum, the Mathura Museum and the Sarnath Museum," Getty's "The Gods of Northern Buddhism."

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the male face just reverse to the female sents a great barrier to this evident tification. The Tantrik Goddess, it be observed, has, in some cases, a irab as forming a counter-part of the ge. The Hara-Gauri image, abundantly nd in the Varendra and elsewhere, may instanced in this connexion,* The r symbol is, however, the true keynote this image. And consequently, if it be Varahi image in some modification, the le face might be that of Rudra or of ajapati, and the female figure would his Sakti. The boar face, as is well-own, symbolises the deliverance of the rth from the waters by the Prajapati during the time of creation.* There is, however, little doubt that the image is a *Sakti* figure; and from the general look of the sculpture it may be attributed to the age of Tantrik Buddhism. And probably the image itself, like so many types, is a by-product of that cult which mostly prevailed during and before the reigns of the Pala kings, under the names of Mantra-Yana and Vajra-Yana. At any rate, the image may be regarded as exceedingly novel and interesting, and I earnestly invite the attention of scholars to its exact identification, which, when properly settled, will undoubtedly add a fresh element to Indian Iconography in general.

BRINDAVAN CH. BHATTACHARYA.

* It is nothing new to meet with female figures Hindu temples under masculine names and male ures under feminine names, वर्गभीमा हर्षनागर ेश्वरी in Midnapur District are evident mis-ners. The Siddheswari of the last is a male ure of Padmapani Buddha.

* "The boar occurs in the RV as a figurative designation of Rudra, the Maruts and Vrtra. In the Ts and JB, this animal appears in a cosmogonic character as the form assumed by the creator Prajapati when he raised the earth out of the waters."

Macdonell's *Vedic Mythology*, p. 151.

COCHIN

COCHIN is the second most important of the five Indian States which are directly under the Government of Madras. lies on the south-west coast of India, unded by Travancore on the south d the British Malabar District on the rth. It comprises an area of 1400 uare miles, of which a little less than lf is covered with valuable forests. Both e south-west and north-east monsoons ing copious rainfall to the State. It is e of the most densely peopled regions in e whole world. Thus the State, though all in area, is comparativly rich and osperous, the annual revenue being 45 khs nearly.

The early history of Cochin consists of re legends and traditions. A mighty er known by the name of Cheruman rumal is said to have ruled over the hole country of Kerala about the begin-g of the 9th century. He was originally e Viceroy of the Chola Kings, but made mself independent afterwards. The esent rulers of Cochin claim to hold their territory in direct descent from this Cheruman Perumal.

Till the advent of the Portuguese at the close of the 15th century the history of Cochin is involved in obscurity. It is, however, certain that there were constant quarrels between Cochin and its great rival, Calicut. After a time the Zamorin of Calicut acquired a sort of suzerainty over Cochin. In 1502 the Cochin Rajah allowed the Portuguese to settle and build a fort in what is now known as British Cochin. In return they helped him in his wars with the Zamorin. In the latter part of the 17th century the portuguese power began to decline on the west coast and the Dutch stepped into their shoes. In 1663 they drove the Portuguese out of Cochin, and the Cochin Rajah at once entered into treaty relation with them. After the decline of the Dutch power, the Zamorin of Calicut invaded the Cochin State, but was kept back by the Rajah with the assistance of Travancore. In 1776 Hyder Ali conquered Cochin, which thereafter

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remained subordinate to him and his famous son, Tippu Sultan.

When, however, Tippu's power was crippled, His Highness the then Rajah of Cochin concluded a treaty with the Honourable East India Company in 1791. The Rajah then agreed to become tributary to the Company for all his territories which were in the hands of Tippu and also to pay a subsidy of one lakh of rupees every year in return for the protection which the British Government promised against all outside invaders. In 1808 Paliath Achan, the prime minister of the State, conspired against the life of the Resident and raised a revolt against the Paramount Power. The insurrection was

The Old Historic Palace where Cochin Rajas are even to-day crowned.

quickly put down, but a fresh treaty was concluded, according to which the Rajah agreed to pay a tribute of 2¾ lakhs and not to correspond with any foreign power nor to admit any Europeans into his State without the sanction of the British Government. This treaty is still in force, except that in 1818 the annual subsidy was reduced to two lakhs.

The present ruler of the State is His Highness Sri Rama Varma who was born on the 6th October 1858. He is the fountain-head of all authority in the State.

The important officers of the State enjoy powers delegated by His Highness. It must be remembered that, according to the treaty of 1809, the advice of the Paramount Power tendered through the British Resident should be taken in all matters concerning problems of finance, increased taxation, revision of tariffs and the costitution of Civil and Criminal Courts of justice. In all other respects the authority of the Rajah is supreme and in purely internal affairs of administration there is no interference from the British Resident.

The Dewn is the responsible minister of the Rajah and the chief executive officer of the State. His appointment and removal are generally made after consultation with the Madras Government, though his nomination proceeds from His Highness. The Dewan alone has access to the Rajah and the British Resident, no other officer being allowed to correspond officially with them. An account of the administration of His Highness' Government is given annually in the form of an Administration Report for the benefit of the public and the information of the Madras Government.

There is no legislative assembly in the State for making laws and regulations. Whenever legislation is rendered necessary a draft bill is prepared and submitted by the Law Officer of the State. After the Dewan's scrutiny it is published in the State Gazette for public criticism and submitted to the Government of Madras for advice. If approved, it goes to His Highness the Rajah and on receiving his assent becomes law. Such enactments are called regulations.

The law of succession in this State is peculiar. The son does not succeed the father, for the matrilineal system of inheritance obtains in this State. A man's heirs are not his sons, but his sister's children and therefore in the Royal family of Cochin the eldest surviving male member succeeds to the vacant throne. The Rajah's wife and son have politically no recognized status. For instance, the Consort of the present Rajah is highly educated and intelligent and yet on State ceremonial occasions she cannot appear with His Highness. There are at present 90 Princes of Cochin who are in receipt of fixed monthly allowances.

The eldest female member of the Royal Family is known as the senior Rani. She owns extensive landed estates, and the

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income derived from these goes towards the maintenance of all the female members of the Royal Family and all children under 16 years of age. In addition to this income an allowance of Rs. 45,000 a year is given from the State treasury for the same purpose. Among the Princesses of Cochin hypergamy, or the system of "marrying up", prevails. There are at present 101 female members in His Highness the Rajah's family.

Cochin is very important economically. Her forests are a great asset. They contain teak, ebony, blackwood and other valuable trees. A forest tramway has been constructed to tap distant areas of virgin forest and to facilitate the export of timber. Saw and timber mills have been established in several places and the timber trade of the State is one of the most prosperous. Rubber plantations have recently come into prominence.

In those regions which adjoin the sea and the backwater, cocoanut-growing is the greatest industry. It supports a very large population. The export of copra, the manufacture of yarn, ropes, rugs and mattings and the pressing of cocoanut oil have therefore taken the first place among the industries of Cochin.

The existence of a natural system of water communication has given Cochin a great advantage in point of internal trade. The whole west coast is a network of backwater and canals which afford splendid facilities for export and import purposes. The portion of the backwater in front of the public buildings at Ernakulam, the State capital, is a very safe anchorage for even large draught vessels. The late Lord Kitchener was struck with the vast possibilities of the Cochin harbour as a naval base in the East Indies. The great port of Cochin owes its rise to this cause alone. It is, therefore, no wonder that, small as the State is, it is economically one of the most important of Indian States.

P. K. RAMAN.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Problem of English versus the Vernaculars.

In the course of a singularly well written article under the above caption contributed by Mr. K. H. Kelkar, in the April number of *Indian Education* (of Bombay) the writer observes :—

We are told that the Committee, appointed by Government in England to consider the teaching of Modern languages, emphasised the necessity of a thorough grounding in English for the study of a Modern language. This means that the study of a second language should not begin unless the knowledge of the first language is adequate. It is a well-known fact that our pupils begin the study of English with a very inadequate knowledge of their own vernacular, though theoretically it is the first language. The question is, who is responsible for this inadequate grounding? It is alleged by the advocates of teaching through vernacular that this inadequate grounding is largely due to the medium of instruction in High Schools. It is true that the English language, on account of its being the medium of instruction, receives special attention at the hands of High School authorities. But this is no reason why the study of vernaculars should be neglected. The truth is that our educated society as a whole did not care for the vernaculars. Some parents even went so far as to positively discourage the use of the mother-tongue in their homes! I remember quite well how my father, who was a teacher himself, insisted upon my talking in English while at school. We were constantly encouraged by our teachers at school and elders at home to practise talking in English and to read extra English books. If a person pointed to the neglect of the vernacular, one replied 'It is our mother tongue and as such requires no special study.' It is only of late that we have begun to recognise the necessity of a thorough grounding in the vernacular. And it is very likely that this general social apathy influenced the High schools in the past. Thus it appears that the English language cannot be made wholly reponsible for the evils attributed to it.

Now let us consider the effect of the proposed change on the study of English in our secondary schools. It does not require much reflection to see that the change in the medium of instruction will benefit our pupils in many ways. But it requires careful consideration to determine the exact extent of the evil which the proposed change will inflict upon the study of English. In our opinion if vernaculars become the medium of instruction, the study of English will seriously suffer, unless some judicious changes are introduced into both the syllabus and the time table. In this connection a reference to the re-

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cently issued quinquennial report on Public Instruction in the United Provinces will be very instructive and interesting....Up to the year 1915-16, instruction in English began with III class and English was the medium of instruction in all the classes from VII to X. In 1915-16, vernacular became the medium of instruction in all classes from I to VIII One Inspector reported that the change ought to be beneficial, but he feared that the result might be dertrimental to the study of English. Some head masters reported that many boys, who had already learnt their subjects in the vernaculars, found it impossible to learn them all over again in English in the time at their disposal. The Inspector of Benares division observes, "One can only hope that the improvement in the quality of education will be sufficiently marked so as to repay the additional burden imposed upon the teachers and to compensate for the inevitable falling off in the knowledge and familiarity with English." These extracts amply justify the fear that the study of English will suffer, if vernaculars become the medium of instruction. And as a result of this the English language will be reduced eventually to a subordinate position in the system of our education. There are some persons who will not mind this result, while there are others who will welcome it. It becomes, therefore, absolutely necessary to determine the position of the English language in our system of education.

Before we do so, let us first measure the social value which the English language enjoys at present. There was a time when society set such high value on the ability to talk and write English well that to be ignorant of it was considered a disgrace. Familiarity with the English language was necessary both for social and official distinction. And even to-day, educated Indians use English freely in their intercourse with one another. For instance, the Mandala of Poona thought it better to issue its pamphlet in English! Then again the English language is preferred to vernaculars as a medium for discussion and deliberation, *e. g.*, the deliberations of the National Congress are principally conducted in English. In short, the English language is the medium of exchange in the intellectual market of educated India. This then is the 'inevitable given' which must be taken into consideration in determining the position of the English language in our system of education. We cannot agree with those who preach 'militant nationalism' which measures the value of English by the principle of sordid utilitarianism. These militant nationalists maintain that the standard of English in secondary schools need not be very high It is enough, if students holding school-leaving certificates are able to consult English text-books and works of reference. This position, however, cannot be maintained without contradiction. Our lives to-day are influenced by the ideals of nationalism and self-determination. This influence has been possible to us through our contact with western culture. This contact has been accessible to us through the study of the English language. Then again the presence of healthy optimism in our midst can be traced to the same source. The valuable influence of English education consists just in this, that it has taught us to appreciate the grandeur of this life. It is true that our forefathers lived a life of lofty ideals in this world. But they were not interested in it. Our religious traditions have a decidedly anti-mundane influence. It is necessary to place special emphasis on this point in view of the present reaction against the Indian leaders of the old school, who attached such a great importance to everything English that they failed to recognise the defects and limitations of western culture. But the present reaction is equally onesided in its tendency to belittle the influence of western culture. It is true that our literature, *i.e.*, Sanskrit and Persian, is full of lofty ideals. But it is impossible to revive them, however strenuous our efforts may be. Western culture, both for good and evil, has produced indelible impressions on our minds which cannot be effaced. And wisdom consists in arriving at a judicious compromise which will effect a happy synthesis between the eastern and western ideals. It is therefore, necessary that every educated Indian should be able to appreciate both these cultures. This means that he must be familiar not only with his literature but with English literature as well. Under the present circumstances college education is not within the reach of many persons. A majority of us will have to be satisfied with secondary education. The standard of Engllsh in secondary schools, therefore, ought to be such as to create a taste in the pupil for English literature. Then again, we must remember that no nation can afford to rely exclusively on its own store of knowledge. It must be in touch with the whole of the civilised world And in the case of India this vital touch can only be maintained through the medium of the English language Thus it is clear that it is of supreme national importance that English should occupy an important position in our system of education. If the point of view maintained in this article is sound, the question of the ultimate dissappearance of the English language is simply unthinkable....

Vernaculars in the Universities.

The new class in Vernaculars for the M. A. degree in connection with the University of Calcutta will be opened from July 15, next. The study of Vernaculars has not hitherto found a place in the curriculum for the degree of M. A., and this proposed innovation will be watched with considerable interest by the public. The object of this new class is to prepare M.A. candidates for examination in the following twelve Vernaculars: Bengali, Hindi, Guzerati, Oriya, Assamese, Marathi, Canarese, Malayalam, Tamil, Telugu, Maithili and Urdu. The text-books for these various vernaculars, we are told, have already been compiled and the requisite staff of professors for lecturing in them have also been appointed. The presence in Calcutta of professors in these various vernaculars will, it is hoped, lead to useful philological, and antiquarian research which cannot fail to be of great interest. The Calcutta University has, thus, been the first in India to take a lead in giving a marked encouragement to the study of important vernaculars of all

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rts of the country and we doubt not that ther Indian universities will follow suit adopting this new trait in higher edu- ation in this country. In this connection gives us pleasure to make the following tracts from the April number of *The rsore Economic Journal* being the sub- ance of a conversation which Sir Rabin- anath Tagore, D.Litt., had on "some ucational questions" while he was at ngalore in January last :

It is an imperative necessity that India of the sent, and especially her universities should, ad- ately realise her ancient sense of *equality,* which narrowness of castes and creeds has during ent times almost stifled. This misfortune has be partly traced to the exclusive cultivation of nskrit by the few. It is high time that the illiberal ls were pulled down, and equal chances afforded to ry one in the land to secure the benefit of the ellectual and spiritual legacy which India's children e jointly inherited. The great thoughts in her ient Sanskrit literature, if rightly understood and ly interpreted, would be the most powerful dote for the modern narrowness and exclusiveness ch have contributed not a little to her sufferings. nskrit education should therefore be denied to none. will help best to put into the hands of every one of dia's sons and daughters, a vernacular *efficient* for acquisition of a higher culture common to all dia.

Again, if it is agreed that universal or national ucation is not possible except through the verna- ars, it is absolutely necessary to make them fit ruments for this purpose. That they serve best as dia for instructing children in the lower stages is ly acknowledged. Whether as the languages of masses, mostly illiterate, they could express highly tract, scientific, technical and literary ideas has a matter of grave doubt. In fact, their inherent ficiency in this respect has been patent from time memorial, inasmuch as they have had to borrow ds from Sanskrit to convey deeper and technical ughts. And if from these tongues the Sanskritic ment should be eliminated, there would be left in great majority of them little to indicate real ure. If the Vernaculars, therefore, are to respond the need either of the higher and the university ges of study, or of modern public life in India, ever gives these languages the capacity to form tract, scientific and literary terms should be engthened. In other words, without a reinforcement the Sanskrit element the vernaculars can never the higher functions of Education.

If they are not to depend on Sanskrit, they must of European languages for sustenance. Else they die of inanition in the modern struggle for vence. Which then is the more practicable and the of accomplishment : either to cut off the nskritic source and to open in their stead new ropean channels ; or to retain the Sanskritic ment, to develop it and to supplement it by borrow- g not from the languages of Europe alone, but from ge of all the world, whatever may be needed ?

It is sometimes argued that Sanskrit is a 'Dead' nguage, and that as such it can infuse no life into the vernaculars : or rather, its influence would be retrogressive, and would unfit the people for the modern struggle, But 'dead' is an epithet which only means 'not current' and that in a particular form. The words of a language bring with them not merely sounds but also ideas. Who does not know that Sanskritic ideas imported by the Sanskrit words in the Vernacular are at the present moment influencing Indian life as deeply as the vernacular ones ? And what is more, like the Greek and other classical literatures of Europe, the Sanskrit culture contains many thoughts of value to the end of time : thoughts to which men not only of India but of the entire world would recur again and again, thoughts that can never be old and therefore much less 'dead'. 'Dead' as applied to a language like Sanskrit signifies, therefore, neither 'uselessness,' nor lifelessness.' And if the vernaculars are still 'living', it is because they still continue to draw upon the Sanskritic source of vitality.

The need for frequent translations from one Indian language to another, not only for their common enrichment but also for the development of mutual intellectual sympathy, is increasingly felt. Is any argument, then, required to show that with the common Sanskrit element developed, it would be easier to achieve this object than with the common features of the vernaculars suppressed or whittled down to the least possible dimensions.

Again, one of the serious problems demanding solution, in this country is that of a *common* popular tongue, *at least* for all non-Urdu population. And this hope will be nearer realization only if a knowledge of the *common* Sanskrit element be spread rapidly and wide : and not by any other means yet known.

One of the first steps to be taken therefore in the matter of Indian Educational reform is to make the *Elements* of Sanskrit a *Compulsory* subject of study for every non-Urdu pupil, whenever the advancement of the Indian vernacular is sought.

That a simultaneous study of two or three such languages entails undesirable strain upon the child is, to say the least, a thoughtless criticism. This argument would have some force if Sanskrit were a foreign tongue or if it were made a medium of instruction. At the present moment, in many parts of India, Sanskrit and the vernacular are actually being taught. In the past, the Lingayats of the south and the Jains, not to say anything of the Brahmins, all over India, studied Sanskrit and a vernacular. Most Urdu speaking Mahomedans learn, even now, not only Urdu and sometimes the local vernacular, but also Persian or Arabic. And in Europe, America and Japan children learn, in most schools, more than two languages one of which is often a foreign tongue. And yet the complaint of a 'strain' has not till now been heard. There may be a few subnormal minds that find it difficult to study more languages than one. And even for normal minds, the acquisition of languages, late in life, is really a difficult task. But to the average child the learning of languages, especially allied ones such as Sanskrit and those Indian vernaculars that have borrowed largely from it, can never be a strain. It is at bottom only a question of the method of teaching languages, at that stage. The book-method now so frequently employed is the very opposite of rational. At Bolpur not only Sanskrit, but even English is taught without books.

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No *practical educationist* can contend that the study of Sanskrit at an early stage will tax the mind of aver age Indian children speaking the Indian vernac ulars.

If the study of Sanskrit is dropped in our schools we cut ourselves off from our past completely and gradually westernize ourselves. And this would amount to our suicide.

The real advantage of the vernacular medium.—It is true that those who graduate in the vernacular have comparatively more limited prospects in modern life than their brethren, who acquire knowledge through English. But the fact should not be ignored that those who take the vernacular path can gain more knowledge in the same time. In Germany, for instance, the average boy of the High School stage knows more than his compeer in India. *The standard should, therefore, be raised when the vernacular medium is adopted.* And it will follow naturally that a vernacular graduate will command a higher m arket value than the English, whose general standar d of attainments would be lower, in spite of his special knowledge of English. The vernacular men ought, in the interests of every government, to be preferred for public service. Men and women will then naturally seek in larger numbers, the vernacular courses, which will rapidly increase its popularity.

The Nomads in India.

In the April number of *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* published from Bangalore, Professor M. Rathnaswamy, of Madras, writes rather a long article under the above caption which is highly interesting and instructive at a time when India is again under invasion, *albeit* of no consequence, by a Moslem Power. We make the following extracts from it :—

To understand the rule of the Mahomedans in India, a rule which extended roughly from 1000 to 1,800 A.D., to understand their success and their failure, their rise and their fall, the character and value of the service which they rendered to the country they invaded, and ruled for so long, we must know, first of all, what kind of people these rulers of India were. What was the character and degree of their civilliza-tion and culture, when they came into India ? Were they savages, or civilized ? Were they an agricultural or a pastoral people ? Were they a people driven by the Demon of progress or were they satisfied with the ideal of a moderate and permanent ease ? Were they a people easily open to new ideas and quickly receiving the inpress of new surroundings, or from pride or stolidity, were they afraid and jealous of the new and the strange ? These are questions that must be answered on the threshold of any study of the Mahomedan Rule in India. Not till we allocate to the Mahomedan conquerors of India, their place in the history of civilization and culture, not till we know their characteristics—thoughts that voluntarily moved them, their attitude to life and the world—not till then shall we be able to estimate their rule and their achievements aright. Not till we know them shall we understand them.

What then, were the Mahomedan rulers of India ? We have already given a partial answer to our question in calling them Mahomedans. But that is only a part of the answer. They were not only Mahomedans by religion, they were something else. To call them Mahomedans will not explain them. For, Mahomedanism although it influenced their civilization and life, will not account for everything in it. We must therefore find out what the Mahomedan rulers of India were by race, civilization and culture, apart from what they were on account of the religion which as a people we see them professing when they came to India. To what kind and degree of civilization then did they belong ? Not to speak of the Arabs, who invaded Sind in 712 A. D., and who have left little or no traces of their rule over that part of India, we find that all the other Mahomedan invaders of India were either Turks or Afghans by race, mainly the former. Mahmud of Ghazni and his soldiers immortalised by the period of Gibbon, were all Turks. So were the Slave kings who held Northern India almost throughout the thirteenth century, the House of Taglak (1321-1414) as well as and especially the Dynasty of the Great Mogul (1526-1857). For comparatively shorter periods of time, the representatives of Mahomedan rule in India were the Afghan dynasties of the Khiljis (1290-1314) who came between the Slave kings and the Taglaks, the native daynasty of the Sayyids (1414-1451), again the Afghan dynasties of the Lodis (1451-1526) from the last of whom Babar wrested the rule of Delhi, and of the House of Sher Shah (1539-1556) the rival and the exemplar of the greatest of the Great Moguls. But it was the Turk that predominated. An eloquent testimony to the fact that Moslem rule in India was mainly Turkish is that in South Indian languages. Turk denotes Mahomedan (*Toolkhan* in Tamil, *Toorkodu* in Telegu). But Turks or Afghans, the Mahomedan rulers of India, all belonged to the same kind and degree of civilization. Whatever their race, whenever and however they came to India, to whatever dynasty they belonged, the Mahomedan rulers of India, in matters of Government, social life and culture were one and the same. Similar political arrangements, a similar social economy, added to a common religion, impart unity to the Mahomedan period which divisions of race or dynasty cannot impair. Slave or Taglak, Afghan or Mogul, their rule as we shall see was characterised by the same ideals, the same practice, the same achievements and the same shortcomings. And for the valid reason, that in civilization and culture they were akin to each other.

What then were the Mahomedan conquerors of India according to their civilization and culture ? The answer is they were Nomads....

Continuing the writer observes :

Not only in matters of government but in family and social life, we find the characterestics of nomadic civilisation among the Turkish invaders of India. Like that of most nomads their family life was based upon polygamy. They had the nomad's contempt for agriculture and for the slow, laborious and unexciting, means of acquiring property. Outside the profession of arms, the occupation they favoured with their service was the nomadic one of trade. Carrying commodities from one country to another in caravans gave them the movement and changed

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which their hearts desired. It was the native, settled peasants of the countries they conquered the Tajiks of Persia or Afghanistan or the Sartes Central Asia that supplied them with food and ...

As with the Turks, so it was with the Afghan conquerors of India, like the Ghorides, the Sayyads and the Lodis. Then as now, the Afghans tended cattle and fought when they had not to feed their flocks. Agriculture, manufactures and industry, were in the hands of Persians, Armenians, or Hindus. They were filled with a love of free movement and were fond of changing their boundaries. House against house, and village, they were what De Sacy says of their descendants "incapable of the discipline of Law and settled government and always on a warlike footing with their neighbours." As an Afghan is reported to have told Elphinstone, "disunion, unrest, and bloodshed are natural to them and they would never acknowledge a master."

Thus, whether Turks or Afghans, and however they might differ from each other in race and language, the Mahomedan conquerors of India were Nomads. Of course there are nomads and nomads. There are gradations between, for instance, the Mongol, the Afghan and the Turk. But in all that constitutes the difference between the Nomadic and the settled State—political restlessness, dislike for agriculture and hatred of discipline, they each of them, in varying degrees, had the root of the matter in them. Historians have often wondered how the word Mogul, which Babar, as all true Turks, hated, has come to be applied to the Empire in India founded and ruled by people of Turkish descent. But it would seem as if the rarely erring instinct of Tradition has fastened upon the Turkish rulers of India a litle which would prevent them or their admirers from ever attempting to renounce their nomadic identity.

The writer continues:

Nomads were the Mahomedan conquerors of India, and nomadic was their rule. The impress of nomadism was felt in their government, their social life, their attitude to the country they invaded, and their relations with the people they brought under their subjection. It coloured their public and private life, prompted some of their most characteristic actions and policies, and determined the course of their career in the country. Now on a moderate scale, now overwhelmingly, at other times, battling with opposing influences, it is always there, dogging, dogging, so to speak, the footsteps of people who could not get rid of it. Through change of fortunes and dynasties, throughout their history, nomadism was the charteristic of the Turkish and Afghan Rule. It is the key to their history, because it was the spirit of their civilisation....

Like the Huns and the Mongols, the Afghan and Turkish invaders of India showed themselves as nomads in nothing so much as in the motives that prompted their invasions. It was love of plunder and booty or the overflowing energies of a people untamed by the arts of peace and industry, or simply the lust of conquest that inspired the Mahomedan invasions of India. Some modern historians, indeed, deceived by the *obiter dieta* and the afterthoughts of the chroniclers have attempted to picture these invasions, especially those of Mahomad of Ghazni, as being undertaken for the sacred cause of Islam. But if we observe the character of these invaders and the course of their invasions we shall see that they were directed by more secular and vulgar motives. "Sabaktagin," says Al'Utbi, "made frequent expeditions in the prosecution of holy wars (a mere tag) and there he conquered forts upon lofty hills, in order to seize the treasures they contained, and expel their garrisons. He took all the property they contained into his own possession and captured cities in Ind."

The writer concludes:

Sometimes the Mahomedan Sultans intruded even into the private life of their immediate dependents. Whereas in the first flush of victory their absolute rule over the subject races was exercised through the despotism of subordinates who belonged to their own race and religion, a time came when the members of the ruling race itself were overtaken by the nemesis of despotism. After being allowed to tyrannise over the Hindus, and even while doing so, the conquerors themselves in their turn became the victims of the tyranny of the common Sultan. *Apropos* the marriage of a nobleman's daughter even the prudent Sher Shah could say "It becomes not a noble of a state to do a single act without the King's permission." And under the easy going Jahangir, it was considered a fault, if not a crime, that Mahobat Khan had affianced his daughter without the royal permission. In the end, both the ruling caste and the subjects were governed despotically. It was not for nothing that the term *rayat* which denoted the subject population came from a word which meant originally a flock of sheep.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

"Mr. Gokhale's Servants of India Society and its Work"

We make the following extracts rom an article which Mr. G. K. Devadhar, M.A., of Bombay now in England on a political mission contributes to the April number of *The Asiatic Review* of London, under the above caption.

The Servants of India Society came to be started in 1905, with its head-quarters at Poona, with the idea of training "men prepared to devote their lives

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to the cause of the country in a religious spirit," and "to promote, by all constitutional means, the national interests of the Indian people." Its members, who have, at the time of admission, to take, among others, the vows of poverty and lifelong service in the cause of promoting the best national interests, are required to "direct their efforts pricipally towards (1) creating among the people, by example and by precept, a deep and passionate love of the motherland, seeking its highest fulfilment in service and sacrifice; (2) organizing the work of political education and agitation, basing it on a careful study of public questions, and strengthening generally the public life of the country," which, according to him, needed "to be spiritualized"; (3) "promoting relations of cordial good-will among the different communities; (4) assisting educational movements, specially those for the education of women, of backward classes, and industrial and scientific education; (5) helping forward the industrial development of the country; and (6) elevation of the depressed classes." This comprehensive scheme of training and work by the members of the Society was intended by Mr. Gokhale, who believed in an all-round progress, to be a full-grown nation, to include every sort of willing and devoted worker, who wanted, according to his attainments, tastes, and inclinations, fields for national service under good guidance in various directions, all leading to the one goal of national regeneration. In laying down his scheme of national activity, Mr. Gokhale has clearly stated that "much of the work may be directed towards building up in the country a higher type of character and capacity than is generally available at present"; and his sole aim was to create a higher type of the average man and woman, to play his or her legitimate part in working for the nation's progress. Thus it will be seen, from some of the basic ideas of the Society, and from the ramification of the various activities of its members, a steadfast attempt is made to serve the masses as also the classes. The membership of the Society at present numbers about twenty-five, and consists mostly of graduates, who come from most of the provinces and belong to different communities, there being no bar of race or creed to membership; but it is at present confined to men only, not necessarily single. For the first five years they have to be "under training" either at the headquarters or at the branches working under a senior member. The Society is thoroughly non-sectarian and severely non-sectional in character, and its affairs are regulated by a council and a president. The Society, which is an all-India movement, carries its activities at present through four branches at Bombay, Madras, Allahabad, and Nagpur....

The writer continues:

(1) Under the group of political work come the (*a*) newspapers, five in number, which are conducted by the Society as organs of liberal progressive opinion, and which are its instruments of political education and agitation; besides, members carry on, on several occasions of public importance, a regular propaganda by means of lectures and leaflets, (*b*) The Society owns two presses, the services of which are utilized for the purpose of publishing newspapers and pamphlets for political education, and the creation of well-informed public opinion on burning topics of the day....

(2) Next comes the very large group of activities of members, which would be characterized as social reform propaganda, carried on by helping or starting associations and societies aiming at (*a*) the creation of a better fellow-feeling, mutual understanding, and a spirit of co-operation among different races and communities; (*b*) helping forward movements calculated to broaden the basis of sympathy among different ranks and classes of society; (*c*) popularizing efforts initiated to widen opportunities for larger social intercourse, and to reduce social injustices and inequalities, such as the disabilities at present, unfortunately, attached to a large section of the people in India called the untouchable classes. Moreover, the members of the Society carry on an active propaganda to remove the untouchability of these classes, basing it on national and patriotic grounds and those of social justice and humanity.

(3) The third group of activities includes work undertaken by members to popularize and facilitate, by systematic effort, primary education,...The members of the Society have been actively engaged in organizing institutions to undertake the education of girls and married women in Poona and Bombay. These have given ample facilities to a large number of married women and widows to be trained as teachers, nurses, midwives, sub-assistant-surgeons, and needle-women, etc., by adopting systematic courses for literary, industrial, and technical education, and for the better understanding of their domestic and civic duties, aiming thereby to create the kind of workers which modern Indian society badly requires in several fields of national service...

(4) A further group of activities may be placed under the head of the co-operative work; and the Servants of India Society at its various branches is recognized as an active non-official agency, carrying on co-operative effort in India. Its members have started co-operative societies for various classes that need them, such as agriculturists, small wage-earners, municipal servants, mill-hands, and the labouring class population; and a considerable amount of this work is being done in Poona and Bombay by starting co-operative societies to meet the special needs of these classes. In one or two places co-operative dairying, co-operative manure supply, co-operative sugar-cane crushing, and co-operative supply of agricultural implements, has been undertaken; and a good deal of ground is now prepared for the introduction of co-operative distribution by interlinking the rural people with the urban population....

(5) Another group of activities, which is growing popular and rapidly spreading all over the country, relates to the broad division of social service in other directions, such as travelling libraries and settlements among the poor, and this work has been undertaken by members in all its branches; and social service leagues, on the model of the Bombay Social Service League, have been started in Madras, Bengal and in the U. P., where it bears a different name.

(6) Lastly, comes the category of relief work undertaken by members of the Society, on a well-organized basis to give the necessary help to sufferers on the lines of non-official relief to supplement Government relief on occasions of widespread calamities like epidemics, fire, and famine; and the Society now has established, by its famine work, on six different occasions, such a reputation for this help, that when the first signs of this enemy of humanity make their

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ance the people generally look to the Society the undertaking of non-official famine relief.

The more such societies for amelioration improvement of the people are established throughout India, the better for all concerned.

The Attitude of Islam.

On the eve of a war again with another Moslem country, the following article on "The Attitude of Islam" which appears in the March issue of *The British Empire Review* [London] from the pen of Roland N. Michell, C. M. G., cannot fail to be interesting to our readers.

The war has put all Moslem nations, more or less, the test, and has settled in its course a few questions regarding which some doubts existed. The first related the effect which Turkey's entry into the struggle would have upon the more powerful and homogeneous communities.

The Pan-Islamism for which Abd-el-Hamid worked was never regarded as practicable by leading students the East. Though local outbursts might blaze out, basis of world-wide cohesion does not exist. The Kaiser and his advisers, however, believed that the power which claimed spiritual leadership could, and would, bring about a Pan-Islamic movement against Britain, France, and Russia, for the success of which subtle propaganda of insidious intrigue had been unscrupulously engineered for many years throughout whole Mohammedan world. This attempt of a so-called Christian Power to arouse against Christians the subtle force of Islam has been rightly stigmatised as one of the most monstrous crimes of history. The Sultan and the Sheikh-el-Islam were coerced into the declaration of a *jehad*, or holy war, which can only be rightly proclaimed when Islam is attacked or in danger. In this case a Mohammedan country was attacking Christian countries, including Turkey's own best friends, at the bidding of a power which aimed at world domination.

Considerable regret was felt in Britain for the people of Turkey; for it was clear that the suicidal folly which betrayed the native and Islam at Constantinople was the act of the self-styled "Committee of Union and Progress," *i. e.*, the corrupt, pro-German, Enver clique, which controlled the army, and consequently the Sultan and his people, as clearly seen by the best men of the Ottoman Empire. The reply was prompt and decisive. The action of Turkey was universally denounced, and it was realised that there were but two alternatives, either the Germanisation of Turkey or, should the Allies prevail, the ruin and further dismemberment of the Ottoman dominion.

In India no time was lost in proclaiming adherence to the teaching of the Kuran, which inculcates fidelity to the ruling sovereign. A loyal and stirring manifesto of the Nizam of Hyderabad was followed by similar declarations of leading Moslem princes. The Agha Khan issued appeals which created a deep impression throughout the British and Russian Empires. The Ameer of Afghanistan, recently struck down by dastardly assassins, gave, and remained faithful to, pledges of neutrality. In Egypt and the Sudan leaders of Moslem opinion strongly condemned and protested against the action of Turkey. Many of the resolutions—too many to mention here—passed by Mohammedan communities, and transmitted to Britain, are of great interest. They have expressed deep gratitude for the peace and prosperity enjoyed under British protection. They include proclamations by the Sultan of Selangor, the Sheikh-el-Islam of Sierra Leone; the Arab communities of Zanzibar, Jedda, Bahrein, Mosul, and the Jubaland Somali, who ceasing to fight against Britain sent troops to fight for her, and "prayed daily in the mosques for British victory."

One matter of considerable interest related to the Senussi bodies in North Africa. Some years ago alarmists drew pictures of the vast armed forces and latent power of the Senussi Sheikh, who only awaited the right moment to strike a spark which would kindle all the northern countries into a blaze of fanaticism that would sweep all Europeans out of the Continent. The Sheikh was no doubt a "dark horse." But the Senussi were no friends of the Turk. Their aim was to drive the semi-infidel Ottomans out of Africa. "The Turks and the Christians," they said, "are all one; we will destroy them all together." For a time it appeared that Sheikh Ahmed's policy was to maintain friendly relations with Egypt and Great Britain, just as his father had refused to join the Mahdi and his "dervishes". Turco-German intrigue and gold, however, brought about an apparently half-hearted movement, which confirmed the views of those who were sceptical as to the fighting qualities of Senussi warriors, when opposed to modern arms. They learned a lesson from British troops. An agreement was arrived at between Britain and Italy in the summer of 1916. The Allied forces in North Africa suffice to keep the tribes in order. According to the latest accounts the Senussi desire to be on friendly terms with both France and Italy.

The development and consequences of the Arabian revolt in 1916, to which Turkish folly inevitably led, have been of the highest interest. Arabs have always hated and despised the Turks as a tyrannical and freethinking race that fight for territory, not for the faith; and such acquiescence in Ottoman rule as has existed was yielded to the superior force which usurped the Khalifate and held the holy places of Islam. No benefit came from the Turkish revolution of 1908. On the contrary, Arabia soon learned that the Enver clique aimed, with German support, at the Turkification of the Empire, the crushing of the Arab element. and the supplanting of Islam by the monstrous Neo-Turanian creed.

The problem of the Khalifate is again presented for solution, as an outcome of the war, after three and a half centuries of usurped possession by the Ottoman Sultans. Leaving out of account the Moslem States which remain, as hitherto, indifferent, it is improbable that the spiritual leadership of Islam can remain in the hands of a power which has done its best to degrade it. The majority of Moslems can hardly regret the collapse of a power which has ruined Turkey, has preached an illegal and unholy *jehad*, has treated its own subject races with brutal cruelty, and has helped to stir up enmity throughout the Mohammedan world, and that against Powers that have always treated with respect and complete tolerance the religion of Islam.

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A recent proclamation of the Ulema of Mekkeh says, "As to the question of the Khalifate, in spite of all that is known of the deplorable condition in which it is situated at the present moment, we have not interfered with it at all, and it will remain as it is pending the final decision of the whole Mohammedan world." Whatever temporary embarrassment the War upheaval may cause, there can be little doubt that the question will be settled satisfactorily. There is indeed no ground for misgivings, but rather for confidence in a new era of reconstruction. The fate of a Power which had worked for the subversion of religion may coincide with the rise of an Arabian State or confederation which, recognising the real needs and true interests of the time, may lead the way to a regeneration destined to bring fresh unity and strength to the nations and religion of Islam.

According to the latest news, at the request of Mr. Lloyd George the Council of the principal Allied and Associated Powers heard on Saturday, May 17, the views of the Indian delegation, on the fate and future of Turkey, consisting of the Secretary of State for India, the Maharaja of Bikanir and Lord Sinha accompanied by His Highness the Aga Khan, Sahibzada Pftrab Khan, member of the Council of India, and Mr. Yusuf Ali, late of the Indian Civil Service. As to the fate of Afghanistan it is trembling in the balance!

THE TEACHING OF PATRIOTISM

By Lajpat Rai.

THE teaching of patriotism in India and its place in the scheme for national education must revolve round the following points:

(1) Love of India as a whole as distinguished from love of village, town, city or province. There is enough in both the Hindu and Mohammedan literature to strengthen this sentiment and to bring it into line with the beautiful and ever-inspiring lines of Scott.

I am sure Indian Nationalists do not want to set up an aggressive nationalism of the kind which will breed contempt or hatred of other nations. The idea that love of one's country necessarily involves hatred of others, or even indifference to the welfare of the rest of mankind, is absolutely fallacious and mischievous and should be combated through and through. We love our country because that and that alone can enable us to ascend higher to the heights of humanity.

The justification of this characteristic, says Sir Charles Waldstein, lies in its efficiency in the social life of man.*

"As the forces of society act upon members of a family and a home, so with the citizens of a State, the physical and practical conditions of national life and of the native country are the true training ground for the most effective higher moral idealism, ending in the love of mankind.....Not merely in thought, but also in the emotional life of man, the world of feelings and of passions, which are the most direct and effective sources of action, this love of country, this true patriotism has the most ennobling influence."

Vague, undefined, indeterminate cosmopolitansm is often a disguise for gross selfishness and a life of sensuous inactivity. We canno t do better than caution the younger generations of Indians against the fallacies of the cult of vague cosmopolitanism. Some time ago when addressing a meeting of a Cosmopolitan Club attached to one of the famous Universities of America (Columbia), the present writer took occasion to point out that while cosmopolitanism meant something noble in the mouth of an Englishman or an American, in the mouth of a Hindu and a Chinese (there were Hindus and Chinese in the gathering) it may mean only an attempt to escape the duties which patriotism lays on them. While I respect the former, I added, for their cosmopolitanism, I despise the latter for their lack of patriotism. For them it will be time to become cosmopolitan after they have cultivatd patriotism and raised their respective countries to the level of other independent, self-conscious, self-respecting nations.

Mazzini's famous dictum on cosmopolitanism and nationalism should never be forgotten. Intense and devoted patri-

* Patriotism, National and International, by Sir Charles Waldstein, p. 143, Longman's, 1917.

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ism is quite consistent with the love of humanity. We should spare no pains to point out the co-operative nature of our patriotism and the analytical dangers of loose cosmopolitanism. There are only few men in the world, if there be any, who can be true cosmopolitans without being true patriots. There is no such thing as international patriotism unless the expression is used in the sense that our patriotism must take cognizance of our international duties and must not violate the rights of others who are not our countrymen.

Text-books for the primary schools should be free from discussions of Nationalism and Internationalism. They should inculcate the love of India, of Indian rivers, Indian hills, Indian landscape, Indian scenes, in choice, simple language. Is there any place on earth which is more beautiful and more sublime than our Himalaya? Is there any river which is more majestic and inspiring than Ganga or Brahmaputra or Narbada or even Sindhu? Are there any cities which in their natural situation and in their past histories and traditions can excel many of our Indian cities? In short, in physical features, natural scenery, fertility of soil, productive climate, we have everything in our country to be proud of.

Among domestic and useful animals, what country on earth produces more beautiful cows and bullocks? Our horses and camels, dogs and cats, sheep and goats, are inferior to none. We have noble trees, the noble *pipal*, the great banyan, the tall poplar, the sacred bo, and many others. We grow fruits which in flavour and delicacy, sweetness and taste, are superior to any other in the world. The kingly mango, the guava, the orange, the banana, the mangosteen, the grape, the melon; oh, how impossible it is to count them! There is no one country on earth which produces so many fruits and of such high quality, and corns and cereals, pulses and oil seeds, vegetables and roots, the variety and taste of which simply amazing. The text-books meant for little children should, in suitable language, dilate on the beauties and the glories of our country.

Patriotism, however, does not include only the material and the physical aspects of the country. "It includes all that Renan has called "*l'ame d'uve nation*," the more delicate shadings of feelings, such as piety for the past, admiration and love of the heroic figures in the history of the nation, and its great achievements; love of language, community of tradition, laws and customs, and all that gives individual character to the civilization of each nation.

This leads us to the second point around which our teaching of patriotism should revolve, viz.:

(2) The love of the nation as a whole, regardless of the various religious creeds and castes into which it is internally divided.

Every Indian child should be taught in so many words that every human being who is born in India, or of Indian parents, or who has made India his or her home, is a compatriot, a brother or a sister, regardless of colour, creed, caste or vocation. The diversity of race, religion and language is often exploited by the foreigner as a pretext to deny us the status and the privileges of a nation. Now it should be made absolutely clear to every Indian youth that in India there is no such thing as the conflict of races. No Indian, Hindu or Mohammedan, ever attaches any importance to his racial origin or to the racial origin of the rest of his countrymen. *There is no country on the face of the globe which has a pure race.*

The sons of man have so freely mixed and mingled in the past, that racial distinctions are only a matter of imagination or conjecture. More often than not they are a cloak for political dominance and economic exploitation.

"All these ethnological pretensions and passions—and this is one of the distinctive features of the more modern conflict of 'races'—are based upon the achievements and results of modern ethnological study, the youngest and *least accurate* of modern sciences. In federation with the revised study of philology, comparative religion and anthropology, the *ethnological politician and agitator* found a fertile field, especially for internal disintegration and antagonism, in the inner life of modern States (*in most cases neither consciously nor unconsciously quite free from consideration of material interest and greeds*) in the antagonism between Aryanism and Semitism."*

It is the anti-Jewish sentiment to which Sir Charles Waldstein expressly refers in this quotation. But the mischief which these theories are working is not confined to "internal disintegration and antago-

* Patriotism, National and International, by Sir Charles Waldstein, p. 133. The italics are mine.

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nism in the inner life of modern States"; it extends to the more extended sphere of relations between nations and nations. The cries of "the yellow peril" and the "black peril" also are traceable to the same causes. It is the desire of political domination and economic exploitation that is at the bottom of these cries and it is a matter of sincere joy that some of the most eminent sociologists of the age are earnestly combating these vicious theories. Professor Todd ascribes "modern race boasting and strutting" to "ignorance" and to "deliberate fostering of imperialism and dynastic pretensions;" as well as to "the headiness" which comes from the new wines of quick and easy success. He examines in some detail the extravagant and foolish claims of the tribe of Bernhardi's and Chamberlaine's. The following observations on page 284 of his book are worthy being quoted:

"Owing to the internationalising of human activities, an international osmosis, so to speak, the concept of race is of diminishing importance and may disappear from the focus of men's thought and passions. Hence it turns out that the real selective forces in complex societies are economic, or moral, or psychological or educational, but not ethnic."

Later on, he concludes that "the inevitableness of race conflict is still only a hypothesis; rather let us say, a superstitious survival in our world."

In India there is no race conflict. Hindu and Mussalman and Christian are all a racial "mix-up". The Mussalman descendants of Persian, Afghan, Turkeman, Mogul and Arab invaders have a great deal of Aryan blood in their veins and the Hindu descendants of the Aryans have a great deal of Mongolian blood. The Anglo-Indians of India, too, have all these elements. It is stupid and mischievous to talk of race conflict in India. Mother India knows and recognises no race distinctions.

But that there is a religious conflict in India, cannot be denied. Even that conflict is more artificial than real, manufactured quite recently by interested parties. In the remote past, there was once a conflict between the Hindus and the Buddhists; then there were occasional conflicts between the Hindus and the Mussulmans. It was almost dying out when it was revived by political agitation and schemes on both sides, under impetus given by outside influences. Even when *bona fide*, it was due to false ideas of religious nationalism and communal patriotism. Even that bitter critic of the Indian Nationalists, Mr. William Archer, has admitted that before the "British established themselves in India, Muhammadan princes ruled over Hindu subjects and Hindu princes over Muhammedan subjects, with very tolerable impartiality of rule or misrule. And the same is true in the native States of to-day, not merely as a result of British over-lordship. At no time since the days of Aurangzeb either religion seriously tried to overpower and cast out the other." Did even Aurangzeb ever do it? Even a careful scanning of the history of India for the last 1000 years, from the invasion of Abul Qasim up to the disappearance of the last vestige of Mogul sovereignty shows nothing which by any stretch of imagination may be compared with the conflict between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism which raged in Europe for over four centuries. Is there anything in Indian history which can be cited as parallel to the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day in France, or to the orgies committed by the rival sects in Holland, Spain, Italy, Germany, and even Great Britain and Ireland, in their frenzied attempts to extirpate each other?

The general massacres ordered by Tamerlane and Nadir Shah made no distinction between Hindus and Mohammadans. The long trains of slaves taken away by Mohamad and others of that period are occurrences of a period when there were no, or very few, Muhammadans in India. There is no authentic record of Aurangzeb having ordered any general massacre of the Hindus. There was some persecution of the Mohammadans by the Sikhs by way of reprisal (revanche), but it was confined to the Punjab and even there it was by no means general. Hindus and Mohammadans have come to realize that India is the country of all of them, that their future prosperity and progress depends on their unity and that religion is a matter of individual faith and taste; and that in the common civic life of the country religion does not and should not interfere. But it must form an important part of the active teaching of patriotism in India to impress on the minds of young children the fact of their common country, of their common political and economic interests, of their

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mmon history and of their common stiny. Text-books of patriotism should ke special cognizance of this branch of e subject and insist on the essential ity of Hindus and Mussalmans and o of Christians and Buddhists, Parsees d Sikhs and Jains. They should take rticular note of the best and most orious achievements of the Hindus and ohammadans, both.

Indians, first and last, and all the time, all political and economic matters and our relations with non-Indians, must taught to our boys and girls by ritten and printed lessons as well as by ord of mouth. It is a necessary and a tal article of faith in the religion of atriotism that we must teach to our ys and girls. Even denominational hools and colleges and universities *must* clude it in their curricula of studies. hank God, the spirit of unity is abroad India and we can safely build upon it. t it will be folly to ingore the counterac-g forces. We must meet them by active, liberate and well-concerted plans. Com-ete success may not attend our efforts eedily, but come it must and by the race of God it will.

The teaching of Hindu-Mohammadan ity can be much facilitated by the iting of special and carefully worded sses on the lives of our national heroes. ives of Shivaji, Partap and Govind ngh, as well as those of Akbar, Sher ah and Shah Jahan must be carefully ritten. They should contain no struths; they should be scrupulously ne, but written from a broad, patriotic d national point of view. They should a composite production of patriotic d scientific history. Hindus should arn to take pride in the achievements Mohammadan heroes, saints, and riters, and the Mohammadans in those the Hindus.

If Mother India had an Asoka, she had so Akbar too. If she had a Chaitanya, she had Kabir also. If she had a Harsha, she had Sher Shah too. If she had a Vikramaditya, she had a Shah Jahan also. If she had a Mohammadan Alah Uddin Khilji and Muhammad Tuglaq, she had their Hindu prototypes as well. For every Hindu hero, she can cite a Moham-madan hero. If she is proud of a Todar Mal, she is equally proud of Abul Fazl. She can as well be proud of her Khusroes, Faizis, Galibs, Zauqs, Badonis, Ferishtas and Ganimats (I wonder if Ganimat was not a Hindu), as she can be of Valmiki, Kalidas, Tulsidas, Ram Das, Chand, Nasim and Gobind Singh. Even we modern Indians can be as well proud of a Hali, an Iqbal, a Mohani as of Tagore, Roy and Harish Chandra. We may be as proud of Sayed Ahmed Khan as of Ram Mohan Roy and Dayananda.

As regards caste, even Archer admits that in spite of caste Hinduism is and will remain a mighty bond of union. Hindus and Mussalmans must unite to remove all internal divisions based on caste. All social barriers must be removed and the school, the college, the court and the council must be open temples for all to enter and worship, regardless of caste, colour and creed. Even in other social relations, the lives of differentiation should be thinned with a view to its ultimate extinction, unless and until religious beliefs become a matter of individual personal faith.

This will not come of itself; we should pledge ourselves to it, by making it a subject of study by our children, in all national schools and colleges,—nay even in denominational schools and colleges.

3. The third part of our course for the teaching of patriotism must deal with our relations with the State. The promise of responsible self-Government within the Empire makes us free to include our obligations to the State in this course. If the Empire treats on terms of equality, we shall be true and loyal to the Empire, and faithfully discharge our obligations towards it.

The announcement made by the Secretary of State for India in August, 1917, must be made the foundation of the scheme of studies. The Constitution of the Government of India should form a part of the curriculum of studies with full freedom to the teachers to explain by what processes and by what qualifications we could get it improved on democratic lines and what we have to do in order to win complete self-government. Advanced students in high schools, colleges and universities should be absolutely unhampered and free in discussing politics and economics.

The German theory of the supremacy of the State over the nation must be

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repudiated and the future citizen should be trained to think that the nation is superior to and in every way the master of the State. She determines the form of the State and is free to change it as, in her corporate capacity, by her corporate will, she wants to do.

In short, our loyalty must be rational, reasoned and sincere. Let me make it clear that any attempt to enforce the teaching of loyalty to the established British Government in India as such, without pointing out the road to make it truly national and truly democratic, will end in a fiasco. The analogy of Germany does not apply. The Indians must feel that their loyalty is voluntary, and an outcome of their conscious desire to remain a part of the British Commonwealth on terms of equality with the rest.

THE LAW OF LIMITATION AMONG THE ANCIENT HINDUS

THE Hindu law on limitation was not as elaborate as the British-Indian is. The reason is quite evident. In a system where it was a pious and moral obligation for the wife and the son to pay off the debts of the husband and the father respectively, it was only natural that it would be slow to defeat the just claims of a creditor by setting up a plea of limitation. But the highly-developed juristical code, such as the ancient Hindus had, made it incumbent upon the Government to secure men in the undisturbed possession of their properties, to ensure them the benefits of the improvements made thereupon, to free their minds from suspense, to punish the slothful and the insolent and to aid the vigilant and the industrious taking care at the same time that the weak and the poor should be maintained in their just rights and that no unfair advantage should be gained by any party. Law should act in peaceful concert with morality, and if at any time, law should prevail over morality, it must have to be justified by such circumstances as would not appear repugnant to the feelings of the community. What little of the Limitation law the ancient Hindus had was built up on the tacit consent of religion and morality combined with the silent approval of society.

The Hindu Law of Limitation may be stated as follows :—

I. IMMOVABLES.

(*a*) When any property was possessed for three lives (generations) in succession, lawfully or unlawfully, it could not be recovered (*Narada*, I. 91 ; *Brihaspati*, IX, 26-27). In case the father, grand-father, or great-grand-father of the man, was alive and he was in possession, the approved mode of calculation was : possession for thirty years was taken as possession for one generation ; thrice that period for three generations. Possession for a longer period than three generations was considered possession of long-standing (*Brihaspati*, IX, 23-24).

(*b*) Occupancy of land for twenty years unmolested by the owner was held to be possession during one generation, *e.g.*, for twice that period during two ; for thrice that during three. Proof of a prior title was not required (*Vyasa*: *Colebrooke Digest*, Vol, IV, cccxc X, p. 144). The possession must be by strangers, not by kinsmen within the Sapinda degree.

(*c*) The king, his ministers, husbands of daughters and learned priests could not acquire title even by a long and undisturbed possession. This restriction applied also to a friend or near kinsmen in the male or female line (*Brihaspati*, *Colebrooke Digest*, Vol. IV, cccc VI, p. 144).

(*d*) If the property of a person, not being an idiot or minor, was enjoyed by another *in his presence* for ten years, it was lost to him by law. This was evidently the law of adverse possession of the early Hindus regarding immovable property. A close kinship is observable between the Hindu and Roman systems in the matter of the occupation of immovable property adversely. In Justinian's law too ownership in land was acquired by *res ocupis* in ten years *inter presentes* and twenty years *inter absentes*.

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II. MOVEABLES.

A creditor had no remedy if he failed to recover his dues either from his debtor or from the debtor's heirs of the next *two* generations. That is to say, a creditor could make liable the son or the grandson of his debtor but on no account his great-grandson.

III. Where the father, uncle, or eldest brother resided abroad and was known to be alive, the son, nephew, or younger brother, as the case proved to be, was not bound to pay his debts till after the lapse of twenty years (*Narada*, I, 14).

IV. The owner of a chattel could not recover it after the lapse of ten years when he allowed it to be enjoyed by others in his presence during that period.

V. Pledges and loan, not being the property of the king or a woman were lost to the owner if they had been enjoyed in his presence for twenty years (*Narada*, I, 82). Evidently IV and V consisted of the Hindu law of adverse possession with regard to moveables.

VI. If the king detained the property of a private individual for three years, the owner thereof not answering to the proclamation made in respect of that, he could confiscate it. If the owner turned up within those three years he could get it back but never after that period. This was apparently the Hindu law of Escheat. (Manu, VIII, 30 ; *Colebrooke Digest*, Vol II, CX, p. 115).

The king also took by Escheat the belongings of that of his subject who died without leaving a male child. The case in point is that of merchant *Dhanamitra* in *Abhijnana Sakuntalam* Act. VI.

PRAPHULLA CHANDRA GHOSH.

THE CURSE OF THE DARK SKIN

INDIAN newspapers have frequently published articles dealing with the political grievances of Indian Settlers in the Colonies, but there have been very few references to the evils to which they are exposed when attempting to obtain justice from the Colonial Law Courts even in non-political or ordinary matters.

In the Colonies that have imported Indian indentured labour, it has become an axiom to hold that Indian witnesses are untrustworthy, if not liars, and that European or Semi-European witnesses are absolutely reliable.

In almost every case where Indians and Europeans are on opposite sides, the Europeans win their cases ; especially in the little Crown Colonies, the atmosphere is similar to the atmosphere in our petty Indian states of by-gone times. The ruling race is white, they are a minority it is true, but it is not the best and the noblest white people who have settled in these little Colonies, and every one that has a white skin is necessarily called a Mr. somebody and supposed to be a gentleman.

An Indian, no matter how honest or rich or intelligent he may be, must share in the general contempt in which his indentured or ex-indentured fellow-countrymen are held. The late lamented Honourable Mr. G. K. Gokhale was spoken of by a vulgar white correspondent of a South African paper as "The Coolie Gentleman", Mr Gandhi was commonly spoken of as the "Coolie Barrister", and Mr. Manilal was behind his back spoken of by Mauritian whites contemptuously as "The Avocate Malabar" and one may not be supprised if our independent Rajahs and Nababs were called "Coolie Rajahs or Nababs."

It is unfortunate that our countrymen should ever have emigrated as indentured labourers to these Colonies. The life led in the barracks known as the "Coolie Lines" is most demoralising.

The Magistrates who try our cases do not know our languages. The Interpreters are usually half-educated men. Many of them are servile Indians and prepared to do or say whatever would please their superiors. Some of those who have internal sympathy and fellow-feelings cannot speak out their minds freely. Add to these that the Magistrates and others concerned in the administration of justice

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cannot keep themselves aloof or untouched by the local white vested interests.

With the ignorance and stupidity that illiterate Indian witnesses, who are nervous, may exhibit in court and the low moral life led in the colonies and the axiom that the white skin denotes truthfulness, honesty and respectability, the chances of an Indian obtaining anything like justice are very few indeed, particularly when the white man can hire a professional lawyer to take advantage of all the tricks that rules of relevancy and irrelevancy and treacherous cross-examination are capable of. The Indian's evidence is not given as it should be, it is not understood as it ought to be, it is not translated as it may be, it is not taken down as it must be and it is not believed or appreciated as it would be in India, with the result that those who seek justice in the Colonial Courts very often get stones instead of bread, one may even say that to use a Biblical expression "A camel may pass through the eye of a needle, but not justice through Colonial Courts." One may well imagine the same causes leading to the same results in almost all the Colonies if not exactly in the same degree, one may take Fiji as an instance. Lawyers are too few and very greedy. Lawyer's Indian Clerks or Commission-seekers encouraging their own ignorant and superstitious countrymen, feeding them very often on false hopes to make business for their employers, what is the result? A general discontent and dissatisfaction with their lot in Fiji, desperation developing in same instances into cases of murder and suicides. Even before the Supreme Court it is difficult to obtain justice. The Supreme Court has no Indian Interpreter, that is to say, an Indian by race, and for Civil cases anyone may be picked up to interpret. The judge of the Supreme Court is not as independent of the executive as Judges of High Courts in other countries. We have only one Judge and strange to say he is described as the Chief Justice. The impression is easily given that the Government and the Courts of Law are to a great extent influenced by a clique of vested interests who are supposed to run the Colony. Such at least was the feeling when a case between Turner and Cuthbert was decided here some years ago. Although both parties in this case were white people, the richer prevailed. Much more so is the case when a white man is pitted against an Indian.

If the axiom "Indians are liars and whitemen truthful" is not openly recited in so many words, it is all the same understood and implied in all addresses of counsel to the courts and embedded in all judgments pronounced by the judge.

There was recently a case between a European Civil Servant and a young Indian. A civil servant is not supposed to possess any landed property in the Colony over and above his actual needs for a place of residence, garden, etc. But this one in particular had managed to buy two or three blocks of freehold land in the township of Suva. This young Indian had a previous lease in one of the blocks on which he had erected a building and invested all his little savings. It so happened that the Indian was somewhat late in the payment of his rent. This whiteman placed the matter in the hands of a solicitor without giving the Indian notice or reminder of any kind and it was looked upon as a good opportunity to re-enter into possession and practically rob this Indian of his hard-earned and harder-saved earnings in the shape of the building he had erected. The English law is applied, and buildings are supposed to be part and parcel of the land on which they are erected and cannot be removed in the absence of an agreement to the contrary containd in the lease.*

This Indian offered to pay the rent but he was tossed backwards and forwards between this precious solicitor and his worthy client, and finally the poor man believing that it was for his own benefit, signed an agreement to surrender his lease on condition that he would be allowed to remove his buildings within a certain time. On finding an opportunity to get independent advice, he found that he had made a mistake in signing the agreement, and he resisted the claim of the whiteman for specific performance of the agreement. The whiteman's claim was supported by his own evidence as

* There are many instances of Indians being robbed of their buildings (as they do not know this peculiar law) of wood and iron erected on land which it is next to impossible to acquire as freehold. In England the buildings are concrete brick and mortar, here they are human cages of galvanised iron and timber on wooden supports and yet they are not considered removable fixtures as they ought to be.

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well as that of the solicitor who had managed to influence the Indian to put his signature to the agreement he had himself drawn up in favour of his client. The honourable Mr. So-and-so on his oath must be believed as against a mere Indian and the Chief Justice could not find any evidence of undue influence.

The plaintiff won his case and the Indian defendant must pay ruinous Supreme Court costs to the person or persons who have, morally speaking, wronged him, although the law and the Law Courts may not hold them responsible.

This is not the only instance, such and worse than such occurrences take place every month and every year and the hope of ever getting any redress is always as remote as it has always been.

The cases that come before courts are not the only cases where Europeans take an undue advantage of Indians. Many cases never come before the courts at all, many more are endured meekly and patiently and most have to be put up with whether you will or no. Our original sin in these Colonies is that we or our parents have come under indenture; it is our misfortune that we have not been able to make the most of our opportunities to accumulate wealth and it is a continual calamity to have to submit to the doctrine of the inferiority of the coloured races as against the Divine right of the white skin. God knows when the universal brotherhood spoken of by the Christians, Theosophists and others is going to be a reality. But in the meanwhile we shall have to do uphill work to raise our countrymen to a higher level and endeavour by constitutional and educational means to raise the prestige and the good name of Indians and their mother country in the eyes of their European neighbours. The work is holy and so the workers and their hands.

SUVA. PETER RAIHMAN.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

GITANJALI, THE GARDENER, SADHANA, *by Rabindranath Tagore, Macmillan & Co. Price Rupee one each.*

These famous and world-renowned books need no fresh introduction at our hands. The pulishers have done a great service to the reading public by issuing these Indian editions at so cheap a price. The printing and paper and the get up are none the worse for the admirable cheapness of the publications. The publishers have brought these precious books within the easy reach of every intending reader, and we hope that these will find a place in the book-shelf of every lover of literature and every non-Bengali who is eager to make his acquaintance with the great Bengali poet and philosopher.

Report of the 13th Indian Industrial Conference held at Calcutta in 1917, Published by the Hony. Joint Secretaries. The Indian Industrial Conference, Bombay, 23 Church Gate Street, Fort, Bombay. Price Rs 2-12, postage extra.

This report contains the Resolutions passed and the speeches delivered and the various papers read by experts at the conference. After the conclusion of the Peace when there will be industrial reorganisation all over the world, we Indians ought to be on our guard against the inrush of foreign capitalists and exploiters and take up the indigenous industries in our own hands as much as possible, leaving but little room for foreign encroachments. Those who are industrially disposed and have a knack for industrial enterprise, will, we hope, derive much help from reading this report, which will serve to place them on the right track and a safe footing.

BABY'S HOME TRAINING, *by Dr. Harish Chandra, Ph. D. (Berlin), Director, The Techno-Chemical Research Laboratory, Dehra Dun. Re 1.*

In this booklet of only 29 pages, the author has laid down the rules of child rearing and nursing from its birth to its third year. The things requisite in a lying-in-room are given in minute detail and there are useful instructions as regards the baby's bath, food, dress, airing, rest, mental training, playthings, etc. In case of sickness the doctor has laid down the signs by which to detect the particular illness which a baby is prone to, as also particulars about sick diet and artificial diet. This book may be of some help to English-knowing mothers and householders. It is printed on art paper, which accounts for its costliness. A cheaper edition would have been more serviceable.

WHAT A HOME RULER OUGHT TO KNOW, *by P.T. Chandra, Home Ruler office, Rambaugh Road, Karachi, Price two annas only. 2nd edition 1918.*

In this small booklet of only 34 pages ths author has put down a statistical survey of the position India occupies among the nations of the world,

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whether in economic conditions, or in agriculture, or in literacy and education, or in vitality and sanitation and expectation of the duration of life. India's position has been relegated to the *last* place beyond which one cannot imagine a nation so vast and numerous can proceed ; but in the case of salaries and appointments of higher officials, who are mostly foreigners, India occupies the *first* place! Had space permitted we would have reproduced the whole book which brings home to the mind of the reader, by clear statistics only, the wretched position India occupies among nations. To read is to be convinced what the real position of India is. Therefore we request every lover of India to get a copy of this precious book and take to heart seriously the lesson which this booklet intends to convey.

CHARU BANDYOPADHYAY.

ODE TO TRUTH *by James H. Cousins : (Ganesh & Co. Madras).*

The poet sings of the "overshadowing power which on the foamed marge of youth and age's quiet sea setteth from hour to hour veiled from rude gaze as oriental brides." He knows that the accents of truth roll down the ages and "Not all of thee thy richest bearer hath,"—not he who trod out "the eightfold path" nor the "thrice-gentle Christ." He who boasted high love for truth and cried out "Lo ! all truth is mine, is mine alone" did not at all grasp its nature and wiser was the Celtic seer who saw in a vision "Thy snow-white birds that left thy snow-white brow, And through the prismal earth found each a cage In varying colour of a race and age." The poet remembers Bruno who understood the great truth that "who in his age knows how to die Lives through the centuries," as also "Great Russia's greater daughter" and "He of the building brain, the healing hand," the son of "Columbia's republic." We pray that man may rise to the great plane of truth and that Religion, Science, Art, Knowledge and Wisdom, "bear their mutual part. True to all truth," and that "Truth and Life and Earth and Heaven be one."

The poem is a noble composition on a great moral subject and the varied vehicle of mostly ten-syllabled lines with free rhymes has given the poet ample liberties for the expansion of his genius. The whole might have been more impressive if the references were more compressed and the digressions less few for such a simple subject of morality calls for the highest concentration of purpose. But such criticisms are fruitless and beside the point.

THE DREAM QUEEN *by A. G. Shirreff and Panna Lall : (The Indian Press, Allahabad).*

It is a translation of the *Svapnavasabadatta* of Bhasa, the great dramatist, some of whose works were brought to light in Southern India a few years ago. The theme of the play is the self-sacrificing love of a wife and as such bears some resemblance to the Alcestis of Euripedes. The work of translation has been well carried out and the spirit and imagery of the original preserved as much as possible. For those who cannot go to the original, this book should be of valuable help in the way of allowing them to appreciate the genius of Bhasa.

GUTTILA THE DIVINE MINSTREL, *by Lucy and Gordon Pearce : (Ganesh & Co. Madras).*

It is based on a version of the Sinhalese "Guttila Kavya" by Mrs. Muscens Higging and nothing like a literal translation of the original. There are two parts in the book, the one giving us the story of the days of Bimbisara, the rivalry of Guttila and Musila and the other the vision of Heaven. The first part is in simple blank verse, but the second in Spenserian stanzas has sought to preserve more of the spirit of the original. This story of the olden days will not fail to impress any reader.

THE POETICAL WORKS OF RAM SHARMA :

Babu Nabakissen Ghosh (or Ram Sharma, as his nom-de-plume was) may be regarded as one of the first of those Bengali writers who tried their hand at English verse in the last century. Some of his poems had appeared in the old *Mukherji's Magazine* and *Reis and Ryot* of Babu Sambhu Chandra Mukherji, —others had come out either in periodicals or in pamphlet form. This volume is the first collection of all the poet's works and the interest of such a book is great. Some of these poems were written on topical subjects and their appeal was mostly for the poet's contemporaries. But for us the charm of the volume would depend on such pieces as the *Shivaratri* or the *Bhagabati Gita* of which the Glasgow journal, *Saint Andrew*, has said : "Here the poet attempts a more sustained flight and in our judgment these poems are worthy companions to Edwin Arnold's *Light of Asia*." *The Last Day* is very ambitious in design and brings before us a procession of images whose creation enables us to judge the imaginativeness of the poet. "The Ode to Albert Edward, Prince of Wales," is a prize-poem, but its extravagant imagery does not attract us so much as the odes "To England" or "To the Men of India." The poet had a talent for the satiric touch and his powers of quiet satire may be understood from a perusal of such pieces as "The Rape of the Gown," "The Bride of Sambhudas," "St. Paul and Huzrut Bull" or "The Song of the Scribe." Mr. Dunn in his recent book on the Bengali Writers of English Verse tells us that the study of the works of poets like Ram Sharma contributes little to the understanding of the Indian mind. In spite of this adverse comment, however, we must say that this volume is worth being read by every lover of Bengali literature; but we fear that the price of the volume (five rupees) will interfere with its popularity.

NIRMALKUMAR SIDDHANTA.

HISTORY OF THE PORTUGUESE IN BENGAL (WITH MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS) *by J. J. A. Campos. Butterworth & Co., 6, Hastings Street, Calcutta.*

Thanks to the boring re-iteration of imperialistic poets and bureaucratic merchant governors, the "meeting of the East and the West" has become a monumental cant in our journalistic vocabulary. Yet the successive stages in the history of this mysterious infiltration—the blind groping of the West for the East, the harrowing paranthesis of greed and envy, of lust and cruelty, ultimately resulting in the overpowering of the decadent East by the nations of European renaissance—this is a theme which would demand from its historian, the judiciousness of a Tacitus and the comprehensiveness of a Gibbon. Failing that we have but fragmentary treatments of a stupendous international epic. Mr. Campos presents us with one of such fragments. As it is, his "History of the Portuguese in Bengal" is a document of rare value. His mastery of details and method of presentation are remarkable. For the first time we get a lucid account of the Portuguese influence on the history of Bengal ("the Paradise of India." Bar-

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the intrusion of the spirit of extenuation here there, the general spirit of the author is sober candid. He has realised and openly declares "when the Portuguese came to India they had to deal with savage tribes as the Spaniards and English found in America, but they were contacted with a civilisation much older than that of Europe and with theological and philosophical speculations whose antiquity extended far beyond the times of Greek and Roman legends." Yet the author is silent—and his silence is significant—as to the manner in which this first batch of occidental guests approached their oriental host! Let us fill in the blank with the words of another European historian: "The decline and fall of the Portuguese dominion in the East was rapid and, I may add, fully deserved..... The cruelty of the Portuguese was horrible..... The Government of Portugal based its policy on a desire to make Christians by fair means or foul... and engaged in an insane attempt to force the natives of India to adopt Christianity..... The local Government were utterly corrupt." (V. A. Smith's Oxford History of India, p. 419.) The lesson of Portuguese history is clear and its warning against iniquitous exploitation significant. The name Portuguese now conjures up the memory of the *Tragedy of a Forgotten Empire!* But we cannot but appreciate the "superhuman impulse which led a small nation to immortalise two centuries of discovery and conquest." The first internationalisation of commerce and the consequent collapse of the Chinese walls around isolated nationalities is the indirect result of the maritime adventures of the Portuguese nation: "From Japan came fleets laden with silver. China furnished gold, silks and musks. Cloves were shipped from Moluccas; spices and nutmegs from Sunda, cinnamon from Ceylon, food from Solor, camphor from Borneo. From Bengal came rich varieties of cloth; from Pegu the finest rubies; from Masulipatam valuable diamonds, from Manar pearls, from Maldives amber, from Cochin raw hides, from Malabar pepper and ginger; from Cambay indigo and cloth, from Arabia horses, from Jafnapatam elephants, from Persia carpets and silks, from Socotra aloes, from Sofala gold, from Mozambique ivory ebony and amber....." The list is sufficiently interesting. For such information and for the reproduction of rare old maps and cautious cataloguing of Indo-Portuguese words, the students of Indian history would be thankful to the author. Let us hope that some Bengali philologist lexicographer would test the vocabulary of Mr. Campos. We congratulate him on his valuable work.

THE VEDIC LAW OF MARRIAGE OR THE EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN *by A. Mahadeva Sastri, B.A., P. Ramaswamy Sastrulu & Sons, 192, Esplanade, Madras*).

A valuable collection of papers to elucidate the maxim that "a nation's marriage laws and ideals and the status assigned to woman in it have a great deal to do with its strength or weakness."

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE MARHATTAS DOWN TO THE DEATH OF SIVAJI, *by Prof. U. N. Ball, M.A.* (*Published by Ramakrishna and Sons, Anarkali, Lahore*).

A lucid summary of an eventful chapter of Indian history; an excellent text-book for students.

NATIONAL EDUCATION, *by Sri Aurobindo Ghose* (*National Book Depot, Fyzabad*).

Incisive and thought-provoking.

UDAYNA VATSA-RAJA, *by Harit Krishna Deb, M.A.*

Interesting and ingineous.

KALHAN.

THE LIBRARY OF JAINA LITERATURE, VOL. IX. JAINA GEM DICTIONARY, *by J. L. Jaini, M.A., Bar-at-Law, assisted by Jaina Dharmabhusana Sri Sitalprasadji, Editor of Jainamitra, Arrah; Kumar Devendraprasad Jaina, Central Jaina Publishing House. Pp. 156.*

This is a small dictionary of technical terms used in Jaina philosophical works and is the first of its kind. Undoubtedly it will satisfy to some extent the long-felt want of such a book in Jain literature, but leaves much to be desired. The book is based mainly on the *Jaina-Siddhantapravesika*, a very useful volume giving the technical terms in the form of questions and answers by the late lamented great Pandit Gopal Das Baria. The value of the book would have been enhanced had it been written on the line adopted in the well-known *Nyayakosa* (न्यायकोश) in the Bombay Sanskrit Series. As the author himself says very frankly that the book is put before the public as only a tentative one, we have not to say much of it, but want to point out only a few defects in the hope that they may be removed, if they so deserve, in the second edition.

We think, the order in which the words are arranged is not good or is rather objectionable. As regards Sanskrit works they should be put in the order of the pure Sanskrit alphabet.

Sometimes words have been spelt wrongly; as, *satva* (सत्व), *udyota* (उद्योत), pp. 98, 112, while they should have been written as *sattva* (सत्त्व) and *uddyota* (उद्द्योत) respectively.

Crude forms are generally given in dictionaries and so herein, too; but sometimes forms in some case-ending or other have also been given: that is not good. As for example, जिनवरा; p. 52; स्वकं समयम् p. 106.

In some cases only adjectives are given but not the nouns; both are required no doubt, but the latter are more required than the former. As for instance, there is स्वरूपासिद्ध, but not the noun, स्वरूपासिद्धि.

As regards meanings, they are in some cases wrong or very obscure. The meaning of अस्तेय is written "Theft, taking what is not given," (?) obviously it is due to carelessness. On p. 11, "*Aitihya* (ऐतिह्य) *Sruta* (q. v.);" we cannot understand what is meant here, nor is the word *Sruta* (श्रुत) explained in the dictionary. The meaning "successive" of व्यतिरेकी is not intelligible.

Attempt should have been made to give also the derivative meaning where it is not impossible in order to express the true spirit of a word. *Mahavrata* and *Anuvrata* have been explained as "full vow"

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and "partial vow." Figuratively they convey such meanings. But one can happily render them as 'great vow' and 'small vow' adding a short note explaining them.

Lastly we think that more words should be added to those already collected.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

GUJARATI.

SIR RAVINDRANATH THAKUR NAN SAMSMARANO (सर रवीन्द्रनाथ ठाकुर नां संस्मरणो), *translated by Ambalal Balkrishna Purani, B.A., and published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound. PP. 231. Price Rs. 0-7-0 (1919).*

"My Reminiscences" from the pen of Sir Rabindranath Tagore, when being published in the pages of the *Modern Review* furnished instructive, delightful and interesting reading to those who could follow the poet in English. It was a happy idea to convert them into Gujarati, and we are sure they would be read in the vernacular with as much avidity as they were in English.

SAMANYA DHARM (सामान्य धर्म) *by Rajyuraina Atmaram (Amritsari), Educational Inspector, Baroda, printed at the Lakshmivilas Press, Baroda. Pp. 23. Paper cover. Price 0-2-0. (1918).*

In this little pamphlet, Mr. Atmaram holds forth his pet subject, and marshals arguments in favor of removing the brand of untouchability from the lower castes, with force and vigor.

K. M. J.

WOMEN AS TEACHERS FOR PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN INDIA

I

THE value of women in the education of little children of either sex is now generally recognised in Europe and America. This process of recognition has been slow and the concession has been made rather unwillingly. A circular of the Department of Education in England published about 40 years ago, for instance, "after suggesting several objections to the employment of women teachers in the lower classes of boys' schools, ends by permitting managers to try the experiment on their own responsibility." We are told that paid teaching was considered to involve social descent in England in the mid-Victorian period. The majority of the Mosely Educational Commission to the United States of America in 1903 viewed 'somewhat with alarm the growing preponderance of women teachers,' in that country; yet we find that Mr. Arthur Aderton, one of these Commissioners, while sharing in the general alarm bears the following testimony to the worth of these women teachers. "One could not fail to be impressed with the character, ability, and the bearing of the female teachers generally. They are a great power for good." It is only fair to point out that Prof. H. E. Armstrong, another Member of the Commission, felt that owing to this preponderance of female teachers and a consequent co-education of the sexes there was a strange and indefinable feminine air coming over the men, 'a tendency towards a common, if I may so call it, sexless tone of thought'. Mr. R. E. Hughes writes in the same strain, though he does not appear to have made up his mind definitely.

"The fact that so much of the teaching is entrusted to women may lead to a lack of virility and strength in the training. There is a very outspoken criticism in the report of the school superintendent for Detroit. 'Is it not possible that the increasing number of incorrigibles may bear some relation to this sentimentality? I know that I am terribly heterodox in suggesting that a good sound thrashing occasionally would be of more benefit to a capricious spunky youngster than all the goody-goody talks so correctly advocated. We are getting too many Mamas' pets and Lord Fontleroys, and I fear our system has a tendency to perpetuate it. Give us more good hearty moral discipline, more Sandfords and Mertons and Tom Browns.'"

We do not know if the Sandford and the Merton of the story were administered 'a good sound thrashing occasionally'. Mr. Hughes, who quotes with approval the above remarks, tells us later on in his book (*Schools at Home and Abroad*) that the self-respect of the American pupil is preserved and his self-resource cultivated. "He leaves school ready to begin the real education of life, *i. e.*, self-training, and naturally alert, ambitious and confident, he developes into the pushful, resourceful American citizen of to-day." This, inspite

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of the 'lack of virility and strength in the training'! The United States educational authorities, however, do not seem to have been frightened by this 'feminine air coming over the boys'; more and more women teachers get employment every day in the State schools there. Thus while in 1870-71, 41 per cent. of the teachers in these schools (both elementary and advanced) were men, the percentage was gradually reduced to 20·7 in 1910–11. It was an American Dr. Henry Bernard—the first United States Commissioner of Education—who wrote as early as 1854,

"Our experience has shown not only the capacity of woman, but her superiority to the male sex, in the whole work of domestic and primary instruction not only as principal teachers of infant and the lowest class of elementary schools but as assistants in schools of every grade in which girls are taught, and as principal teachers, with special assistance in certain studies in the country schools generally. Their more gentle and refined manners, purer morals, stronger instinctive love for the society of chidren and greater tact in their management, their talent for conversational teaching, and quickness in apprehending the difficulties which embarass a young mind and their powers when properly developed, and sustained by enlightened public sentiments, of governing even the most wild and stubborn dispositions by mild and moral influences—are now generally recognised by our most experienced educators. Let this great fact be once practically and generally recognised in the administration of public schools in Europe, and let provision be made for the training of female teachers on a thorough and liberal scale, as is now done for young men and a change will come over the whole face of society."

Let us quote two more testimonies from Sonnenschein's *Cyclopædia of Education* (1892).

"Twenty years ago in the report published by the Commissioners Mr. Fitch said, 'of two persons, a man and a woman, who have an equally accurate acquaintance with a given subject, it may be fairly assumed that the woman is likely to be the better teacher. All the natural gifts which go so far to make a good teacher, she possesses in a high degree. Her sympathy with learners, in the imaginative reality which enables her to see what is going on in their minds, in the tact whick siezes upon the happiest way to remove a difficulty or to present a truth, in insight into character, in patience, and in kindness, she is likely to excel him. A larger proportion of women than men may be said to have been born teachers and to be specially gifted with the art of communicating what they know.' So also Mr. James Bryce: 'Women seem to have more patience as teachers, more quickness in seeing whether the pupil understands, more skill in adapting the explanations to the peculiarities of the pupil's mind and certainly a nicer discernment of his or her character. They are quite as clear in exposition as men are, and when well-trained quite as capable of making their teaching philosophical.' These words were written at a time when women had seldom an accurate acquaintance with anything, when High Schools and Women's Colleges were unknown."

It appears from the *Cyclopædia* that the superiority of woman over man as a teacher of children was being gradually recognised in Europe and America by the year 1892.

The introduction of the Kindergarten system furnished another field for the work of women as teachers.

"In the Kindergarten the two sexes are taught together up to the age of 7, and exclusively by women. On this point Froebel himself is most explicit. The results are satisfactory." (R. E. Hughes)

In the early nineteen hundreds, of the *trained* teachers in England 34 per cent. were male. For America the percentage was slightly less, *viz.*, 31. In Germany, however, only 13 per cent. were female. Of the whole teaching staff of the English school, however, 75 per cent. were female.

"In England as in America the rapidly growing preponderance of the female teacher is mainly due to economic reasons, but in Germany this is not so much so. Curiously enough or perhaps obviously enough, where education is mostly advanced in the States, there the female teacher thrives best.

E.G., In Chicago only 6·6 per cent. of total teachers are male.

In New York State of City teachers 8 per cent. are male and of the State teachers 21 per cent. are male.

And of the Normal School pupils the famales form :—

98 per cent. in Massachusettes,
99 per cent. in Connecticut,
100 per cent. in New Hampshire,

The American male teacher will soon be as extinct as the bison. At present his habitat is mainly the blackwoods and morasses of the Southern States." (Schools at Home and Abroad, by R. E. Hughes, 1901).

To-day in Great Britain men are being called out to the front and women are taking their places as teachers. The following figures for Scotland are interesting. Though the number of men under training is reduced considerably, the increasing number of women students too has lately received a slight check. "This is probably due to a large extent to the many new openings for the employment of women resulting from war conditions."

Number under training as teachers in Scotland.

	Number in training.		
	Men	Women	Total
1913-1914	508	2,062	2,570
1914-1915	377	2,277	2,654
1915-1916	188	2,284	2,472
1916-1917	50	2,121	2,171

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Mr. Frank Roscoe writes as follows in the pages of *Indian Education* (June 1918) about the work of women who have been substituted as teachers for men in England.

"Many women teachers are engaged in schools for boys and their work is found to be extremely good; especially in modern languages, music, and physical drill. This last may be thought strange until it is remembered that the training of teachers of physical drill has been efficiently carried out only in Colleges for Women. The men have relied on the services of the superannuated soldier with the result that no scientific system of drill has been known in most schools for boys until quite recently."

II.

So far as India is concerned, however, the day is yet far off, when we shall have to consider the advisability or otherwise of entrusting to women teachers the education of boys. The supply of qualified teachers presents a very great difficulty in educationally backward countries; much more so in the case of Indian women, who on account of social restrictions, cannot, in most cases, be expected to lead independent self-reliant lives.

The same has been the case with China. There too "the need of trained teachers is well-nigh desperate," and the people have to take up trained teachers even when they lay down arbitrary conditions. Miss Paddock, National Secretary to the Young Women's Christian Association of China, in her *Woman's Work in the Far East*, tells of a young graduate of a Mission School, who, when offered a teachership, in a school in the north of Manchuria, said: "Yes, I will teach in the school, if I may teach for one hour each day from the Bible." The people were naturally unwilling to permit this, but they could not procure another teacher and had to appoint this lady, permitting her to teach the Gospel according to her desire. Margaret A. Burton says in her book *The Education of Women in China*,

"The Principal of a large Mission School in Nanking told me that even before her girls had graduated they were sought as teachers by those in charge of Government or Gentry schools and were offered what were to them fabulous salaries, three times the size of their father's earnings. The educators of China realising this fundamental weakness of their schools have offered large inducements to train women and are making great efforts to train teachers. Many normal schools have been established in various parts of the Empire. Before the opening of the Government Normal school in Tientsin it was announced that "in order that properly prepared women may be able to relinquish other occupations and take this training, the Viceroy offers each student ten dollars a month and also promises positions as teachers when the course of study is satisfactorily completed'."

Mr. Findlay Shirass pointed out the other day that the immediate effect of employing a staff exclusively of women teachers in a school was to increase the proportion of girls in the higher classes of the institution. "The problem of Girls' education," therefore, in the words of the *Times of India*, "is thus to a large extent the problem of woman teachers." The paper pleads for a small Committee to investigate the question of how to increase the present utterly inadequate supply of women teachers. "The only Province in which a serious effort has been made to deal with it with reference to the social conditions of the country is Madras, where the Government has provided scholarships for Hindu widows to be trained as teachers."

It is no doubt very difficult to attract pupils for being trained as teachers especially from the Mahomedans and the higher castes of the Hindus. The last Baroda Administration report complained: "In the Training College for Women all possible inducements of pay and prospects are held out to draw intelligent women of good social position, as there is a pressing demand for female teachers, but unfortunately not with proportionate success;" and the complaint is general. Let us as a typical case take the state of affairs in Bengal as described by Mr. Gokulnath Dhar in the course of an article in the *Educational Review*. A beginning in this direction was made by an association of ladies in Calcutta by maintaining a class for training European and East Indian girls as school mistresses and Zenana teachers. Government came forward to help this class liberally with funds, in order that more mistresses might be found for the increasing number of females—both girls and adults—who had evinced a genuine desire to learn. A normal class for Indian ladies was later on started in the Bethune College which, however, did not attract any pupil for some time and had therefore to be abolished.

"The female teachers available in 1886 were practically confined to the town of Calcutta and the Presideney, Burdwan and Orissa Divisions. Very few of these were Hindus or Mahomedans brought up in the village schools, the chief recruiting ground for mistresses being the Missionary schools. It was

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t till the year 1902 that signs of improvement ere seen in this direction. In the year named the ducational Department was able to secure the ervices of some female teachers from the orthodox asses of Hindus and Mahomedans but even then ere was room enough for the employment of many ore such teachers had they been forthcoming. asses were accordingly opened in the Bethune ollegiate School and the Brahmo Balika Sikshalaya r training mistresses and grants to Mission schools ere augmented on the condition that no efforts ould be spared to increase the output of such eachers. For the supply of additional female teach- s for girls' schools and Zenana Classes at home, asses were sanctioned by Government in 1904 for training of school masters' wives and Hindu nd Mahomedan widows."

Bengal, the most advanced province in ndia, appears in this respect to have agged behind the sister Presidencies. Thus hile in the year 1915-16, 671 women were eing trained as mistresses in Bombay nd 669 in Madras, in Bengal the number as only 178 and it is to be remarked hat out of these teachers under training 6 were Eurasians and 122 Indian hristians. One main reason why Bengal ags behind is the custom of *purdah*.

The classification of mistresses under raining in India according to their castes s very instructive.

Caste	Mistresses under training in 1915-16		Strength of the communities per thousand of the population.
Europeans	196		
Indian Christians	1,140		124
Hindus	634	(Brahmins 266) Non-Brahmins 368)	6,939
Maho-medans	175		2,126
Parsis	9		3
Buddhists	36		342

It will be seen from the figures that he Christians predominate overwhelingly and supply so many female teachers or the strength of their community that he Hindus may be said to be nowhere in omparison. Among the Hindus themselves, the non-Brahmins who are on the whole more backward educationally, upply more teachers than the Brahmins. The non-Brahmin population far outumbers the Brahmin population.] Among he mistresses under training in 1915-16, 4·4 per cent. were Indian Christians, 12 er cent. were Brahmins and 16·6 per cent. on-Brahmins. Thus for every Hindu istress there were roughly two Christian mistresses, while for every Christian in India there are 50 Hindus. This predominance of the Indian Christian community is largely due to the efforts of the Missionaries who try their best to equip the converts for self-supporting, useful and independent lives.

The Brahmins are generally far more advanced than the non-Brahmins : but the non-Brahmins supply three female teachers for every two that the Brahmins supply. It is only in Bombay that the non-Brahmin mistresses are in a minority, in the United Provinces their number is nearly equal to that of Brahmins while in other Provinces the non-Brahmins predominate. Especially in Madras and the Central Provinces the Brahmins are exceedingly backward in this respect. We give below a statement shewing the number of Brahmin and non-Brahmin mistresses* under training in the various provinces in 1915-16 :—

Province	Brahmins	non-Brahmins
Bombay	208	164
Bihar & Orissa	2	11
United Provinces	21	20
Central Provinces	10	38
Bengal	10	22
Madras	2	48
Punjab	13	65
	266	368

Mr. G. K. Devadhar has discussed fully this question of the castes of mistresses under training in India in a Marathi article contributed to the Karwe Issue of the *Masik Manoranjan*.

As regards the pay and prospects of the women teachers Mrs. R. M. Gray came to the following conclusions after studying the condition of women teachers at various places in the Bombay Presidency :—

(1) In vernacular schools compared to men and to women in other countries their position is good. Their pay is equal to that of men, and in some cases better.

(2) They are certain of work.

(3) Their difficulties are social rather than financial, *e. g.*, married women are often over-worked, widows are lonely and sometimes exposed to danger.

(4) A second or third year's certificate is an extremely good investment.

* The writer ought to have shown that the total number of Brahmin women in the country is very much smaller than the total number of non-Brahmin women.—Ed. *M. R.*

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In conclusion we shall describe a non-official effort in this direction. The Poona Seva Sadan is probably the only non-official, non-Christian body in India that maintains a *full* Training College for Women. The success of this College, which has to-day over 70 students on its roll, is due to the energy of Mr. G. K. Devadhar who works as the Honorary General Secretary of the Institution and the timely help given by the Wadya Charities. Government too have recognised the special character of the work and help the institution on the basis of ⅔ of expenditure. His Excellency the Governor and the Educational authorities in the Presidency have publicly acknowledged the help Government was receiving by the work of the institution as it could hardly cope with the large demand for trained mistresses without non-official help. No fees are charged at this College and a few scholarships are provided. From last year it has begun to send out fully trained mistresses.

As remarked by a writer of the history of female education in India, the problem of trained women teachers presents itself with baffling insistency, and enthusiastic and patriotic workers in the cause of female education will do a great service to the country by promoting such institutions.

K. S. ABHYANKAR.

SYMPATHY *vs.* REPRESSION

THIS is a knotty problem which has puzzled the bureaucracies all the world over, and even now the Government of India is at its wit's end to solve it. We have an instinctive feeling, and instinct as some say is never wrong, that love is the master-passion, and it never fails to stanch the wounds of insulted truth. Be that as it may, this is what we Indians feel and shall feel to the end of time. The verdict of History is in our favour, because from it we learn that wherever repressive measures have been undertaken, they have failed in achieving their ends and have at last alienated those whom they were meant to conciliate. Can anybody, except the Government of India, deny the healing powers of love and sympathy? Some of our friends of the Anglo-Indian fraternity might say that excess of sympathy is a sure sign of weakness, and if any Government indulged in it, it would court its own speedy downfall. They might also try to bring the matter home to us by maintaining with all the show of truth, that excess of love has spoilt many a child, made him a weakling and quite unfit for the struggle of life. We would answer these critics by a counter-question. Has repression done anything better instead of making the objects of repression forget their civic duties and responsibilities by crossing the boundaries of social and political decency and commit some of the most heinous crimes that have blackened the page of History. All the murders and revolutions of history would not have taken place if in place of employing the pointed lancet of repression the authors of such repression had applied the healing balm of love and sympathy to the old sores of the body politic. All the great thinkers and prophets of the world died preaching love for our fellow-men and yet some of us have the audacity to declaim love as the greatest evil that human flesh is heir to. Let purblind critics of Lord Syndenham's type talk whatever nonsense they like, these hystorical vapourings do not affect us in the least. But it is for such die-hards that we are compelled to show unmistakably by examining all branches of human activities, that love and sympathy are the greatest and the best correctors of society and that repression and coercion never attain their object.

Let us first of all turn to our domestic world. In a family where love is the dominating factor, happiness prevails and children of such family are examples of

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good manners and nobility of character, and become good citizens of the world. It is one of the essential virtues of a good and ideal father or say head of a family, that he should be sympathetic towards the aspirations of his children ; not indulgent of their evil habits, but not also ruling the family like a petty autocrat, with the rule of rod. He should not be a monarch of all he surveys, and even if children go astray by mixing in bad society, love and sympathy should be used to reclaim them and not repression. The Defence of India Act which is so pithily called the Oppression of India Act, with its younger brother the Press Act and others of the same ilk, might be dear to a bureaucracy, but they should never be dear to the head of a family. He should take into consideration that his children of to-day are citizens of tomorrow and if he uses them as chattels or beasts of burden, they can never hope to be anything better under a many-times-professed parental government. The virtues of independence of thought and action, respect for elders and constituted authority, forbearance for the opinions and feelings of others, selflessness and love and sympathy for its fellow-beings should be instilled in a child from a very young age. And as example is the best teacher of all, a parent should have all these to become a living example to the impressionable mind of a child. Experience shows, that family happiness and peace have gone to pieces where the head of a family happened to be a little despot. The world is moving at a giddy pace, in the words of Mr. Lloyd George—nay we are running instead of the usual Darwinian evolutionary walk and there is a wave of democracy, liberty and freedom passing over the expanse of this world and fossils of the old order of things must swim with the tide, if they are not to be left in the abyss behind. It is always safer to walk the well-trodden path instead of cutting a new path for ourselves through the tanglewood of this world. Because persons who can hew new ways are few and far between, and the majority of us who are only mediocres can do no better than float with the tide. Giants might be born sometimes, but we who are all no more than 6 feet should not try to lift Mount Atlas on our finger-end.

Enter now the larger arena of social and political activities. To what is the Non-Brahmin movement in the Southern Presidency due ? To nothing else but the duress-vile employed by the priestly class and the superior airs which it gives itself. What is the root-cause of the degradation of the present-day Indian womanhood ? The repressive policy of Indian manhood, a living example of which has been recently furnished by some wiseacres of the Bombay Municipal Corporation who opposed with old-world arguments the grant of even partial enfranchisement to the fair sex. The enemies of Indian reform could not have made any capital out of the problem of the depressed-classes, if the Dwijatis (the "twice-born") had not adopted baneful coercive mode of treatment towards them. Even Dr. Nair, that redoubtable champion of Non-Brahmins, would have found no audience for his anti-Indian utterances had the Brahmins of the South been able to curb the pride of their superior birth and treated sympathetically their brethren of the lower orders. And Mr. Welby of the European Association would have found his occupation gone.

Has it been of any advantage to Germany to repress the feelings of the people of Alsace-Lorraine ? Did the Spanish Inquisition with its hideous methods of killing heretics inch by inch succeed in stemming the tide of Protestantism in Europe, St. Bartholomew's day notwithstanding ? Has not Ireland been a source of weakness instead of strength to England in this devastating and blood-curdling war ? England's fair name has no blacker stains upon it than its Irish policy. Was not the repressive policy of Lord Curzon followed by more retaliative anarchism and crimes ? Is not the recent repressive legislation by the Indian Government, before the so-called reforms are ushered in, trying the patience of the Indian people and is it not apprehended that such patience might give way under the pressure employed and lead to undesirable agitation of a very great magnitude, and this at a time when both the government and the people should cultivate mutual tolerance. What is the lesson of the Sanguinary Russian revolution ? Not the perverted lesson which the Anglo-Indian journals are never tired of preaching us in season and out of season, but the eternal truth that repression never leads to anything good. Let the voice of humanity answer these questions and

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proclaim that love and sympathy always pay and that repression and coercion ever die consumed with their own fire.

Was it, therefore, wise of the Government of India to place on the Statute Book the Rowlatt Bills at this time of the world's day, when liberty and freedom are in the very air the Europeans, Americans plus the Japanese breathe, and when many of the wise heads of all nations are sitting in a conclave at Versailles to build a better world and to promote amity between all and sundry? Is this the first instalment of reforms under the terms of the announcement of August 20th, 1917? It is only in moments such as these that the truth of the saying that from the sublime to the ludicrous it is but a step is vividly realized by us. Are we not to be treated even on the same footing as small nationalities of Europe for the emancipation of which England has fought this successful war so valiantly? The Rowlatt Acts are a unique contribution to the laws of the civilized world, and other Governments if they are at all desirous of the safety and peace of their subjects, could do no better than to follow the lead given by the Government of India and enact such drastic measures. Oh! how one could wish that the energy and ingenuity which are so often misspent on forging new fetters for our liberties were employed to some better purpose for the uplift of the Indian nation.

Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea said in the third Congress at Madras:

'When Italy was struggling for liberty England stretched forward the right hand of sympathy. When Greece was endeavouring to assert her place among the nationalities of the earth, England was then the foster-mother of freedom, responsive to the call. We are neither Italians nor Greeks. We are British subjects. (Hear, hear, and applause) England has taken us into her bosom and claims us as her own.....'

Are our liberties, which are in all conscience not very many, to be curtailed any further, instead of their scope being widened as foreshadowed in the announcement of August 20th, 1917? We have had enough of repression and broken pledges. Let us now have some freedom from repression and greater opportunities of managing our own affairs. The passive resistance movement led by that saintly person Mr. Ganhdi is a true index of the temper of the country. The adoption of this extreme constitutional weapon shows clearly, if any signs are yet wanting, that the country has made up its mind not to take this new insult to its self-respect lying down. Unless these obnoxious measures are repealed, all well-wishers of steady progress must despair of a calm atmosphere so necessary to work the constitutional reforms successfully. We appeal to the British instincts of the Government of India and the Secretary of State to repeal the un-English legislation which has been passed in the teeth of solid Indian opposition—both Moderate and Extremist, and change its policy.

MOHANLAL CAPOOR.

INDIANS IN SUMATRA

THE presence of British Indians in the Dutch possession of Sumatra is not so widely known as one hears of Indians in South Africa, Canada, Mauritius, Fiji, Trinidad, Federated Malay States, and elsewhere. This may be partly due to the fact that their number in Sumatra is estimated to be between 4,000 and 5,000 only, which does not stand comparison with their number in the other places mentioned. Also the Dutch Government is absolutely impartial in its treatment of all people living under its protection, quite irrespective of the country of their origin. The local Government's policy in the case of a set of people who are foreign to it is indeed worth the grateful and sincere thanks of the Indians at home and decidedly more so when they recollect that their fellow-countrymen have not been treated fairly in some British Colonies.

The Indian element in Sumatra is almost wholly resident on the East Coast

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of the island, this being nearer to the Straits Settlements than the West Coast and the interior. It must be noted that the Indians in Sumatra have emigrated only from the Straits Settlements and not direct from the Indian shores.

At the end of 1916, the number of indentured Indian Coolies on the various rubber and tobacco plantations, according to labour returns, was nearly 3,000. The planters on the East Coast do not favour Indian labour any more, which is borne out by the disparity in numbers of the Javanese and Chinese coolies who are more than 100,000 strong on the several plantations. There might be a talk of the Indian Government disallowing its subjects emigrating to a foreign colony. But apart from the accuracy or otherwise of this statement, the planters here have come to realise long ago that by recruiting their labour requirements out of India, they would not be called upon in future to face the thorny question of Indenture.

The coolies under contract are mostly Tamils and Telugus of South India. The local Government has appointed Labour Inspectors to look after the welfare of the coolies and instituted several rules and regulations binding the planters to accord suitable living accommodation, medical aid and reasonable wages to their labour force. Thus the Indian coolies gets the same treatment from his employer as the Javanese and Chinese labourer.

The system of contract that exists between the employer and his Indian coolie here, is different from the system that is in vogue in British Colonies where Indian labour is utilised. As soon as a coolie enters or is made to enter a plantation, he is paid £10 in advance and it is understood that till the money advanced is paid back, he is not permitted to leave that plantation. The return passage provided for in British Colonies by the planters for coolies after the period of indenture (usually five years), is a thing unknown here, as far as the Indian coolie is concerned. Such return passage is granted to Javanese coolies after a service of three years, which constitute the period of their indenture. The rate of wages paid to plantation coolies other than Chinese is an equivalent of 8 to 10 annas per day. Living costs amount to well near 6 to 8 annas daily, thus leaving very little scope for "amassing" for a coolie who is not thrifty. Even a casual observer of labour conditions prevailing in some of the British Colonies will be struck by the quite unattractive terms set up by the local planting community to their labour force other than the Chinese who have already won a name for their efficiency in work. Even in spite of such poor attractiveness, nearly 3,000 Indian coolies have drifted to this island. This shows how the ignorant coolie is easily fooled by the recruiter who is not famous for his sense of humanity and whose only goal in all his endeavours is the handy "commission per head."

The free Indians numbering less than 2,000 are scattered over the plantations on the East Coast and resident in the town of Medan, which is the capital of the District of Beneden Deli and the biggest town in Sumatra. They are people from the Punjab, United Provinces, Bengal, and the Presidencies of Bombay and Madras. The Indians from the Gangetic Valley take up billets chiefly as watchmen; some of them are also in the Government Police Force. The rest of them, speaking Hindustani or one or other of its dialects, breed cattle and are in fact the only cowherds here. Almost every other domestic calling has its Indian followers. Bombay merchants are not less backward in competing with Chinese merchants in general trade. The Nattukotai Chetty of South India, whom one can quite appropriately call the Indian Jew, finds this newly developing Orient a good field for his money-lending business enterprise and much to his advantage, he is left "the monarch of all he surveys", without any fear of competition in his activity and in a position to dictate terms of usury to his clients.

The Malays of Sumatra belong to the Islamic faith. Along with these Malays, Indians who follow the Koran join in worship. There is a Gurudwara for the Sikhs and also one temple each for the Nattukotai Chetties and other Tamils in Medan. The Mahomedan Mosques are under the control of local Malay Rajahs, and the Dutch Government has appointed Panchayats among the Sikhs and Tamils to manage their respective temples.

The Foreign Office of the British Government has appointed a Vice Consul to look after British interests on the East Coast. Also the local Dutch Government has an officer called "Captain of Klings and Bengalese" to supervise the affairs of Indians.

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Though resident under a foreign rule, the British Indians of Sumatra are very loyal to the British Raj. The appeal made by the British Red Cross Society and The Order of St. John of Jerusalem met with very warm response at the hands of the local Indians. The handsome contributions made by the Punjabees for the Punjab Aeroplane Fund are indeed praiseworthy.

The Dutch Government apparently possesses very scanty knowledge about British India, its peoples, their manners and customs, and above all, their civilisation, though the Netherlands Government is very anxious to get acquainted with them all. The poor Indian labour section, both free and indentured, being the majority of the Indian element here, local official blindly jump to the conclusion that the whole of India is peopled with the coolie-type of men and that their civilisation is in no way higher than what is witnessed here. The best remedy one could suggest in order to alter this confirmed opinion is to quote the words of an Englishman, who is none too free with his commendations, namely Lord Islington :—

"The Indians vary in degree of civilisation from aboriginal jungle tribes to such highly cultured poets and philosophers as Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore, who was recently awarded the Nobel Prize."

The local Government has broadly divided the British Indians resident in Sumatra as "Bengalese" and "Klings". North Indians with their characteristic huge turbans and pitch-dark beards are termed "Bengalese", irrespective of their place of origin: no matter whether one might be a Cashmeeree or a Panjabee. Indians other than the so-called "Bengalese" are "Klings". Naturally the Government officer appointed to officiate over the Indian is called "Captain of the Kling and Bengalese." An Indian who is conversant with the English language and who knocks about the town in European costume becomes, in the estimation of the local Government, a Ceylonese and is called in the native Malay language "Orang Ceylon"!

Dear Reader, if you happen to live outside Sumatra and Malay, you are fortunately unaware of the full significance of the term "Kling". "Ferringhee" addressed to a Euroqean, "Infidel" addressed to an educated non-Christian, a Madrassee called "A Native", all these do not create the same degree of resentment in the person thus accosted as "Kling" creates in an educated Indian living in these Malay-spoken countries. To put it in a nutshell, the detested word "Kling" stands for a national Pariah. In the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States there is noticeable a tendency in at least a section of the official circle and the leading newspapers to refrain from flinging the unsavoury appellation to the sons of the South Indian soil but in this land things go on as they first took shape, and the local educated Indians do not entertain even a ray of hope for a change in the near future.

Perhaps the knowledge of the origin of the word "Kling" may enable you to fully realise the contempt and derision with which the notorious designation is flung on South Indians. When the Straits Settlements were under the control of the East India Company, Malacca was used as a convict settlement by that body of trade-administrators. The Indian convicts in Malacca were described to the native pupulation as killing people and hence "Kling". Another version goes on to say that the root of the term is the metallic clink produced from the iron chains with which the convicts were secured. Anyway it indicates to the natives of this country that the Indians out in the East to-day have had a direct relation with those convicts.

Are all the loyal subjects of the British Indian Empire (which, by the way, is titled in a British War Publication, meant for the information of Malays, as "Negri Kling") aware that their fellow-countrymen in Malaya and Sumatra are called "Klings" meaning "Murderers" though not treated as such? The only consolation we have is in the pious hope that most of those who use the term in question do so unknowingly and unintentionally. It is indeed a freak of fate that the Indian coolies who have, by their good conduct towards their neighbours and employers, been spoken of as a quiet, peaceloving and harmless people, should have such an atrocious nickname. As a matter of fact, it is because the Indians are so peaceloving that they put up with such a treatment. Javanese coolies have been known to have stabbed their employers for being harsh. A Chinese coolie in cold blood recently put a few bullets from a revolver into his

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European employer's head when the latter was carrying cash to pay his labour long. No such crime has yet been reported of an Indian coolie.

As has been said already, the treatment meted out to Indians is as fair as it is for others and the only objectionable thing is the name they are called by and the often implied derision which goes therewith. Shakespeare's "what's in a name" may suit well in some cases, but the English poet's aphorisms are not always applicable to modern day contentions.

Medan,
Sumatra East Coast.
31st August, 1917.

A Sumatra British Indian.

PUNJABI BALLADS AND SONGS

By Bawa Budh Singh.

In the Punjab, it is a great pity that the old ballads have never been reduced to writing, the chief reason being that the local dialect never received State support. At present the Hindus and Mohamedans are withholding their sympathy from their mother tongue. Under such circumstances how can we expect the hidden treasures of a language to find their due place in the museum of world literature? The Punjabi songs or ballads are as a rule mostly addressed by a woman to her lover or husband. We seldom come across any old ballad, or a love song addressed by a man to his lady-love. This is the strain in which Punjabi songs are written and this style is somewhat general in India. The prevalence of this style is not to be misconstrued as showing that the women of the Punjab or the East are more fashionable and desperate lovers than their western sisters. Rather the truth lies the other way about. On a shallow study of the Punjabi poetry one is apt to fall into this mistake, like Mr. C. Usborne, I. C. S., who dogmatises the Punjabi or the Eastern women by saying, "Woman in the Punjab is the pursuer, it is she who makes love to man." He got into this wrong conclusion by study of Hir and other romantic stories of the Punjab. No doubt a Punjab girl may be a fervent lover, but she is not the pursuer. It is the man who seeks her, and she reciprocates. This is natural. Mr. Usborne even goes to the length of suggesting a change in some sections of the Indian Penal Code.

Again in his paper on Bullah Shah, he writes: "There is one curious fact to be noticed about Bullah Shah's treatment of love, which is not peculiar to Bullah Shah but pervades nearly all Punjabi Love Poetry, and this is, that the lover is always represented as a woman and the beloved as a man."

In order to explain this quaint style in the Punjabi Poetry, I would say that the love of a woman for her lover or husband is the most intense known; when the expression of love had to be depicted in Poetry none could think of a better or purer symbol than the woman's love for her lover. This phase of the expression of love was borrowed from the great "Bhagats"—Lovers of God, who in their exhortations to Him, depicted themselves as a lady and adored and praised their God in the form of a husband or sweetheart. In this connection the songs of the Sikh Gurus and ballads of Hosen and Bullah are to the point, leaving alone the bulk of *Bhasha* poetry. The following extracts illustrate the assertion :—

Bullah :—The beloved has stolen my heart away and deserted me. My mother is angry, my father beats me, my brothers taunt me. He played his tablet at my door. I fell in love and my peace of mind is gone.

Hosen :—To whom should I reveal this secret pain of separation? Pricking of long thorns has turned me mad. Pangs of separation always pay attention to me, to whom should I explain this. I am roaming about in the jungles, seeking my beloved, but he has not appeared as yet. To whom should I tell this?

Royal fire (of separation) is smouldering; whenever I rake it open, ruby cinders present themselves.

Saith Hosen, the godly eakir, O my love, come and see the condition of the humble.

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The Punjabi songs can be divided into two chief classes : (1) short ballads, (2) songs. The former generally consist of two or more lines and are in the form of exhortations or emotional outbursts of a woman's heart. They are generally sung in chorus to the accompaniment of some crude musical instrument, generally "Dholak" (a drum). Men have their own ballads which they sing on the occasion of fairs like Baisakhi, but these are mostly vulgar and have not much of beauty about them, although they depict the Jat mind in simple and forcible language. The lengthy songs are generally narrative ; they narrate certain stories or incidents of love. Some of these songs are in the form of a dialogue, and occasionally more than two persons are introduced in the conversation. Most of the ballads are sung in adoration of "Ranjha", the idol of love and an ideal sweet-heart in the Punjab. Hir adores her cowherd lover in various forms. This love-story attained so great a reputation in the Punjab that saints and fakirs also gave it a place in their composition. The great Guru Gobind Singh wrote :—

"Go and narrate the story of the worshippers to the beloved friend. Without thee, it is painful to be covered with a quilt. I live the life of Nagas, the naked. The goblet is a spear and the cup like a sword without thee, O beloved, I always suffer the life-cutting pain of a butcher's knife.

The dirty hut of my sweet-heart (Ranjha) is better for me, than the palaces of Kheras (Lit.—to live at Kheras is like living in an oven).

Note :—Kheras was the family into which Hir was married.

The songs are generally tuned to music but not properly versified. Some are written in blank verse, while others are with proper rhymes. If much of the extraneous matter adhering to the original body were removed we could possibly form some idea of the meter in which these songs were originally written. This attempt would also fail in many cases. It would be safe to say that the old songs follow no meter.

It is again difficult to decide with certainty the authorship of such ballads. Some seem to have been composed by women, while in others where meter and diction are regular the man's artful hand is clearly visible.

The language of the songs is Punjabi, but the Western Punjabi predominates. It is the Western Punjabi which is rich in ballads. All Punjabi romance sticks to the Chenab—the Eastern boundary of Western Punjabi. Its proximity to Lahore, the capital of Punjab, naturally brought the romantic spirit of the song to the central Punjab, but the Eastern Punjab remained barren in this respect. We cannot find any Punjabi poet of repute in the Eastern Punjab. The language of the songs has traces of old Punjabi words—now obsolete, e. g., "Chiri"=letter, "Kant"=husband, and "Dhan"=Woman or wife, etc.

Some old idioms, i. e., "Phur Chhinkna", to spread a mat, are not in use now.

These songs beautifully depict the customs and the trend of the human mind in those old times. They are grand in their simplicity, whether the song is a love ballad or a marriage ditty.

I give below free translations of some of the songs :—

Short ballads which are generally sung in chorus to the accompaniment of a Dholak.

(1) O youngman with a red turban, the clouds have made the weather pleasant, it is time for the lovers to meet.

(2) O my love, the pollen has formed on the acacias, you live in Rawalpindi, how far have your thoughts gone from me.

(3) O my love, I will sew your wrapper daily.
By a sight of you I shall live long in the world.

(4) O my love, you are always talking of going.
Go some day, my dear, what anxiety you have caused me.

Again on the occasion of marriages we hear women singing songs which describe the old customs or usages observed at such ceremonies. At a boy's marriage a popular "Ghori" song is sung in the form of an exhortation from a sister :—

O my brother, thy sister has spun this very fine thread for thy turban which enhances thy beauty; and thy father got it very carefully woven. Thy sister, O my brother, is ready to take over herself all thy misfortunes, mayst thou live for ages, and go to thy father-in-law's house with all glory.

The son of a weaver, friend of my beloved brother, whom he loves much, has brought these "Jora and Chuni" coat and a wrapper. Wear them O my brother, wear them.

My dear Mal or Nanda, thou lookst like the full moon, with a red mark ("Tilak") on thy forehead, with an umbrella over thy head, and a betel leaf in thy mouth ; wear them, O my brother, thou wear them and I pay the price.

Similarly the washerman, tailor, etc., are treated in the song.

Again, when the nuptials of a daughter are to be celebrated the women sing :—

O daughter, why wert thou standing behind the Kahi tree?

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I was standing near my papa. Saying, "Papa speak, thy daughter has become of marriageable age and needs a consort."

O daughter, what sort of husband thou desirest ? Papa (I want a husband who may be) like a moon amongst the stars, and a Krishna amongst the persons (handsome persons) ; I want a Kanhaiya-like husband.

The above song has succinctly put forth the emotions of a girl's heart. Krishna is still the ideal of love amongst Hindu women.

Another popular song "Sohag" is :—

A daughter implores her father :—

Papa, send me into that house, where masons build palaces.

Papa, it will be your great gift and charity, and great will be your praises. (The house may have) eight rooms and nine windows, and into each window I will put my heart. Papa, marry me into that family, where jats milk the she-buffaloes. I may keep milk of one to be turned into curds and churn that of the other that my hands be full of butter. Papa, do so, it will be your great gift and charity to me, and it will enhance your praises.

Papa, send me into that family, where my mother-in-law has got good many sons, one may be betrothed, and another married and so on and I may witness happy ceremonies frequently.

Papa marry me into that family where the mother-in-law is a kind and prominent figure and father-in-law is a chief. I may sit on a low ladies' chair in front of my mother-in-law and she would never show a wrinkle on her forehead (be always pleased) and so on

These songs show what women think the best choice of a family into which to give their girls. These songs are probably the composition of women themselves.

Again in their lighter strain the women sing several songs or ballads called "Sithni", which are mostly meant to tease one another, and sometimes these are couched in bad language. A few have historical significance. First lines of one of them, are :—

"Oh pass the few moments as best as you can, because the kingdom of the Raja (Maharja Ranjit Singh) is liked by the Feringhi (the British).

This was probably composed about the time of the first Sikh War when the British had had commenced to interfere too much in the affairs of the Sikh monarchy.

Again, on occasion of marriage, etc., when the women of the two families (those belonging to the boy's family and others of the girl's) meet at a common ceremony, they generally have a singing duel. It is a sort of competition between two parties and the songs are in the form of "Dohas", each party repeats one "Doha" at a time and the other party replies with another. It is a very lively competition.

Without going into details of these marriage songs, which, to be fully explained, would require a volume to themselves, I return to the popular love lore. Excepting the ceremonial songs all others are nothing elso if not love-songs and some of them are full of beauty, pathos and the emotion of a woman's heart. In a song a woman complains of her lover saying :—

"The handsome lover has white teeth and black eyebrows, and his features are beautiful beyond description. O wearer of a turban, do not go turning your back towards me, I am looking at thee at every step, Oh save me. The offended lover does not turn round and listen to my bewailings. I sit on a low chair, wet the clothes with tears which flow like rain from my eyes. I have spent myself up in pacifying him—but the displeased lover does not heed my entreaties."

Again, the following song is put in the mouth of "Sohni", while she was getting drowned in the Chenab, in her wild attempt to see her sweet-heart Mahiwal :—

"O care-taker of the she-buffaloes, O love-intoxicated Fakeer, thy Sohni is dying by drowning. On the yonder bank stands my sweet-heart and lover, while I am being drowned by the waves. If this life is gone, let it be sacrificed over my lover, but let my love for him remain untarnished, if God is not pleased to allow my raft "*Katcha Ghurra*" (unburnt pitcher) to reach the bank of safety (where my lover stands.)

How genuine her love ! Sohni cares more for love than life. The full significance of this ballad can only be appreciated by those who know the story of Sohni-Mahiwal. Sohni used to visit her lover Mahiwal across the river, crossing it over a raft made of burnt pitchers, but one night she found that her pitchers had been replaced by ("*kacha*") unburnt ones by some enemy. She knew perfectly well that the mud pitcher would dissolve in no time in the strong current of the Chenab, but still in order to keep her word with her lover on the other bank, she began to swim the river over the mud pitcher and as a natural result was drowned. The ballad is in the form of a drowning wail.*

Similarly in another song the following lines occur :—

(1) O Khawja, pray, do not drown me, while I am going to see my sweetheart, do what you like on my return journey.

Let me reach my goal, so that I may not prove false to my words.

(2) Drown O Khawja (River) drown, what can you drown but this flesh and bones. This (*Jiva*) soul will go straight to its goal where love and friendship ripen.

How sublime the ideal. At first Sohni

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prays to Khawja Khizar, the proverbial god of rivers ; but at once sees her mistake and thinks she was proving untrue to "Love" by such entreaties for life, and boldly asserts—let the river drown the flesh and bones, but Sohni will still meet her lover. Here love passes the material bounds and soars to much higher regions.

In another song Sohni is made to say :—

"O fish and turtles of the water, you may cut and eat all my flesh, but pray, do not touch the eyes, as I have still left the longing to see my lover."

Similarly there are several ballads—forming the bulk of Punjabi songs describing the love of Hir and Ranjha. I quote one or two below :—

On the bough of a mango tree, speaks a parrot. O my sweet heart, it has got red beak and black eyes. Ranjha, thou art loved by all women. O my love, after all Ranjha is the son of unfriendly parents.

Come on, O Mian Ranjha, let us build a house ; and we may make therein a window.

With what to adorn this window ? O my sweet-heart, we adorn it with love, affection and friendship.

Let us go and do agriculture, sow some land and make common fields.

What should we sow in these fields, O love ! we sow, "Japhel," "Loung" and Nuts.

Loung and Nuts are to be consumed by lovers, while "Japhel" is to be sold to merchants."

The above is a song with incoherent and unanimated ideas, put together.

Again in a song Hir is made to say :—

O my maids—the eyes of Ranjha have ruined me. I bandage firmly the wounds caused by love. Ranjha is wearing his five-coloured turban, while Hir has got her hair freshly dressed.

Ranjha has come after a long time and I was tired of making offerings.

If I turn away my face from Ranjha, my sweet-heart, I shall be thrown into hell.

Love is being sold in the Bazars of Jhang of Sials, at eight Mashas and nine Rattis.

The last line is pitched at a very low strain,

Again Hir pathetically appeals to Ranjha as follows :—

O dear Ranjha, do not turn away offended. I am thy servant at all times.

I always sit in your expectation, come on, O my lover, embrace me, come into my courtyard, O Lord, do not think of separation from me. I am thy servant at all moments.

My friends have got their hair freshly plaited, they have adorned themselves in various ways, but I, thy servant, am present (without any adornment).

I have become mad in thy search, none else can I find thy equal, although thou canst have thousands like myself as thy maid-servants.

O Ranjhan, I wish I could go to thy house, and explain my sufferings in tears ; and thou wouldst then graciously forgive my shortcomings.

How beautifully does the above song depict a feminine heart deeply in love. Hir effaced her own self and adored her lover and lord Ranjha as all in all.

Reverting to songs sung by women, we find some beautiful specimens, expressing the ebullition and enthusiasm of a woman's heart and the regard a Punjabi woman has for her husband, the centre of her love, as the following songs will show :—

Take to thy wings, O black starling, and take a long long flight. Go and tell my husband, "Thou hast forgotten thy bride and cheated her. Is it, O my husband, that I have become old or that thou hast forgotten me ?"

No ! My Beauty, neither hast thou become old, nor have I forgotten thee.

Quite so ! (then) hast thou neither sent any letter nor any word about thy welfare ?

My darling, to what messenger could I entrust my letters or word about welfare ?

Is it that thou hast got no paper to write upon and no reed to make your pen ?

If I were thee I would make the piece of my heart a writing paper and cut my fingers into pens. The black powder of my eyes moistened with my tears would form the adequate ink.

In the evening I study the letters ; go and leave me alone my sister-in-law (husband's sister).

O Bhabo (brother's wife), my brother is thy husband, do not be so cruel to me.

Shadow, go down, I am studying my husband's letter, with eyes full of tears.

Some more songs of Lahndi-tracts—taken from Wilson's collections, are given below.

Rise, O moon, and make it light. I have passed the night in counting the stars.

The moon, poor thing, has just risen.

My dears, the moon, poor thing, has just risen.

The boys have seized the high hillocks and the girls the low ones.

My dears, the girls have seized the low ones.

The boys are playing village-hockey and the girls are playing dance-in-ring.

My dears, the girls are playing dance-in-ring.

Among them all, is my little hero with his coloured club.

My dears, with his colourd club.

Among them all, is my little sister-in-law (brother's wife) with her hair in nine plaits.

In nine plaits, my dears, her hair in nine plaits.

Bring scales and weigh her hair, her hair weighs 45 seers.

My dears, her hair weighs 45 seers.

What a practical way of expressing the luxuriance of hair ! Poets to take note. The little girl retorts :

45 seers, my dears her hair weighs 45 seers.

"I will throw into the oven, one that weighed my hair."

Another song :—

Fingers covered with rings, the little finger coloured yellow.

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My offended sweetheart will not make peace, though I have employed a mediator.
Though forbidden, he will not listen, the stupid thing will not obey.
If our houses are side by side, and our fields adjoin each other,
If my sweetheart's house be close by, I shall be able to live on having talk with him.
Though forbidden, he will not listen, the stupid thing will not listen.
With wildness in his eyes, he puts a low ladies' chair (Pibra) down and sits besides me.
Though forbidden, he will not listen.

Women as a rule are very jealous of the mistresses of their husband and they would take revenge by fair means or foul. The higher placed a lady is, the greater her desire for revenge. The following songs describe this side of feminine nature. A Raja has fallen in love with a "Jatti," a peasant girl, while the Rani resents it. The song is in the form of a dialogue.

Raja. O dear Jatti, weighed with flowers, you should not give up visiting your lover.
Jatti. O Raja, what way should I come and how go back? All the doors are watched by sentinels.
Raja. O Jatti, my guards are under thy command, do not give up visiting thy lover.
O Jatti, I have planted a garden for thy sake, come on the excuse of plucking flowers.
Jatti. O Raja, how can I come and how can I go, when the public will be suspicious and speak ill of me.
Raja. O Jatti, I have not heeded public opinion and their bad words I have received on my eyes.
I have got a tank made for thee, O Jatti, come on the excuse of bathing.
Jatti. Your Rani has got a new set of large bracelets for the fore arm while poor Jatti has got small bracelets.
O Raja, your Rani has got made large ear-rings (bala), while I have got only poor small ear-rings (bundi).
O Raja, your Rani lives in palaces and poor Jatti in huts.
O Raja, what does your Rani wear? I also want to see the Rani.
Raja. O Jatti, my Rani wears beautiful clothes, large gown for the waist and fine cloth for head-wear.
Rani. O Raja, what does your Jatti wear? I want to see the Jatti.
Raja. O Rani, my Jatti's dress is very becoming; "Lungi" loose cloth round the waist and a heavy cloth for the headwear.
Rani. O Raja, I have invited your Jatti to dinner and Jatti will come to dine with us.
Poet. O Raja, your Rani has made sweetmeat and poisoned them.
When the Jatti ate a plate full of them, her colour changed into green and eyes became red.
Raja. O Rani, you have been very cruel, you have murdered my Jatti. Raja will now turn a Fakir.
O my people, go and infrom the brothers of my beloved.
Enquire whether Jatti is to be cremated or buried.
People, do neitner bury the Jatti nor cremate her because both will disfigure her face.
Saw the Sandal wood and make the funeral pyre and set it on fire with the flame of "Loang". Jatti was thus cremated.

Such songs seem to be based on some historical facts, but the origin cannot be traced. In the foregoing song, the Raja is a weak character, while the Rani has played her part with strength and revenge on the poor Jatti.

In another song, a Raja is in love with a flower-girl and the Rani resents it. The song proceeds :—

In whose courtyard there is the lemon tree, and good lemon tree in these days? and in whose courtyard is the blooming "chamba"?
In the courtyard of the Rani is the lemon three, and in the courtyard of the flower girl, the blooming "Chamba". How far has grown the "Lemon" of the Raja, and how much the blooming chamba,—I sacrifice myself over thee. Oh tell me?
The lemon tree of Raja has grown to a small extent, while the blooming chamba has grown its branches about a foot in length.
Who snatches the lemon fruit and who plucks the flowers from the "Chamba"?
The Rani sucks the juice of the lemon, while the flower girl wears the flowers,
The Rani says, I arrange the sandalwood bathing board and over it place a golden pitcher full of water. Come O dear Raja, let us bathe together. I sacrifice myself over thee.
Raja. I will not bathe at your house O Rani, I will bathe at the house of my flower-girl.
Rani. O Raja, I scarifice over thee, I have cooked white rice in she-buffaloe's milk. Come and let us eat togethhr.
Raja. Rice cooked by you, O Rani, I will not taste, I will eat at my flower-girl's table.
Rani. O Raja, I sacrifice myself over thee, I have spread a white sheet and placed a white pillow, pray, come, we both may sleep together.
Raja. O Rani, on thy bed the mosquitoes trouble, I will sleep in the house of my flower-girl.
Rani. (In despair) Oh, come on, the clouds of the month of "Sawan"! and pray the hut of the flower-girl may collapse in rains.

The Raja comes wet and drenched in rain, for the hut of the flower-girl has fallen in rains.

Raja. Awake, arise, O Rani, open the door as the hut of the flower-girl is fallen.
Rani. (After opening the door) Here is a broken charpoy woven with old thread, come on G Raja, we may sleep on it.

In this song the Raja was rather too strong for the Rani and had his own way with the flower-girl, but the Rani took the revenge with the offer of a broken bedstead when Raja returned drenched in rain from the flower-girl's house.

There is another class of songs which describe small romances, e.g., Sohni-Mahiwal, Raja Risalu and Rani Koklan, stories of Gopichand and Bharat Hari and

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so on. These do not go into details, but narrate important points of the story in detached lines, e.g., the following song narrates the story of Raja Risalu and Rani Koklan.

Says Rani. Sometimes it is the mango fruit and sometimes simply bare branches.

O my simple Lord, sometimes it is you and my heart (which are together).

Who did weep while going under the "Ber" tree, was it a thief or a Sadhu ?

Raja. O Rani Koklan, to which side is the path leading to thy palace and where is the staircase ?

Rani. To the right is the staircase and to the left is the path to my palace.

But I throw a rope from my window, O my sweetheart, ascend by that way O my Lord. Come up and call me, O my simple sweetheart.

I must say that much of the beauty of the ballads and songs is lost to the reader, owing to the translations, which are at the most an expression of the general sense only, the beauty of style and expression of the vernacular can in no way be conveyed in a mere translation. But still what we have been able to read in the translation, sufficiently goes to prove the assertion that the Punjabi dialect is as rich in its ballads and songs as her sister languages, Hindi, Bengali or Gujrati. The object of this paper is to induce the educated Punjabis to take more interest in their mother tongue.

If one were to write on Punjabi Poetry, I think my Punjabi brethren, to whom Punjabi Poetry and Folklore is a sealed book, would be astonished and would exclaim with amazement "Hallo ! Is it our Punjabi that is so rich in poetry ?"

I wish some better brains may take up this work, which still needs a good deal of research and study.

NOTES

[PEROSNAL.—Owing to repeated attacks of influenza the editor has not been able to write the usual number of pages of editorial notes for this issue.]

Fitness for Civic Freedom.

In all despotically governed countries there are many who lick the feet that kick. A country becomes fit for civic freedom in proportion to the increase in the number of those who, whatever the terrorism exercised or the hopes of gain and honours held out, would not truckle to men in power and lick the feet that kick. Another test of fitness for civic freedom is the increase in the proportion of those who do not associate with or honour sycophants.

A Strong Governor of the 16th Century.

The Administration of the Duke of Alva in the Netherlands in the 16th Century.

His Tyranny.

In Motley's *Rise of the Dutch Republic* (World's Classics, vol. II), we read :—

"On the whole, so finished a picture of a perfect and absolute tyranny has rarely been presented to mankind by history, as in Alva's administration of the Netherlands. The tens of thousands in those miserable provinces who fell victims to the gallows, the sword, the stake, the living grave, or to living banishment, have never been counted ; for those statistics of barbarity are often effaced from human record. Enough, however, is known, and enough has been recited in the preceding pages. No mode in which human beings have ever caused their fellow creatures to suffer, was omitted from daily practice. Men, women, and children, old and young, nobles and paupers, opulent burghers, hospital patients, lunatics, dead bodies, all were indiscriminately made to furnish food for the scaffold and the stake. Men were tortured, beheaded, hanged by the neck and by the legs, burned before slow fires, pinched to death with redhot tongs, broken upon the wheel, starved, and flayed alive. Their skins, stripped from the living body, were stretched upon drums, to be beaten in the march of their brethren to the gallows. The bodies of many who had died a natural death were exhumed, and their festering remains hanged upon the gibbet, on pretext that they had died without receiving the sacrament, but in reality that their property might become the legitimate prey of the treasury. Marriages of long standing were dissolved by order of government, that rich heiresses might be married against their will to foreigners whom they abhorred. Women and children were executed for the crime of assisting their fugitive husbands and parents with a penny in their utmost need, and even for consoling them with a letter in their exile. Such was the regular course of affairs as administered by the Blood-Council. The additional barbarities com-

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...ted amid the ruin and rack of those blazing and ...ring cities, are almost beyond belief; unborn ...ants were torn from the living bodies of their ...thers; women and children were violated by thou...ands; and whole populations burned and hacked ...pieces by soldiers in every mode which cruelty, in ...wanton ingenuity, could devise... The character of ...e Duke of Alva, so far as the Netherlands are con...rned, seems almost like a caricature" (pp. 490-2). The history of Alva's administration in the Nether...lands is one of those pictures which strike us almost ...umb with wonder. Why has the Almighty suffered ...ch crimes to be perpetrated in His sacred name? ...as it necessary that many generations should wade ...rough this blood in order to acquire for their ...scendants the blessings of civil and religious free...m?" (p. 418).

THE USUAL JUSTIFICATION OF TYRANNY.

The Duke of Alva justified his tyranny in the usual manner of tyrants.

"Nothing, he maintained [in his letter to the King at Madrid], could be more senseless than the idea of pardon and clemency. This had been sufficiently proved by recent events. It was easy for people at a distance to talk about gentleness, but those upon the spot knew better. Gentleness had produced nothing, so far; violence alone could succeed in future" (p. 458).

THE RESULT.

Motley tells us what the result was.

"The King's representative had formally proclaimed the extermination of man, woman, and child in every city which opposed his authority, but the promulgation and practice of such a system had an opposite effect to the one intended. The hearts of the Hollanders were rather steeled to resistance than awed into submission by the fate of Naarden" (p. 420).

ALVA'S CONFESSION OF FAILURE.

Though the verdict of history on Alva's career has been that he committed political suicide in a chronic state of insanity brought on by copious draughts of unbounded power, he had lucid intervals during which he perceived that his diabolical tyranny had failed of its object.

"Alva had, for a long time, been most impatient to retire from the provinces..... '*The hatred which the people bear me*,' said he, in a letter to Philip, 'because of the chastisement which it has been necessary for me to inflict, although with all the moderation in the world, *makes all my efforts vain*. A successor will meet more sympathy and prove more successful" (p. 368).—Motley's *Rise of the Dutch Republic*, Vol. II. (The World's Classics).

Commerce and Freedom.

HOW THE DUTCH BECAME FREE.

In the sixteenth century commerce played a great part in indirectly making the Dutch a free people. Motley writes :—

"The Flemings, above all their other qualities, were a commercial nation. Commerce was the mother of their freedom, so far as they had acquired it, in civil matters. It was struggling to give birth to a larger liberty, to freedom of conscience... There was mutual exchange between the Netherlands and all the world; and ideas were as literally interchanged as goods. Truth was imported as freely as less precious merchandise...The prohibitory measures of a despotic government could not annihilate this intellectual trade, nor could bigotry devise an effective quarantine to exclude the religious pest [Reformation], which lurked in every bale of merchandise, and was wafted on every breeze from East and West. The [religious] edicts of the Emperor [Charles of Spain] had been endured, but not accepted. The horrible persecution under which so many thousands had sunk had produced its inevitable result. Fertilised by all this innocent blood, the soil of the Netherlands became as a watered garden, in which liberty, civil and religious, was to flourish perennially. The scaffold had its daily victims, but did not make a single convert." [Part II, ch. I]—Motley's *Rise of the Dutch Republic*.

Commerce is here to be understood as meaning trade on a large scale, carried on by transportation of merchandise between different countries.

"The Joyous Entry".

The constitution of Brabant, known as the 'Joyous Entry', *i.e.*, the terms on which the sovereign was welcomed into the province, which were sworn to by Emperor Charles of Spain in 1555, is thus summarised by Motley :—

"First and foremost, the 'joyous entry' provided 'that the prince of the land should not elevate the clerical state higher than of old has been customary and by former princes settled, unless by the consent of the other two estates, the nobility and the cities.' Again; 'the prince can prosecute no one of his subjects, nor any foreign resident, civilly or criminally, except in the ordinary and open courts of justice in the province, where the accused may answer and defend himself with the help of advocates.' Further; 'the prince shall appoint no foreigners to office in Brabant.' Lastly; 'should the prince, by force or otherwise, violate any of these privileges, the inhabitants of Brabant, after regular protest entered, are discharged of their oath of allegiance, and as free, independant, and unbound people, may conduct themselves exactly as seems to them best.' Such were the leading features of that famous constitution which was so highly esteemed in the Netherlands, that mothers came to the province in order to give birth to their children, who might thus enjoy, as a birthright, the privilages of Brabant." [Part II, ch. II]—Motley's *Rise of the Dutch Re-public*.

"The Act of Abjuration."

The famous declaration of independence dated 26th July, 1581, technically known as the Act of Abjuration, by which the Dutch Republic was formally established, states in its preamble as follows :—

"All mankind know that a Prince is appointed by God to cherish his subjects, even as a shepherd to guard his sheep. When, therefore, the Prince

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does not fulfil his duty as protector; when he oppresses his subjects, destroys their ancient liberties, and treats them as slaves, he is to be considered, not a prince, but a tyrant. As such, the estates of the land may lawfully and reasonably depose him, and elect another in his room."—Part VI, ch. IV, Motleys *Rise of the Dutch Republic.*

Franchise for Indian Women.

As acting secretary to the Women's Indian Association, Mrs. Margaret E. Cousins has written a very timely, vigorous and cogent circular letter. Says she :—

On behalf of the members of the 45 Branches of the Women's Indian Association, all of which have signed requisitions in favour of women suffrage, I protest vigorously against the decision of the Southborough Committee that the franchise shall not be extended to women because, forsooth, "the social conditions of India make it premature." Is this handful of men better able to judge of these conditions than were the thousands of Indian delegates to the Bombay and Delhi Congresses? These latter were the fathers, husbands, brothers and sons of the women concerned and, knowing at first hand their social conditions, with full understanding of what the necessary steps to women's voting would be, then voted enthusiastically for the removal of the sex disqualification in all the terms of the Reform Scheme; as also did the men in many Provincial and District Conferences such as Madras and Bombay. Are the considered opinions of these representative bodies of Indian men and women to be flouted by these few Committee members, some of the Englishmen already known to be opposed to the grant of the vote even to their own Englishwomen and who are thus dated as behind the times?

She rightly believes that the committee's decision cannot be final, and gives reasons for her belief.

From the nature of the majority of the members of the Committee it was already so foregone a conclusion that they would oppose the enfranchisement of Indian women that immediately after the Bombay Congress I had written to the suffrage societies of Great Britain and Ireland pointing out that this question must be decided directly by Parliament and that the women voters there must insist on their voices being heard in support of their Indian sisters whose menfolk had so publicly showed their desire for their political freedom. I had had replies from their societies promising such support, and we are not a bit downhearted, though rightly indignant at the temporary insult offered Indian men and women, for it cannot be considered final, since it has evidently been based more on personal prejudices than on conformity with the wishes of the people.

If special electorates are given to universities, why should women graduates be disqualified?

With regard to points of detail, the Committee propose that there shall be special electorates for universities. Does it propose to use woman's sex as a disqualification of every woman graduate of such universities? If their social conditions have been such as to permit them to attend colleges and pass the same stiff examinations as their brothers, these "social conditions" will not debar them from voting at an election. It is impossible for such unfair and unjust differentiation to remain unchallenged in the British Parliament, or to be acquiesced in here. Western women in India will also have something to say to the authorities in England on the matter.

Many women have property and other qualifications like those which would qualify men to be voters. Why should the sex of the former be a disqualification?

There was never a demand that all women should get the franchise—only that where they possessed the other qualifications required from electors such as payment of rates or taxes, residence, and property qualifications, the fact that they were women—their sex—should not put them outside the pale of responsible citizenship. The number so qualified would be comparably few, but they would be valuable assets to the Government of the country and, as Mr. Hogg remarked, at the outset of the development of Self-Government for India it was advisable that sex-disqualification should be removed.

Social conditions ought not to be a bar to the enfranchisement of women; on the contrary the franchise would be an incentive to women to change such social conditions as may stand in the way of a proper exercise of their power.

If there were some social conditions which would prevent them from using their vote, which we deny, the very possession of such a right would act as an incentive to women to change their conditions so as to be able to exercise their power.

Take the case of the purdah system.

Presumably the purdah system is the excuse on which the denial of enfranchisement is based, but our women's societies pointed out to the Committee that Australia had given the precedent of collecting women's votes at their homes by specially appointed officers, who in India might be women, and so this was not an impassable objection. If this is the "social condition" that makes enfranchisement "premature", then as it will take centuries to change it, women will have to wait for their vote till then! Also, the purdah system applies only to parts of India. Are no women to have a great principle applied to them because of "the dog in the manger" views of this Committee?

According to the standards set up by the Committee the vast majority of male Indians are not qualified for the vote. But that has not stood in the way of their proposing that a minority should have it. Similarly, it is no argument that because the vast majority of women are not qualified for the franchise, therefore no woman should have the vote.

Their prevailing illiteracy cannot have disqualified Indian women. For,

The Committee does not favour a test of "literacy"; therefore it cannot be the present condition of women's education which forms the barrier; the qualified women would be quite well able to

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manage their own affairs (and often those of others)! and all politics reduce themselves to the best interests of the individual.

It is only fossils and fanatical misogynists who can consider the sex of women a disqualification. For, women have proved their capacity for all kinds of good and useful work, however strenuous.

In ancient times in village representative committees in India women could be and were members, as was shown some years ago in this *Review* by Sir Sankaran Nair. As India is going to turn over a new leaf in modern times, she should not acquiesce in so inauspicious a thing as the exclusion of women from the larger life of the nation.

Mrs. Cousins concludes her letter by saying :—

Protest meetings should and will be held by Women's Societies throughout India and by men's also, and their Resolutions be sent to the Government of India, the Secretary of State and the British Women Suffrage societies so that this decision may be overborne.

THE PRESENT CONDITION OF THE HINDU UNIVERSITY

Rapid Dissolution.

THE Hindu University of Benares has taken from the Indian public donations amounting to 72 lacs of Rupees in cash and the capitalised value of annual grants and landed endowments, besides 21 lacs more of subscriptions promised but not yet paid. The Government of India has agreed to give it an aid of one lac of Rupees a year. The fate of such an institution is a matter of national concern. Sad as its present condition undeniably is judging from the public reports of its internal disorders and the resignation of its eminent Vice-Chancellor Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer, its future is absolutely hopeless unless radical reforms are effected and men with sole devotion to educational work and academic experience are placed at its head and supported against factious opposition and capricious and reckless demands for changes of policy.

A new University requires for its success three things: money, a learned professoriate, and a devoted and heroic leader. The first is not wanting in this case. As for the second, the Hindu University of Benares has at present so small a staff of teachers that it is intellectually incapable of doing the work of a decent first-grade college even, not to speak of the higher, more varied and more responsible work of a self-contained self-governing *university*. We give here a list of the University Professorships that are vacant at Benares, from which the public will be able to judge in how many branches of study this University cannot do any teaching work of the higher kind :—

Ancient Indian History, vacant since	6 Aug. 1917
Economics, vacant since	6 Nov. 1918
Applied Chemistry vacant since	1 Apr. 1919
English, Philosophy, Physics, Organic Chemistry, Botany, Zoology	none appointed since the foundation of the University !

We learn from the papers that there will soon be a *tenth* vacancy, as Mr. Jadunath Sarkar, the University Professor of History, is resigning in disgust, so that *only one University Professor will be left*, viz., Dr. Ganesh Prasad (Mathematics) to run a full-fledged modern University ! The Hindu University came into statutory existence on 1st October 1917, since when nearly two years have passed and it cannot be argued that it has had no time to complete its staff. In addition to the above vacancies the old C. H. School is without a Headmaster and the newly founded Teachers' College without a Principal ! The able Registrar, Mr. Gurtu, M.A., is also going away.

Such a state of things is not creditable. Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer as the responsible working head of the Hindu University set himself strenuously to remedy the evil. But after exactly one year of office he has resigned the Vice-Chancellorship as the situation has been made intolerable to

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him and he finds it impossible to promote the interests of the University or even do any kind of useful work in the face of Pandit Madan Mohan Malavya's opposition.

Why Vice-Chancellor resigned.

In his letter of resignation Sir Sivaswamy points out, what every right-thinking man will admit, that in an infant University, where much constructive work of a preliminary kind has to be done, the Vice-Chancellor, as executive head, should enjoy plenty of initiative and support from the Council. The principles having been settled by the Court (or Council) he should be held responsible for carrying them into practice, without being hampered by the discussion of endless legal subtleties, interference with details, and capricious changes of opinion or policy in every individual case by the members of the Council. Otherwise, the work would come to a standstill, as it actually has done. He writes that the efficient and prompt working of the University and the reform of its abuses would have been very easy for him with Mr. Malavya's ready co-operation. As Mr. Malavya now collects funds for the University—since Sir Sundar Lal is dead and the Maharaja of Darbhanga has ceased to go out on begging tours,—he quite naturally wields influence over the University Court and Council. Sir Sivaswamy regrets that it has been his misfortune that he has not been able tosee several things eye to eye with Mr. Malavya and that Mr. Malavya's opposition and constant procrastination have made it impossible for the Vice-Chancellor to hold his office with any chance of doing good to the country or satisfying his self-respect. He, therefore, tenders his resignation, leaving Mr. Malavya free to run the University as he pleases. Sir Sivaswamy had made his proposals of reform to Mr. Malavya in private as early as January last, and the latter had verbally agreed to some of them, but he had since then constantly been begging for more time and putting off a final decision. At last, when pressed for a clear yea or nay, Mr. Malavya replied by springing on the Vice-Chancellor some absolutely new counter-proposals, which Sir Sivaswamy regarded as futile. Hence no course was left open to him except to resign.

Mr. Malavya's manœuvres.

The resignation of Sir Sivaswamy clearly proves that even the Vice-Chancellor is powerless against Mr. Malavya who was so long the "Hidden hand", the power behind the throne. If the people who are now working to get Mr. Malavya elected as Vice-Chancellor succeed, the Hindu University will no doubt be saved from the danger of his wielding power without responsibility, for in future the public will hold him to account as Vice-Chancellor for the success or failure of the University. But this course has disadvantages of a serious nature. Mr. Malavya, B.A., LL.B., is a charming speaker. But even his admirers have never credited him with scholarship, range of reading, or capacity to understand the scholar's point of view and the needs of scholarship. He has had absolutely no previous experience of the inner working of a respectable University like that of Allahabad, having never sat on its Syndicate, and for only ten years on the Facuity of *Law* (a techical body). The result of making him Vice-Chancellor will be that a mere platform orator, absolutely innocent of academic training and scholarly habits of thought, will be placed in supreme charge of an academic body of the highest conceivable rank.

Mr. Malavya is a politician of all-Indian position and interests; he must attend to Bombay and Rajputana, Madras and Nagpur as well as to Benares or Allahabad. If we can judge of the future in the light of the past, he will visit Benares for only a few weeks in the year, whereas the work of the Vice-Chancellor of the Hindu University in the present state of its growth requires his constant presence on the spot. Sir Sivaswami had spent at Benares exactly half the time since the reopening of the colleges in July 1918, and his stay would have been even longer but for the influenza epidemic which detained him at Madras for a month. On the other hand, Mr. Malavya, in January last secured the resignation of a veteran educationist and local resident like Rai Bahadur G. N. Chakravarti from the Vice-Chancellorship by declaring in Court that he objected to the latter's being appointed for three years, then accepted the office for himself, but attended his duties at Benares for *only 29 days out of 105* from January to April 1919, though the

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P. V. C. is expected to be a resident officer!

The loss which the Hindu University will suffer from the withdrawal of Sir Sivaswamy can be best understood from the judgment of Mr. Malavya himself (Dr. Ganesh Prasad concurring, as supporter). When proposing Sir Sivaswamy for election as Vice-Chancellor (March, 1918), Mr. Malavya said, "After having given the matter my most earnest consideration, I came to the conclusion that the *best man whom we could select* as the successor of Sir Sundar Lal was Sir Sivaswamy Aiyar. By his *distinguished ability, experience, character and position*, he seemed to me to be *eminently fitted* to fill the place." (*Minutes*, vol II. B. p. 513.) And such a man has found his position at the Hindu University intolerable owing to Mr. Malavya's action! The inference is obvious.

How the College is being run.

So much for the administration. On the academic side matters are in an even more deplorable condition. Paragraphs are frequently inserted in the Allahabad papers that the C. H. College is growing like the Prophet's gourd,—it had only 510 students in Sep. 1917, but 674 a year later. In the 30th March meeting of the Senate, Dr. Ganesh Prasad stated that he had 8 M.Sc.'s of Allahabad and Calcutta on his rolls as students of the D. Sc. class, and that three of them are actually teachers at Calcutta, who occasionally visited Benares. Evidently these latter gentlemen took their instruction from the Hindu University by something like the Pelman system of training the memory by correspondence. It is not considered necessary for them to reside at the Hindu University ever in life, in order to qualify for its highest degree!

We have evidence that these "students" were enrolled and the notification inviting them was published without the Vice-Chancellor's knowledge or permission. In justification of this measure which cuts away the very roots of a Residential University, Dr. Ganesh Prasad referred to Regulations, chapter 34, para 1. But Regulations chapter 14, para 1, chapter 26, para 1 and certain other paras make it imperative for students of other Universities to *live and study for 2 years at* the Benares University before they can take any of its degrees. Only the passing of the Benares Matric, I. Sc. and B. Sc. is excused in the case of students who had passed the equivalent examinations at Allahabad or any other university; but the next two years' study at Benares is always insisted upon even in their case. No Allahabad or Calcutta M. Sc. is by any of these Regulations exempted from passing the Benares M. Sc. (which necessitates a two years' previous residence and study there) and permitted to apply for the D. Sc. degree of Benares without, it may so happen, formal admission to this University, even a single day's residence there and the passing of a single one of its examinations.

The same indecent haste to secure pupils is betrayed by a resolution which Dr. Ganesh Prasad moved and carried through the Senate in spite of opposition (11 to 6) that Government should be requested to pass a transitory regulation to the effect that, notwithstanding the rules to the contrary, any graduate who has passed the first part (called *Previous*, of the M. A. or M.Sc. examination of the Allahabad University would be eligible for studying and being examined in the second part (called *Final*) of the same course at the Benares University in 1919. Now, the M.A. course is one compact unit, though its teaching is spread over two years and the candidates are examined by compartments. Under the proposed transitory regulation, if the Government of India be so ill advised as to sanction it, a candidate will keep one term at Allahabad and another term at Benares and come out with the label of M.Sc. of the Hindu University! A cheap and quick way for a university to become the mother of a large brood! At a recent meeting of the Syndicate it was stated by the Registrar that a rusticated student of Allahabad had been admitted to the C. H. C., without the permission of that University.

The undergraduate classes of the Central Hindu College—which is the *only* Arts and Science College under this University,—are in a still worse plight in consequence of this mad race for increasing the number of pupils on the rolls and bringing grist to the financial mill. Quantity is the only thing cared for.

Machine worked by shifts.

Admissions have been recklessly made

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till the number of pupils in the C.H.C. far exceeds what can be properly accommodated in the existing buildings. The Principal, Dr. Ganesh Prasad, with the approval of Pandit M. M. Malavya, has been holding the classes by two shifts from 6 a.m. to 3-30 p.m. Some professors have to work in both shifts, and the Laboratory assistants and office servants have to attend all the time!

To add to the bewilderment of students, teachers and college bearers, and to render the teaching work a farce, Dr. Ganesh Prasad regulates the lecture periods most capriciously,—some "hours" being of only 35 minutes' duration, some forty, some forty-eight, &c. And, again the starting-point for college work is suddenly changed from time to time often at less than a day's notice to the students and staff and sometimes no notice at all!

Thus, college work was ordered to begin at 6-20 a.m. in September. In winter it was shifted to an hour later. Since then the beginning of the college day has been repeatedly put back by a few minutes at a time, thus by 10 minutes on 3rd March, 10 minutes more on the 10th, 10 minutes more on the 14th, and twenty minutes more on the 21st of the same month! It is difficult to imagine any place outside a lunatic asylum where regularity and method are so little cared for.

While students are being enrolled with such reckless eagerness and disregard of lecturing arrangements, the teaching staff is being depleted as we have shown above.

Unless the Court of the University wakes up to the gravity of the situation and elects such men to the management and Council of the University as have academic experience, sense of duty, and strength of character enough to fight for true ideals, a catastrophe Cannot be averted. As things stand, the much advertised Hindu University is rushing straight to the brink of a precipice.

The root cause of the evil.

(1) The election of non-educationists, representatives of "the wisdom of our grandfathers," and men sure to be absentees, as opposed to local men and teachers.

(2) Neither Court nor Senate, has any homogeneity, as the members are a miscellaneous lot, representing different types and stages of culture and polar diversities of thought. The majority are ignorant of and indifferent to the modern educational ideals, problems and experiments of Europe and cannot be of one mind except after many hours of discussion, and sometimes never at all. The last meeting of the Faculty of Arts lasted for 3½ hours, and yet the only work done by it was to refer back to a sub-committee a scheme for a course of domestic science and to come to no conclusion at all as to an Honours Course!

The result is that all men who value their time, all the European members (except good old Mr. Keightley) and all the five representatives of Government have long ceased to attend the Senate or the Faculty, as a hopeless waste of time. For the same reason Dr. Ganganath Jha and Mr. Chintamani have again and again tendered resignation of their seats on the Council and other bodies.

(3) A passion for raising legal subtleties and making hypercritical objections which tend to "make the law an ass,"—on the part of some voluble speakers who possess local influence. Thus real business is put off till doomsday.

(4) "Procrastination is writ large on the portals of this University," as Sir Sivaswamy publicly declared. The majority, partly through constitutional timidity and partly through sheer weariness at hearing endless legal discussions, always vote for postponing decision even on urgent and important matters. Thus, a mininum of work is done, while the volume of the H. U. Minutes, exceeds that of every other Indian University!

(5) The absence of clear academic ideals. We only hear vague vapoury, clap-trap "popular" dreams on education, which wrangle with one another, so that the university with its prodigious expenditure of time cannot *advance* one step, but only moves in a circle.

(6) The "hidden hand" of Mr. Malavya, who will not help in the deliberations by residing at Benares, and yet will upset what others have done in his absence. He secured his own election as President of the C. H. School Board, but the most pressing affairs of the school has to remain undecided because the President would not come to successive meetings, even on days when he had written that he would be present!

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(7) The divorce of power from responsibility in Mr. Malavya. He wlll not undertake any definite and public position in the managemtnt of the university—even in accepting the P. V. C. ship after jockeying Mr. Chakravarti out of it, Mr. Malavya declared that he would hold the post temporarily and would try to induce some friend to relieve him of it! And yet as Sir Sivaswamy's letter proves, no responsible head of the university can do his duty unless he bows to the will of Mr. Malavya and takes his orders from him. You can no more fix any responsibility on the slim and slippery Pandit than catch an eel with your bare hand. To aggravate the evil, he is daily changing his opinions, and also making glib promises from a hundred platforms, which it is not humanly possible to carry out. The result of this attitude is—dead-lock, waste of time, and eternal uncertainty.

Queer choice of men.

The quality of a University entirely depends on the scholars and administrators in its service and that of the outside public who can be induced to assist it with their advice and co-operation. Now, Benares is a third-rate district town with very few men of high modern learning in the ranks of the independent professions. It is rightly known in India as "the city of the dead and of the dying." A University at such a place, if it is to impart *modern* learning and carry the modern *scientific* spirit into the realm of thought, is bound to rely almost entirely on its professoriate for its mental guidance and even administrative efficiency. But the policy of those who rule the Hindu University is clearly one of distrust and exclusion towards educationists and preference of absentee lawyers, old-type Sanskrit Pandits, Hindi writers and Urdu poets. At the last elections to the Court by the donors, Prof. N. C. Nag, F. I. C., who is well-known to the scientific world for his researches in Chemistry and has had 20 years' teaching experience in the U. P., was rejected in favour of a clerk of the Registrar's office, whose only qualification is that he had served for some time in one of Harkishen Lal's insolvent banks! At the last elections to the Executive Council of the University, Prof. Jadunath Sarkar got in at the very bottom of the poll, while the men who secured more votes included a somnolent octogenerian (Pandit Cheda Lal) and an absentee Engineer of Lahore!

This jealous exclusion of University teachers from the conduct of University affairs often produces results that would have been comic had not the fate of a great educational experiment been jeopardised by it. The supreme governing body of the Hindu University, called the Council, has 32 members. And yet, owing to the exclusion of University teachers, and the deliberate election of far-off pleader-politicians, invalids and known absentees, many meetings of the Council have failed for want of the legal quorum and many others have been attended by just seven (the minimum legal quorum). Thus the most important works of the University, including the expenditure of tens of thousands of Rupees, have been done with the consent of *less than one-fourth* of the Council! In 1918, 33 meetings of the Council were summoned, out of which three held on the same days as meetings of the Court also (when many people come from outside) were attended by 10, 10, and 15 members only. Of the remaining 30 meetings, *four failed for want of a quorum, nine were attended by the barest minimum of seven*, only six by 11 to 13 members, and *none by more than thirteen*!

INSIDE VIEW.

THE SPRING MAPLES

In my garden
Are a thousand crimson lamps
Burning through the beauteous sacrifice
Of spring.

Grey dawn and twilight
Because of them remember the loveliness
Of golden noon.
None tendeth them, yet do they shine
undimmed

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In dew and rain ; beneath them bask
Blue lizards ; birds of passage
Tarry to greet their splendour, the
tired heart,

Having them near, knows rest.
They are the richest gifts of the old Earth
Among a myriad gifts.
Through morning hours
The sunbeams dance among them, all
the night

They dream in quietude.
Now in the Evening mist
A vision rises around their stillness
and glory.

* * * *

In the far uplands cranes are calling
Their hollow, curling cry.
Among the ancestral trees beneath green
canopies,

Have wondered a broken company
Bearing their dying lord,

Pale from the slaughter, not one but is
sorely hurt.
Sad song comes slowly welling from their
hearts.
The sea-roads are held ; the mountains
have no passes ;
There is no hope but death.

* * * *

Over their sorrow spread those tender
hands,
Over their last hope years of fallen leaves
Gathered ; flowers sprang and sweet birds
sang

As all the world were new,
Now in my garden, set in the city's heart,
Their life-blood, gleaning with the suns
Of untold summers,
Illumineth this hour of solitude
With silent, beautiful witness
Of the last agony of loyal souls.

E. E. SPEIGHT.

ERRATUM

In the first line under the heading "Notes", *for* "Perosnal" *read* "Personal."

Printed and Published by A. C. Sarkar, at the Brahmo Mission Press
211, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.

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THE MODERN REVIEW

A Monthly Review and Miscellany

Edited by

Ramananda Chatterjee

Vol. XXV. Numbers 1 to 6

January to June, 1919.

—o—

THE MODERN REVIEW OFFICE,
210-3-1, Cornwallis Street,
CALCUTTA.

Price of this Volume: Rs. 3 Inland; Foreign 7s.
Annual Subscription : Inland Rs. 6; Foreign 12s.

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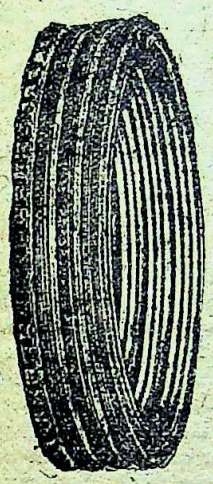

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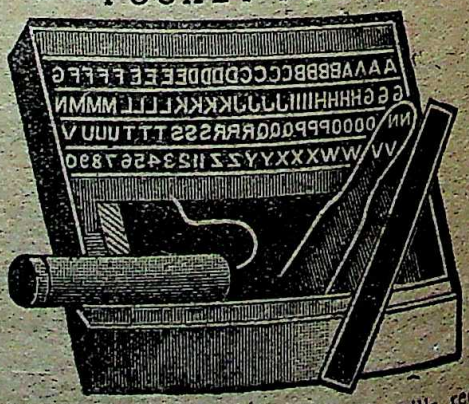

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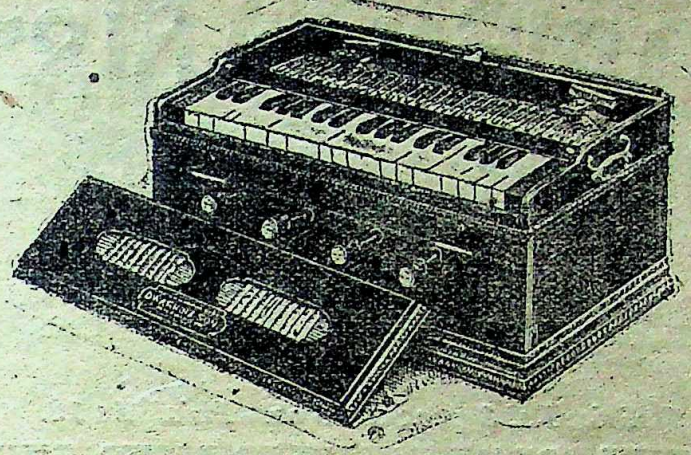

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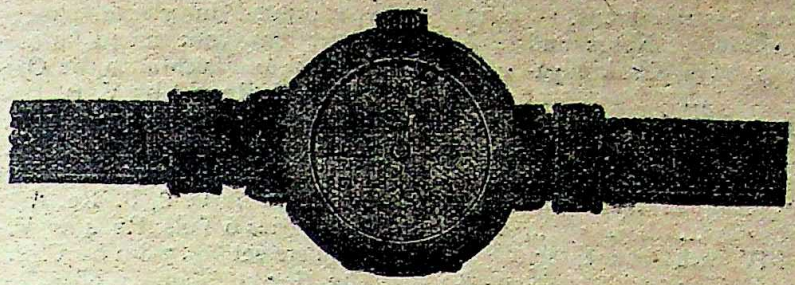

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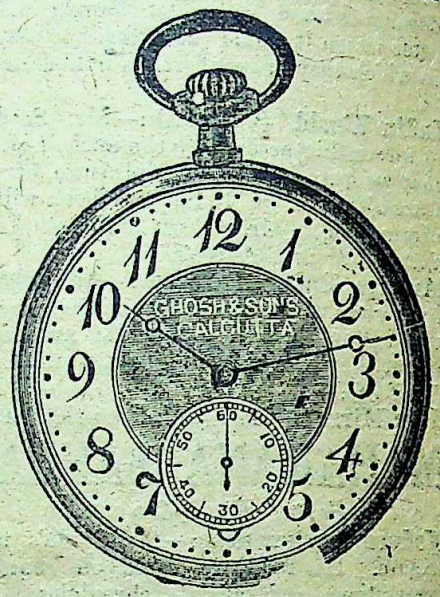

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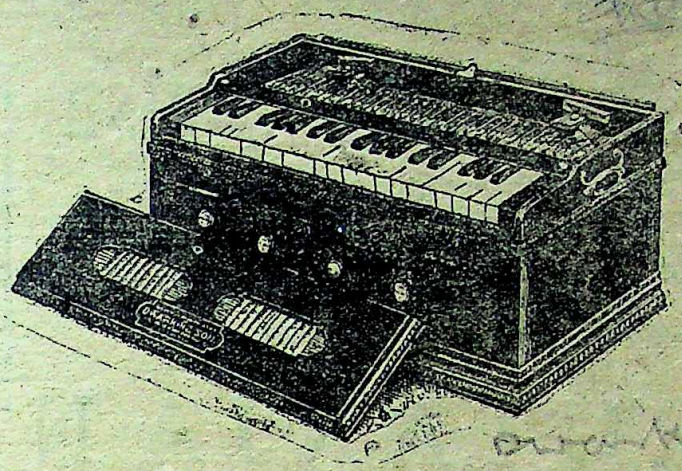

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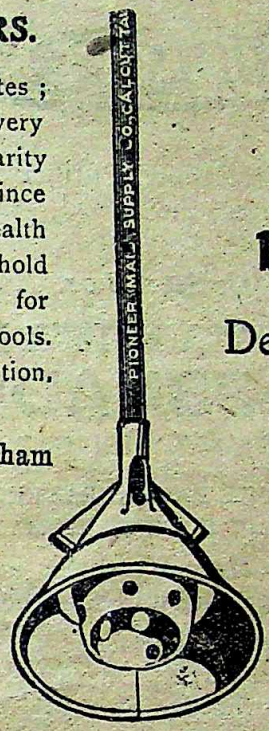

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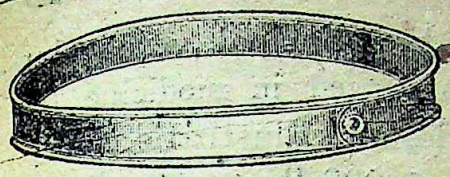

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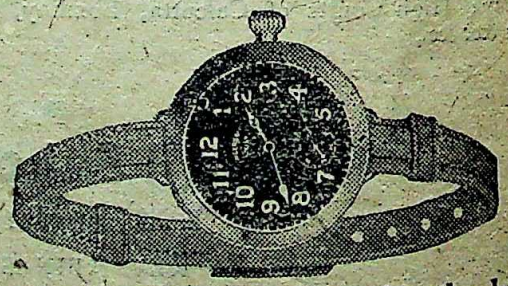

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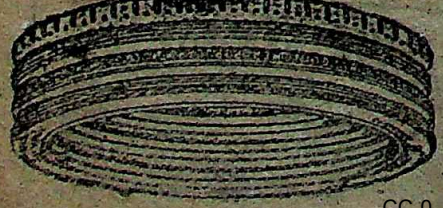

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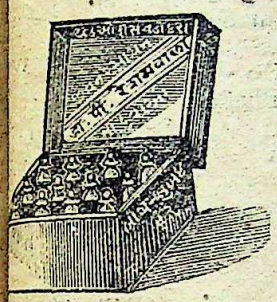

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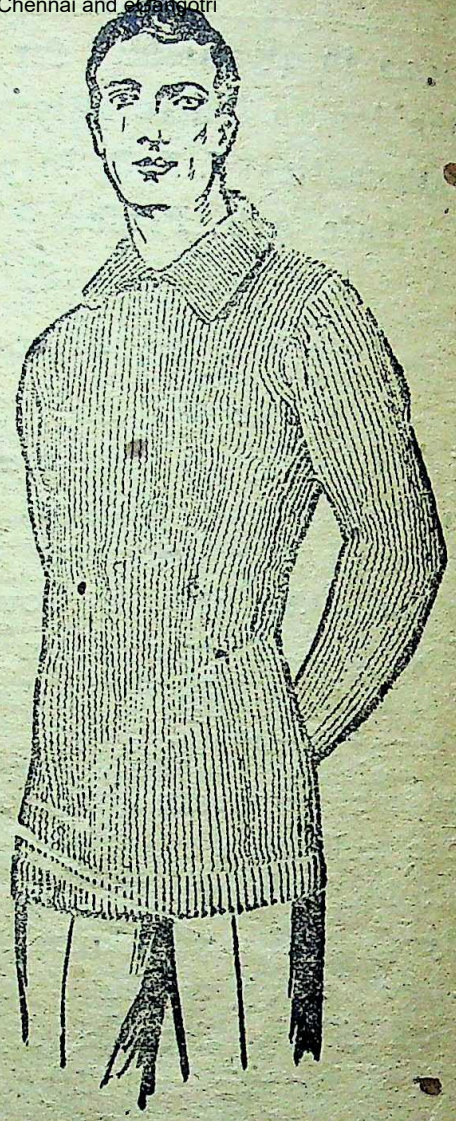

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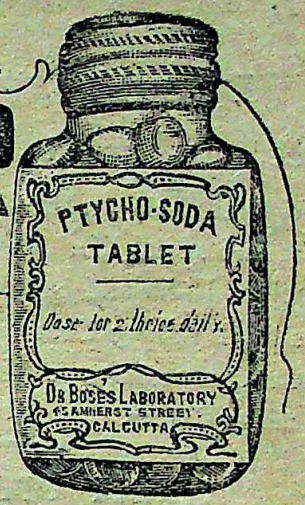

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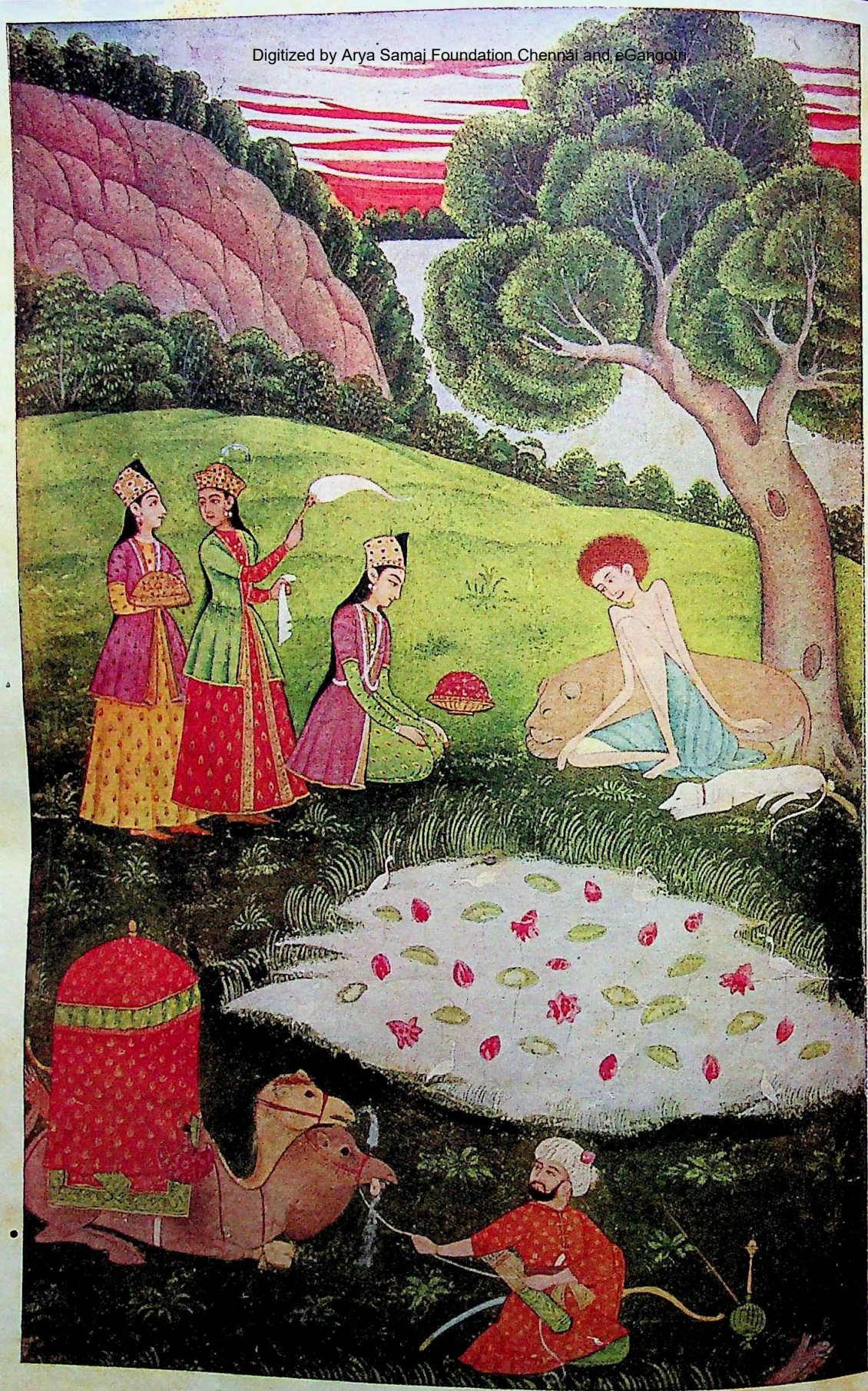

LAILA AND MAJNUN

Early 18th century.

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THE MODERN REVIEW

VOL. XXVI No. 2 — AUGUST, 1919 — WHOLE No. 152

TO THE MURDERED PEOPLES

By Romain Rolland.

(*Translated*)

THE horrors of war, perpetrated during these last thirty months,* have rudely shaken the minds of thoughtful persons in the West. The martyrdom of Belgium, Serbia, Poland,—of all the miserable countries of Eastern Europe, trodden down by invasion, can no longer be forgotten. But if these iniquities revolt us, because we are their victims, what of the fifty years and more during which the civilisation of Europe has practised the same evils, or allowed others to practise them, around her?

Who can say what price the Red Sultan of Turkey paid to his mutes of the European Press and of the Embassies for the blood of two hundred thousand Armenians, slaughtered during the first massacre of 1894—1895? Who has ever raised his voice against the sufferings of the people delivered over as a prey to the rapine and plunder of colonial expeditions? Who, when a single corner of the veil is lifted up from this or that part of the field of misery,—Damaraland or Congo,—has been able to endure the sight without horror? What civilised man can recall, without a blush, the massacres of Manchuria, and of the China expedition of 1900—1901, when the Emperor of Germany gave 'Attila' to his soldiers for an example, and the united armies of 'civilisation' rivalled one another in acts of vandalism against a culture more ancient and lofty than their own?

What help has Western Europe given to the persecuted races of Eastern Europe? What help to Jews, Finns, Poles? What help to Turkey, Egypt, China, in the day of their struggle towards self-regeneration?

For sixty years, China, poisoned by the opium of India, longed to deliver herself from the bondage of the evil which was killing her. She found, after two wars and a humiliating treaty, the opium-poison (which had brought 11,000,000,000 francs into the coffers of the East India Company) forcibly imposed upon her by England. And even after China, today, has completed the heroic task of ridding herself, in ten years, of her deadly disease, she has needed all the pressure of indignant public opinion brought upon European States to compel the most civilised of them to renounce the profits which the poisoning of a whole people brought into their banks. Yet, what wonder is there in this, when Western Governments have not yet renounced the income they obtain by poisoning with alcohol their own people?

"On one occasion," writes M. Arnold Porret, "a missionary of the Gold Coast of Africa told me, how the negroes explained the way in which Europeans had become white. The God of all the world asked the Europeans sternly,—

"What have you done with your brother?"

They became pale.

Western civilisation today has the odour of a dead body. It has called in the grave diggers. Asia is on the watch.

"The civilisation of Europe," said the great Hindu, Rabindranath Tagore, last

* The article was written by Romain Rolland in November, 1916. (C.F.A.)

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June, at the Imperial University Tokyo,* "is a grinding machine. It consumes the people it overruns, it exterminates or annihilates the races which impede its conquering march. It is a cannibalistic civilisation. It crushes the feeble and enriches itself at their expense. It scatters, on all sides, jealousies and hates, making a path of emptiness in front. It is a civilisation, scientific not human. Its power comes from the concentration of all its forces towards the single goal of self-enrichment . . . Under the name of patriotism, it goes back from its plighted word, it spreads its meshes of lies without shame, it enshrines, in its temples, gigantic idols of Greed, the one God it adores. And it can be safely prophesied that this cannot last for ever.† . ."

"*This cannot last for ever.*"

Europeans, do you hear that word? Do you shut your ears to it? Nay, but listen. Let us examine ourselves! Do not let us act like those, who throw upon their neighbour's shoulders all the sins of the world, and believe themselves thereby discharged from the debt. In the plague of the present time, we all have our part, some of our own accord, some through weakness. And it is not this 'weakness' of ours which is least to blame!

The apathy of the greater number, the timidity of respectable people, the selfish scepticism of weak rulers, the ignorance or cynicism of the Press; the greedy mouths of the men of prey; the timid servility of the men of thought, who make themselves the beadles of murderous prejudices kept in store for missions of destruction; the pitiless pride of those intellectuals, who believe in their own ideas more than in the life of their fellow creatures, and would bring twenty million men to ruin, in order to prove their point; the cautious political scheming of a Church, all too Roman, where S. Peter the fisher Apostle is made the ferryman of diplomatic lies; the clergy, pastors of souls, sharp and cutting as a knife, who would sacrifice their flock for a purification; the dull, stupid fatalism of the poor sheep themselves—which of us is not to blame? Which of us has the right to wash his hands clean of the blood of murdered Europe, and say 'Not guilty'. Each one of us must see our fault and endeavour to set it right.

But first, there is something urgent to be said. Here is the dominating fact.

"*Europe is not free.*"

The voice of the people is stifled. In the after history of the world, when it comes to be written, these years will ever stand out as the 'Years of the Great Slavery.' One half of Europe is at war with the other, in the name of liberty. And, in order to make war, the two halves of Europe have surrendered liberty. It is in vain that the will of the nations is invoked. The nations no longer exist as personalities at all.

A half-pint of politicians, and some bushels of journalists, speak insolently in the name of something or other. They have no right to speak. They represent only themselves,—nay, they do not even represent that! "The hand-maid of plutocracy," said Maurras, in 1905, denouncing the tame domesticated intellect, which pretends to direct public opinion and to represent the Nation.... The Nation! Who calls himself now the representative of the Nation? Who has the knowledge,—who has ever dared to look fully in the face the soul of "a Nation at War".

This monster, made up of myriads of coagulated lives, diverse, contrary, swarming in every sense of the word, and yet at the same time jellied together like an Octopus, . . . This mash of all the instincts, all the reasons,—and all the un-reasons. . . . blasts of wind coming up from the abyss; blind forces and furious explosions from the smoking pit of animality; mephitic intoxication of destruction and self-immolation; fierce vôracities of the species; religions

* June 18, 1916. This address, which marks a turning point in the history of the world, but which no great European journal noticed, made its appeal to Japan, as the "advance guard of Asia." It was reproduced in the *Outlook*, of New York, under the title "India's Message to Japan" on Aug. 9, 1916, and the *Journal Religieuce de Suisse Romande* quoted some passages from it on Sep. 23, 1916.

† The translation given by Romain Rolland is a paraphrase of a longer passage in the original, see p. 77. Nationalism. (American Edition). C. F. A.

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shapeless and deformed; mystical exhalations of the soul, drunk with the Infinite, seeking an unhealthy gluttony of joy by suffering, self-inflicted and inflicted on others: insanely conceited tyrannies of the reason, when it claims to impose the unity that it does not possess, but only desires; inflamed vagaries of the imagination lighting up the remembrance of the past; learned phantasmagoria of historic records that have received official sanction; patriotic history, or history written in such a way as to brandish 'woe to the conquered' or 'glory to the conquered' according to requirement . . . And then, surging upon the tide of passions, all the secret demons, which Society casts up, as the tide ebbs, in times of peace and order. . . . Each one of us finds himself enlaced in the arms of this octopus. Each one finds in himself the same confusion of good and evil forces, bound and entangled together in an inextricable skein.

From all this comes the feeling of fatalism, which crushes down mankind in the presence of such a crisis. Yet it is only discouragement before the magnitude of the task, which stands in the way of deliverance. If each one did what he could, and nothing more, there would be no fatalism at all. The fatalism, from which we suffer, is made up of each man's weak surrender. In giving in, each one becomes responsible for the weakness of others.

But the shares of responsibility are not equal. Honour to whom honour is due. In the medley of European politics today the biggest factor is Money. The hand that holds the chain, binding the body social, is Wealth,—Wealth and his band of satellites. Wealth is the true master, the true head of the State. Wealth is responsible for the back-doors of our Chambers of Commerce and for our shady business transactions.* Not that we can make this or that group, this or that individual, responsible for the evils from which we suffer. We are not such simpletons as all that! No, let us have done with scapegoats! They are too comfortably convenient!

When we read the history of the great German capitalists, who purchased mines in Normandy, and, between the years 1908-1913, had become owners of one-fifth part of the mineral sub-soil of France, and then used this ore in their own great steel factories to make the cannon which the German armies are now firing, then we can get some idea of the lengths to which moneyed men will go, till they become indifferent to anything else,—like Midas of old, who turned into gold everything he touched. Do not, however, attribute to them vast designs and dark. They do not look so far ahead. They only seek to amass quickly as big a heap as possible. That which finds its climax in them, is that anti-social selfishness, which is the plague of our present age. These wealth seekers are merely representative men in an age enslaved to money. The learned men, the Press, the politicians,—yes, the heads of the different States, those puppets of a tragic peep-show, all these, whether they like it or not, are the instruments of the money makers, who use them for a screen.* And, oh! the stupidity of the peoples,—their fatal submissiveness, their mysterious depths of ancestral savagery,

* Read the series of illuminating public articles during the last ten years by Francis Delaisi—for example that of January 1, 1907 in *Pages Libres* on "External Affairs of 1906" (the Algeciras year). One can see there a good example of what he calls 'Industrialised Diplomacy.' As a supplement to this read the financial article of the *Revue* (Nov.-December 1906) signed 'Crisis' and the commentary of Charnais in *Pages Libres* January 19, 1907. The power of financial oligarchies "collective, mysterious, independent of all control" has appeared clearly in the government of the States of Europe,—republics and monarchies alike.

* Let me quote some lines from Manoras, who is so lucid when he does not give himself over as a prey to his own fixed idea.—"The Money State is now the Minister in charge, gilding and decorating with titles the intellect while it muzzles it and sends it to sleep. It can, when it likes, prevent the Intellect from knowing a single political truth, and if it sees the truth, from speaking about it, and if it speaks about it, from being listened to and heard. How can a country know its own needs if those who know them can be put under the constraint of silence, lying or isolation?"

What a true picture of the present time!

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which make them an easy prey, without any protection, to the blasts of lies and folly which impel them to self-slaughter!

It is a cruel and wicked proverb which states, that 'a people always gets the government it deserves.' If that phrase were true, it would lead to despair for humanity: for what Government exists today to which an honest man would willingly give his consent? It is only too evident that the people, who are the true workers, cannot and do not control the men who govern. It is quite enough that the workers have to expiate the crimes of their rulers, without being made responsible for these crimes in addition. The people, who willingly give themselves in sacrifice, die for ideas. The governing power, which sacrifices the people, lives for its own interests. And the result is that the interests outlive the ideas. Every war as it proceeds,—even the most idealistic,—becomes more and more a business concern, and, as Flaubert wrote, 'a war for money.' We do not say, of course, that we are making war for money. But when war is there, we sit down to it and milk its udders dry. Blood oozes out, money oozes out, and there is nothing to stop the flow.

Several thousands of the privileged of all castes and all races,—grand seigneurs, upstarts, Junkers, mine owners, millionaires, speculators, contractors, financial magnates, industrial magnates,—kings with no title or responsibility,—all these, from their secret corner in the Stock Exchange, know how to play upon the good and bad instincts of humanity for their own sordid profits,—its ambitions and arrogances, its spites and hates, its savage ideals as well as its devotion, its thirst for sacrifice, its heroism eager to shed its own blood, its measureless riches of trust.....

Unfortunate people! Can any one imagine a fate more tragic than this? Never consulted, but always made the victim: driven into wars, forced into crimes, that they never wished at all. The first adventurer, the first braggart, comes along the road, and arrogates the right to cloak with the people's name the madness of his own murderous rhetoric or his own selfish interests.

People, eternally duped, eternally martyred, always paying for the faults of others! Over your bent backs the rulers hurt their challenges of defiance at one another for causes about which you know nothing and for stakes in which you have no concern.....

Dear people of Europe, dying day by day, all through these years of war, upon your dying earth! Have you even yet reached the bottom of your misery? As I look forward to that which is to come, my dread is that the day will arrive when, in the discomfiture of lying hopes, in the folly, recognised at last, of sacrifices made in vain, worn to the bone with misery, you will search blindly for some one, for something on which to wreak your vengeance. Then you too will fall into injustice and be stripped bare, in the excess of misfortune, even of the fateful glory of your self sacrifice. And then, from top to bottom, the circle of misfortune and of error shall be complete. All shall be equal....

Poor, crucified people, who writhe on your cross, on either side of the Master, more betrayed even than He, who sink like lead into the night of pain! Is there no one to save you from your two enemies,—slavery and hate?

We wish to do so! We wish to do so! Ah, how greatly! But you must will it also! Your reason, bent under the weight of centuries of passive submission,—is it still capable of self emancipation?

Who can stop now the course of the war? Who can get back, into the wild-beast-cage, the savage animal that has been let loose?—Not even those who have unchained it,—those lion-tamers who know well that they will be devoured.... The blood is drawn. It must be drunk to the dregs. Our civilisation must glut itself to the full. But when it is gorged, when peace has returned over ten millions of dead bodies, when the abject drunken-fit has been slept off, will it dare to look in the face the naked misery which had before been draped over with lies. Will that, which still can and ought to live, have the courage to break away from the deadly embrace of worn-out institutions?

People, People! Unite! People of all

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faces,—the most to blame side by side with the least to blame,—brothers in blood and suffering, brothers in a common misfortune, now be brothers in pardon and resurrection!

Forget your spite and hate, which will ruin you altogether. Wear the black robes of your common sorrows: they smite all the great family of mankind. In your common grief, in the common slaughter of millions of your brothers, you have obtained already a sense of your deep unity. After the War, this unity must bring down to the ground the barriers which shameless interest will wish to build up stronger than ever.

If this unity is not accomplished,—if this war has not, for its first-fruits, a social renewal of all the nations,—then, farewell, Europe, Queen of Thought, Guide of Mankind! You have lost your way; you tread a cemetry,—your place is there. Lie there, sleep there! Let others lead the world!

All Souls Day, 1916.

(This translation has aimed at giving the spirit of the original. It is not strictly literal. C.F.A.)

Illustrative Passages.

[The above pamphlet was written by Romain Rolland as the first part of the booklet which he published. The second part is taken up with the following illustrative passages from the Poet, Rabindranath Tagore's lecture entitled,—"India's message to Japan."]

When things stood still like this, and we in Asia hypnotised ourselves into the belief that it could never by any possibility be otherwise, Japan rose from her dreams and in giant strides left centuries of inaction behind, overtaking the present time in its foremost achievement.....

One morning the whole world looked up in surprise, when Japan broke through her walls of old habits in a night and came out triumphant.....

Japan, the child of the Ancient East, has also fearlessly claimed all the gifts of the modern age for herself. She has shown her bold spirit in breaking through the confinements of habits, useless accumulations of the lazy mind, seeking safety in its thrift and its locks and keys. Thus she has come in contact with the living time and has accepted with eagerness and aptitude the responsibilities of modern civilization.

This it is which has given heart to the rest of Asia. We have seen that the life and the strength are there in us, only the dead crust has to be removed. We have seen that taking shelter in the dead is death itself, and only taking all the risk of life to the fullest extent is living.....

Japan has imported her food from the West but not her vital nature. Japan cannot altogether lose and merge herself in the scientific paraphernalia she has acquired from the West and be turned into a mere borrowed machine. She has her own soul which must assert itself over all her requirements.....

The whole world waits to see what this great Eastern nation is going to do with the opportunities and responsibilities she has accepted from the hands of the modern time. If it be a mere reproduction of the West, then the great expectation she has raised will remain unfulfilled. For there are grave questions that the Western civilization has presented before the world but not completely answered. The conflict between the individual and the state, labour and capital, the man and the woman; the conflict between the greed of material gain and the spiritual life of man, the organised selfishness of nations and the higher ideals of humanity; the conflict between all the ugly complexities inseparable from giant organisations of commerce and state and the natural instincts of man crying for simplicity and beauty and fulness of leisure,—all these have to be brought to a harmony in a manner not yet dreamt of.....

Therefore you cannot with a light heart accept the modern civilization with all its tendencies, methods and structures, and dream that they are inevitable. You must apply your Eastern mind, your spiritual strength, your love of simplicity, your recognition of social obligation, in order to cut out a new path for this great unwieldy car of progress, shrieking out its loud discords as it runs. You must minimise the

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immense sacrifice of man's life and freedom that it claims in its every movement. For generations you have felt and thought and worked, have enjoyed and worshipped in your own special manner; and this cannot be cast off like old clothes. It is in your blood, in the marrow of your bones, in the texture of your flesh, in the tissue of your brains; and it must modify everything you lay your hands upon, without your knowing, even against your wishes. Once you did solve the problems of man to your own satisfaction, you had your philosophy of life and evolved your own art of living. All this you must apply to the present situation and out of it will arise a new creation and not a mere repetition, a creation which the soul of your people will own for itself and proudly offer to the world as its tribute to the welfare of man. Of all countries in Asia, here in Japan you have the freedom to use the materials you have gathered from the West according to your genius and your need. Therefore your responsibility is all the greater, for in your voice Asia shall answer the questions that Europe has submitted to the conference of Man. In your land the experiments will be carried on by which the East will change the aspects of the modern civilisation, infusing life in it where it is a machine, substituting human heart for cold expediency, not caring so much for power and success as for harmonious and living growth, for truth and beauty.....

The political civilization which has sprung up from the soil of Europe and is overrunning the whole world, like some prolific weed, is based upon exclusiveness. It is always watchful to keep at bay the aliens or to exterminate them. It is carnivorous and cannibalistic in its tendencies, it feeds upon the resources of other peoples and tries to swallow their whole future. It is always afraid of other races achieving eminence, naming it as a peril, and tries to thwart all symptoms of greatness outside its own boundaries, forcing down races of men who are weaker, to be eternally fixed in their weakness. Before this political civilization came to its power, and opened its hungry jaws wide open to gulp down great continents of the earth, we had wars, pillages, changes of monarchy and consequent miseries, but never such a sight of fearful and hopeless voracity, such wholesale feeding of nation upon nation, such huge machines for turning great portions of the earth into mincemeat, never such terrible jealousies with all their ugly teeth and claws ready for tearing open each other's vitals. This political civilization is scientific, not human. It is powerful because it concentrates all its force upon one purpose like a millionaire acquiring money at the cost of his soul. It betrays its trust, it weaves its meshes of lies without shame, enshrines gigantic idols of greed in its temples, taking great pride in the costly ceremonials of its worship, calling this patriotism. And it can be safely prophesied that this can not go on, for there is a moral law in this world which has its application both to individuals and to organised bodies of men. You cannot go on violating these laws in the name of your nation, yet enjoy their advantage as individuals. This public sapping of the ethical ideals slowly reacts upon each member of society, gradually breeding weakness, where it is not seen, and causing that cynical distrust of all things sacred in human nature, which is the true symptom of senility. You must keep in mind that this political civilization, this creed of national patriotism, has not been given a long trial. The lamp of ancient Greece is extinct in the land where it was first lighted, the power of Rome lies dead and buried under the ruins of its vast empire. But the civilization, whose basis is society and the spiritual ideal of man, is still a living thing in China and in India. Though it may look feeble and small, judged by the standard of the mechanical power of modern days, yet like small seeds it still contains life and will sprout and grow, and spread its beneficent branches, producing flowers and fruits when its time comes, and showers of grace descend upon it from heaven. But ruins of sky-scrapers of power and broken machinery of greed, even God's rain is powerless to raise up again; for they were not of life, but went against life as a whole,—they are relics of the rebellion

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that shattered itself to pieces against the eternal.....

The East with her ideals, in whose bosom are stored the ages of sunlight and silence of stars, can patiently wait till the West, hurrying after the expedient, loses breath and stops. Europe while busily speeding to her engagements, disdainfully casts her glance from her carriage window to the reaper reaping his harvest in the field, and in her intoxication of speed cannot but think him as slow and ever receding backwards. But the speed comes to its end, the engagement loses its meaning and the hungry heart clamours for food, till at last she comes to the lowly reaper reaping his harvest in the sun. For if the office cannot wait, or the buying and selling, or the craving for excitement, love waits and beauty and the wisdom of suffering and the fruits of patient devotion and reverent meekness of simple faith. And thus shall wait the East till her time comes.....

Eastern Asia has been pursuing its own path, evolving its own civilization which was not political, but social, not predatory and mechanically efficient, but spiritual and based upon all the varied and deeper relations of humanity. The solutions of the life problems of peoples were thought out in seclusion, and carried out behind the security of aloofness, where all the dynastic changes and foreign invasions hardly touched them. But now we are overtaken by the outside world, our seclusion is lost for ever. Yet this we must not regret, as a plant should never regret when the obscurity of its seed-time is broken. Now the time has come, when we must make the world problem our own problem ; we must bring the spirit of our civilization into harmony with the history of all nations of the earth; we must not, in foolish pride, still keep ourselves fast within the shell of the seed and the crust of the earth which protected and nourished our ideals: for these, the shell and the crust, were meant to be broken, so that life may spring up in all its vigour and beauty, bringing its offerings to the world in open light.

In this task of breaking the barrier and facing the world Japan has come out the first in the East. She has infused hope in the heart of all Asia. This hope provides the hidden fire which is needed for all works of creation. Asia now feels that she must prove her life by producing living work, she must not lie passively dormant, or feebly imitate the West, in the infatuation of fear or flattery. For this we offer our thanks to this land of the rising sun and solemnly ask her to remember that she has the mission of the East to fulfil.

SOME THOUGHTS ON THE "YELLOW PERIL"

SOME weeks ago Field Marshall Sir Douglas Haig, in the course of a discussion of the political problems of the future and its perils, expressed his conviction that certain changes were necessary in order that the British Empire might successfully weather the impending storms. One point in his address was of especial interest to India. He contended that a new spirit of comradeship must be infused into the relations of its various parts, and pointed out with soldierly directness that the only means of accomplishing this was by securing to every nation under the Imperial Aegis equal rights, privileges and responsibilities.

As far as one is able to appreciate his position from the summary available, it would appear to be this :—The British Empire, both because of its geographical diffusion, and the wide racial diversities which exist within it, has only one hope of successfully solving the problems which will face it in the coming age. This hope

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lies in creating a state of affairs in which all the various nations in the Empire will recognise that they mutually and *equally* profit by the Imperial connection—a bond made strong by the appreciation of a common interest.

Sir Douglas Haig is not a "statesman" in the usually accepted sense of the word, yet how infinitely more statesmanlike is his clearcut formula of equal rights for all within the Empire than the quibbles and political gymnastics in which so many so-called statesmen are indulging nowadays.

The soldier speaks as a man and a gentleman, and in the outcome of this mental attitude we see true statesmanship exemplified. It is as though he said to those whom he was addressing, "The only one upon whom you can depend in times of emergency is a *comrade*, and no true comradeship is possible without true equality. Make those races of the Empire who at present suffer from disabilities friends indeed, and when the time of testing comes you will find them friends in need." What could be simpler, and inspite of its simplicity what could be more true? What firmer foundation can be laid for unity in the Empire than that which is laid in the recognition of a common advantage, a common responsibility, and common rights and privileges?

And yet how many of the statesmen of the day seem quite satisfied to build the foundations of future Imperialism upon the sand. In place of striving for that good-will among its various parts which can only be built upon the knowledge of fair-dealing and equal justice between nation and nation, they labour to bolster up the claims of unfair privilege and vested interest. Wholly lacking in political imagination and appreciation of the awakened spirit of the age, they cling to the old formulas and think that by a judicious use of camouflage people may be induced docilely to accept the shadow for the substance—the high-sounding effusions on benevolence and good will which they consider a suitable substitute for justice. The times have changed but such men seem quite incapable of changing with them.

Indeed the attitude of some of them hardly seems to take the question of justice into account at all. To these the problem appears merely to be that of persuading the people to accept their point of view, and if they do not succeed in this to use sharper arguments followed by piously worded expressions of regret that such a course was forced upon them. The fact that they may be in the wrong does not seem to strike them. One must assume that their attitude is based upon the unshakable conviction of infallibility and that any opposition to their arrangements for managing the affairs of the world is a manifestation of darkness fighting against the light.

Some go further still, and frankly express their opinion that it will only be possible to *rule* by the occasional display of power and "the inculcation of a wholesome respect" for it grounded upon the part of the ruled in a sad experience of its potentialities. They are right; the only way in which they can *rule* as they conceive ruling is by an occasional resort to terrorism. But thank God, the times are changed, and with them the attitude of the Government of the Empire as regards its relations with what were once looked upon merely as "subject peoples."

Typical of the attitude of these exponents of terrorism judiciously applied is the sentiment expressed by the Egyptian correspondent of the *Pioneer* in a recent issue, when he stated that the feeling among the nationalists there appeared to be one of discouragement and depression, and added that this was all to the good. One presumes that he felt that this state of mind would afford the proper atmosphere in which to build up a strong Empire!

What a contrast to this is the attitude of the present Secretary of State for India! Abused and scoffed at, called a "political charlatan," and his honesty impugned by the reactionary Anglo-Indian press, how firmly has he taken his stand upon what he considers just and fair for India! The present situation reminds one vividly of certain lines from E. B. Browning written many years ago—

A Great man (who was crowned one day)
Imagined a great Deed:

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He shaped it out of cloud and clay,
He touched it finely, till the seed
Possessed the flower ; from heart and brain
He fed it with large thoughts humane
To help a People's need.
He brought it out into the sun—
They blessed it to his face ;
"Oh great pure Deed, that hast undone
So many bad and base !
Oh generous Deed ! heroic Deed !
Come forth ! Be perfected ! Succeed !
Deliver by God's grace !
Then Sovereigns, Statesmen, north and south,
Rose up in wrath and fear,
And cried, protesting by one mouth,
"What monster have we here ?
A great Deed at this hour of day ?
A great, just Deed—and not for pay ?
Absurd :—or insincere !

There is no use to complete the above. Times have changed since the lines were written, and we trust and believe that Mr. Montagu's "great deed" will not be too great for the age in which we live. If it is, then alas for the age !

As this paper has been headed "Some Thoughts on the Yellow Peril" it will probably occur to the reader to question what relation the foregoing bears to that subject. In the writer's opinion a very intimate connection exists.

In the course of his speech Sir Douglas Haig expressed his fear of an eruption of the "yellow races" as a possibility of the future. He also spoke of other Oriental races as presenting potential perils if the discontent arising from unfair treatment and racial discrimination were allowed to grow. An Anglican Bishop also has recently been expressing himself in England upon this so-called "Yellow Peril," and in America its possibilities have been long a subject of discussion. In the opinion of the writer of the article the peril is a very real one. Given certain circumstances it would appear highly probable that the next hundred years may witness a struggle before the magnitude of which the recent war will assume insignificant proportions.

Yet it is hardly fair to call it the Yellow Peril. Thousands of years have lapsed without any attempt upon the part of the Far East to encroach upon the West. History furnishes no indications that military agressiveness has been a part of the genius of China—or, even of Japan until she came under the influence of the Western Spirit.

No ; if such a catastrophe ever takes place, it will be because the views of such bodies as, for example, the Indo-British Association, succeed in gaining sufficient power to mould the view-point and policy of Europe and America.

We are convinced that they never will—that they are the manifestations of a dying school of thought (or thoughtlessness), and that a nobler, broader conception of national responsibility and obligation is even now displacing it. But they are, for all that, the expression of a mental attitude which has largely influenced the political attitude and actions of Europe in the past. Of this there can be no doubt. We might go even further and assert that even at this moment those in the West upon whom the broader and juster vision has dawned are a microscopic minority, howbeit an influential and growing one.

Let us examine as far as we may the mental attitude of the average Western, and see if what we find does not have a vital bearing upon the question of the so-called "Yellow Peril." In order to do so it will be needful for us to glance very briefly at the relations which existed between Europe and the Orient in ancient times.

In the days of Greek, and later, of Roman ascendency in the West, the great nations of the Orient—especially India—were treated as equals. The learning of the Brahmans and "Gymnosophists" was highly spoken of and in the days of Pliny India's trade with Europe brought her in nearly fifty million sisterces in coin per annum. Embassies were exchanged upon several occasions between Rome and various Indian potentates, and the Emperor Trajan is reported by Dion Cassius to have entertained one such embassy with great magnificence, and to have given its members senators' seats at the theatre. There is also ample evidence that at one time there were Roman soldiers serving in the bodyguards of Indian Kings. The writings of Clement of Alexandria contain allusions to India based upon

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information obtained from his tutor Pantaenus who had been there, and not only he but Bardesanes and various others speak of certain aspects of Brahman philosophy and self-discipline with considerable respect, while there can be no doubt that the influence of Indian thought upon the development of neoplatonism was very great. From all of which it seems clear that in the days of the glory of Greece and Rome the attitude of Europe to Asia was entirely different to that which was later evolved.

Then came the fall of the Roman Empire, followed by the disintegration of society in Europe and what are known as "the dark ages," and for centuries direct communication between the West and India virtually came to an end.

At last came the Renaissance, and when Europe emerged from the chaos of the Middle Ages her attitude toward the rest of the world had entirely changed. In fact it was a different Europe with other ideals and political purposes from that upon which the curtain had fallen with the dissolution of Imperial Rome.

It has always been true that everywhere in the world each great nation has considered itself the greatest and noblest. But in addition, as far as one can gather as regards this period, the peoples of Western Europe hardly considered that other races had any rights at all. Such races were exploited ruthlessly in so far as the West found means to get in touch with them. Spain grew rich upon the gold extracted by murder, robbery and the torture of the unfortunate peoples of Mexico and Peru. Portugal, Holland, France, England and America all more or less stained their good names in the years that followed—not only in the East and in the New World, but by heartless slave-raiding operations on the west coast of Africa. These facts are mentioned merely to indicate how utterly oblivious the nations of western Europe were to the rights of others when they emerged from their age-long isolation, and to draw attention to the fact that in many ways their attitude toward non-European nations was widely divergent from that of the Europe of two thousand years ago.

But—to be as brief as possible—from the Europe of the Renaissance thrilling with new life and aflame with new ambitions grew that overpowering industrial civilization of the West which at present dominates the world. Of the latter it may be asserted that it is the own child of the former, and that except in certain of its outward manifestations its attitude toward the non-European races was very similar until the earlier part of the last century. As a result of changed conditions and the new needs which its development dictated this industrial civilization no longer indulged in the bloody excesses and piracy which marked its precursor in the 15th and 17th centuries, but its methods clearly indicated that the view-point had not changed. Two salient characteristics of its attitude are especially worth attention. The first was its absolute conviction that everything Western was *per se* vastly superior to anything else to be found in the rest of the world. The second—and it was the corollary of the other—was its assumption that by reason of this infinite superiority "the great civilized nations of the West" were quite justified in annexing, governing and exploiting the rest of the world for their own advantage, and quite irrespective of the wishes of the people in the countries concerned.

If the writer is not mistaken this is the attitude of the average Western today, with certain reservations. He considers it beyond all dispute that the modern civilization of Europe and America is infinitely superior to any other civilization in the world. In fact we might go further and assert that he would only concede the civilization of any other race in so far as its system would fit in with his own. The mere fact that anyone was of his own stock would, in his opinion, entitle that individual to be considered civilized, while the civilization of an Asiatic, no matter how cultured, he would quite unconsciously hold open to question. He would suspect him "of ways that are dark and tricks that are vain," and could never quite persuade himself of the possibility of an outsider's attaining to a civilization equal to his own. And in all this his unexpressed

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conviction will be apparent that there is no true civilization but his own. If the reader will consider for a moment he will perceive how fully this accounts for the attitude of the average Western to the people he comes in contact with in the East.

With the earlier phases of modern Western mental development it is not our purpose to deal in this paper. The later ones are much in evidence in these days and most enlightening. In acts more than in words the West has claimed the right to subordinate the wishes and aspirations of the rest of the world to the exigencies of that form of civilization which she has evolved for herself. There can be no doubt of this. In spite of the fact that she even now staggers torn and bleeding as a result of the peculiarities of her system, her confidence in it appears little shaken. What other conclusion can be drawn from the new system of mandatories she has just evolved ? Does it not imply the conviction that she considers it her duty to guide the destinies of other races—races that do not appear likely to conform of themselves to the system she has evolved ? Indeed one hears much loose talk about her duty to them, and the various aspects of "the white man's burden" are receiving a good deal of honest attention, yet down at the root of the matter is not the position of most people crudely this ? "We, the enlightened nations, have evolved a superior form of civilization based upon an orderly system of barter and trade. Our programme includes the use of your raw materials which we consider vital to our welfare. We propose in exchange to sell you our manufactures, and if you are not yet sufficiently civilized to appreciate and desire them we shall take steps to make you so. If you consent to this and take no measures to protect your own industries at the expense of ours, we shall permit you to govern yourselves, provided always that no political exigency arises which would make it necessary for us to annex you. If this should ever become necessary we shall of course confer upon you the blessings of education and what little share in the management of your own affairs, your natural lack of ability and incapacity makes possible."

This seems to the writer to express the average view-point of the West *at its best* until comparatively recently. At its worst it was merely a scramble to plant the flag of one's country upon the shore of any island or continent where the flag of no other powerful European country had been previously set up, and, quite irrespective of the wishes of its inhabitants, claim it as belonging to one's King.

During the early part of last century, however, a new spirit began to evince itself. Men began to understand that these many arbitrary acquisitions brought with them responsibilities to consider the welfare of the people upon whom they had forced their rule. At first there were only a few solitary voices raised on behalf of this new ideal, but with the years the vision grew until at the time of this writing the Imperial Government not only admits the right of the people of India to a present real share in the administration of their country, but also acknowledges that the time must come before long when Indians shall govern India within the Empire.

Yet here arises a difficulty. To admit a right is one thing ; to have the courage to grant it quite another. Not only as regards India but also as regards the whole question of the relations of the present dominant races to the rest of the world, two schools of thought are fighting desperately—the old and the new. One represents the conviction of innate superiority involving the right to acquire and exploit without any reference to the desires and feelings of the exploited. The other—and so far as India is concerned Mr. Montagu seems to be its champion—represents the new spirit, and the one upon which the future welfare of the world must depend. It embodies the recognition of the right—not merely of every *Western* nation—but of *every* nation to what the late German Kaiser used to call "a place in the sun." It represents the honest attempt to make realities of the cant phrases and party catch-words of the last century, and as it grows and develops it will

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come to include the recognition of the right of every race, whether great or small, to follow along orderly lines of progress its own destiny in accordance with its own desires and propensities. At present it has its limitations, but it carries within it the germ of mankind's political and social salvation, because its conceptions are deep-rooted upon the eternal bed-rock of justice.

The great question is—Will it triumph at this juncture? Or is it to be submerged by the older, grosser, more selfish conception? If it is, let the world beware. If the West decides to reject the new light—to still uphold its ancient claim of a right to annex, control and exploit the rest of mankind, irrespective of their wishes and feelings, a time will come when the nations of Europe and America will have to face, not only a *yellow* peril, but the peril of all the races whose feelings and rights they have outraged through the centuries. It will not be in our day; it may not even be in the days of our grandchildren; but it will surely come. The rest of mankind will rise in indignation and with a might which justice gives the wronged, and ask "By what authority do you arrogate to yourselves the right to parcel us among yourselves, to force us into treaties against our wills drawn up to your gain and our loss? You have denied us the right of entry into your own countries while claiming the right of entire freedom to do what you like in ours. Not only have you refused in your own lands any of the privileges you have claimed for yourselves in ours, but even in the lands of our birth you have denied us the rights which are ours by every moral law. In what lies your justification when you force us to destroy our own systems of life and social economy so that we may adopt ourselves to your needs? We do not admit your right; we refuse in future to live at your dictation. Be gone! We will have no more of you."

We do not believe that such a situation will arise. We cannot believe that the old dark point of view will conquer. But if it does, and if as a result the world is plunged into such a sea of devastation and distress as it has never seen before, upon whom will the guilt lie? Surely not upon those races who after suffering coercion and wrong for a long period of years, rise to defend themselves and to win that freedom which every true Englishman and American values more than life.

No; there is no "Yellow Peril," and if the West be true to its highest ideals, earnestly endeavouring to give the less powerful nations those rights and opportunities which it values for itself, such a peril will never arise.

But if the counsels of the reactionaries prevail, this Peril must always be taken into consideration and recognised as a potent factor of the future. Yet in justice it should be called—not the "Yellow Peril, but the "White Peril," for those who inflict the wrong must be held responsible for the result.

Kotgarh, SAMUEL EVANS STOKES.
June 19, 1919.

NATIONAL EDUCATION IN INDIA THE BUSINESS OF THE STATE

BY LAJPAT RAI.

In my last educational article I have given long extracts from Mr. Fisher's speeches, because in my judgment they embody the fundamental principles of national education, accepted by all competent authorities the world over. The schemes in force in different countries vary in detail, but the principles underlying them

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are the same. To us in India Mr. Fisher's words are of greater significance than those of others, equally well placed, of other countries, because of our political connection with England. Here is the chief educational authority of the Empire, laying down certain principles and expounding truths which are, according to him, of general application in all self-respecting, progressively-minded communities. We, the Indians in India, are not yet free to determine our educational policy. Even with the promise of educational autonomy to provinces, the last word will practically remain with the Imperial Government. The progress of popular education in India must, for a long time, depend on the good-will of the British officials in charge of policies, and vested with powers over revenues and funds. The words of a British minister of Education will be more to us in our discussions of educational policies and schemes than those of any other authority in any other part of the world. In the region of policy the example of Great Britain is the best for our purposes and I cannot sufficiently urge upon my countrymen the importance of using the British system as a fulcrum for the raising of educational standards in India.

This does not involve a blind imitation of British methods of education, nor does it mean that we should neglect to profit from what is being done by the other great nations of the world, especially the United States and Japan, in this department of their national life. But on the whole Britain can teach us much in this line.

In adopting Britain as our model, however, we are not bound to pass through the same processes of experiment and wastage through which she has passed in her educational evolution. It is the height of stupidity and ignorance to argue that the evolution of any nation must proceed on the same lines, as has that of those that are now in the vanguard of progress in the world. Why should not the younger mother profit from the mistakes of those that have gone ahead? Why should he not avoid the wastage involved in the failures and blunders of others? Of what use is history if its warnings cannot be heeded by those to whom they are available? Let us, therefore, be on our guard against the fallacious argument that we must grow through the same misakes, of which the others have been guilty in their growth towards freedom.

Nor does this mean that we can neglect the various stages of development through which we must pass before we can come up to the level of those who started long ago. What we require is a rational and a comprehensive scheme, taking note of the general principles which have come to be universally accepted all the world over, with special emphasis on our special needs, and with due consideration of the stage of social evolution in which we are and also of our resources.

Now we may assume that the following general principles of national education are accepted all over the civilised world:

1. That national education, being the surest and the most profitable national investment for gain, as well as the best and the most effectual insurance against loss, is as necessary for national safety as the military provision for its physical defence.

Among the lessons of this Great War, the most important, in my judgment, is the value of education to a fighter, from a military point of view. Personal bravery and courage must, as ever, continue to be an important element in war. But even more than that, the fate and safety of nations have come to depend on the intelligence and efficiency of its fighting units. Wars are now virtually fought in schools. The numbers matter a great deal, but even much more than the numbers matter intelligence, skill, efficiency and discipline. Then, again, the efficiency of a nation does not mean merely military efficiency; the latter is so much wound up with its economic and industrial efficiency.

Economic and industrial efficiency does not mean the mere possession of gold and silver, but the brains and capacity of the whole nation to turn the gold and silver and other raw materials into modern arms and ammunitions—ships, submarines, aeroplanes, guns and bullets are only the concrete, completed forms, containing numerous other parts, the manufacture of

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each of which requires technical skill of the highest order—and, last but not least, food and hospital necessities. Assuming, therefore, that security from without is the first duty of a State, popular, universal education alone can make it possible under modern conditions.

The war has conclusively established the fact that the idea of a mercenary standing army, consisting mostly of illiterate units, is an obsolete one; also that India cannot be defended by British people alone; nor can India depend upon Great Britain for its supply of the sinews of war, be they arms and ammunitions or the numerous other things found vital in modern warfare. If the British had foreseen this and equipped India for the inevitable struggle, they could have crushed their enemy in comparatively less time, and with greater facility. Universal education of the best modern type is, therefore, an absolute necessity for the future security of India and, for all that, for the best interests of the Empire, which require that the human resources of the Indian Empire should be economized to the fullest extent. It is a crime to let them be wasted so flagrantly as they have been until now.

Universal popular education must be provided by the State and should be the first charge on State revenues. Any attempt to provide for national education by private agencies and private funds, is futile, and to attempt it is to attempt the impossible. Moreover, it diverts public attention from the State.

A national system of education must be provided for, enforced, financed and controlled by the nation, and in performing that function the nation must be represented by the State. It may be pointed out, as has in fact been done by Mr. B. G. Tilak, in his views on national education, that in India the nation, not being represented by the State, that function must devolve, at least for some time, on private national agencies. The remedy, in my judgment, lies in concentrating our energies on the task of converting the State into a national agency. Along with that, we can use what powers we have or are conceded to us under the new scheme, for insisting on the State providing for universal national education befitting the needs of the nation and guaranteeing in war, as well as in peace, the fullest use and development of our human and industrial resources.

National education must be provided by the nation, and whether the State is representative of the nation or not, it must be made to provide for it. The nation should be made conscious of this.

2. The old idea that the State was only concerned with making provision for elementary education, is also gone. All over the world it is recognized that the duty of the State does not end with elementary education. The economic and industrial efficiency of the nation depends upon technical and industrial education, and that also must be provided by the State. Nor can the State ignore the necessity of higher education, for intelligent and efficient leadership depends on that.

3. Education does not consist in imparting certain amounts of book knowledge and teaching the three R's. It includes the provision for the physical development of the young. It embraces a provision for the general health of the child, including feeding if necessary, to such an extent as to ensure the fullest benefit to the child from the provision for his education made by the State.

4. In short, the duty of bringing up and educating the child with a view to make him an efficient, intelligent and prudent citizen, lies on the State, and the State must be made to fulfil it. It no longer depends on the capacity or willingness of the parents.

Some great thinkers and educationalists, such as Spinoza, have maintained that the Government will, if it controls the education of the nation, "aim to restrain, rather than develop the energies of men." Kant remarked the same differently.

The function of education, in the eyes of a dominant class, is to produce skilled but obedient men, as distinguished from self-thinking and self-reliant men. This theory presupposes the predominance of a particular class in the Governance of the nation. Democratic ideals of government bar any such assumptions. The Imperial British Government has pledged itself to the deve-

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lopment of responsible Government on democratic lines in India. Our own ideal is the same. It may be that, so long as we do not get full responsible government, national education will more or less be under the thumb of the dominant class, but then the remedy lies in our own hands. Constant vigilance, constant agitation, constant education of the public mind, will be our duty, so long as the goal is not reached and when the goal is reached, our policy will be completely in our hands. Then there will be no danger of the control of education falling into hands other than those of the future Fishers of India.

At no time can or will private efforts to further education be dispensed with. Pending the development of full national Government, private effort must do a great deal of what the Government fails to do. In short, private efforts should supplement the efforts of the Government, without any pretence of supplanting it or doing what it is the latter's duty to do, and what it can, under the circumstances, be forced to do.

Private efforts, therefore, should be directed to fill up the gap left by State education, and also to supply the particular needs of particular classes with a view to bring up every class in the nation, to the level of general national efficiency. It seems that education is one of the subjects under the new scheme (which, at the time of writing, I have not seen) regarding which full responsibility is going to be thrown on Provincial Legislatures. Provincial Legislatures are already legislating in some provinces at least, giving the local bodies power to declare it compulsory and to provide for it. Now, sitting at such a distance, I am unable to say much about these moves. As at present advised, I am inclined to think that this may be the proverbial vicious circle in which things move in India.

We have seen from Mr. Fisher's speeches that in England the policy is laid down by the national Government, and the bulk of funds are provided by them. For every 17 millions sterling, provided by the local rates, the national purse has been giving 16 millions and the present Government, in spite of the awful strain of the war on its finances, has sanctioned the additional grant of another four millions from the national purse, thus making the national contribution twenty millions as against the 17 millions realized from local rates.

What is going to happen in india, I don't know, but of one thing I am certain in my mind, that the general outline of a scheme of national education in India must be laid down by an All-India agency, leaving the actual working out of the details to the Provincial and local bodies. This all-India agency must have a majority of Indians on its personnel, and the policy laid down by them must be accepted by the Government, subject to the limitation of funds. What is needed is a national policy, a national scheme, and a maximum grant of national funds for the purpose, to be supplemented by Provincial taxes and local rates. Of course, the first need of the nation is more schools and more teachers. The second is good schools and good, contented teachers. The third is vocational schools, including schools for instruction in commerce and foreign languages. The fourth is technological institutes. The fifth is continuation schools. The sixth is more high schools and more universities.

I do not suggest that all this should not be done simultaneously. But I believe that the bulk of the available funds must be reserved, for some time to come, for more schools and more teachers, to give instruction to the children of the nation on national lines.

In my judgment, the first ten years of our national effort should be *mainly* devoted to (a) the increase of literacy; (b) the production of literate, skilled labour conscious of its rights as human beings, and conscious of its rights as members of the body politic; (c) multiplication and training of the teachers with as great an increase in their remuneration as may be possible under the circumstances. It should be the duty of the State to provide higher technological and agricultural institutes in selected localities, in sufficient numbers to enable the nation to develop its mineral, agricultural, and industrial resources. It should be the aim of the State to fill up these institutes with Indian expert talent, which, if not

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forthcoming at once, should be gradually but steadily introduced as competent men, trained in foreign countries as Government scholars, or otherwise, return.

If Mr. Fisher was right, as undoubtedly he was, in saying that national education is not only an investment, but an insurance as well, I see no reason why education in India should not be provided for, pushed and furthered wherever necessary, by supplementing the amounts made available for the purpose, from the taxes and the rates, by raising additional national debt. If it was legitimate to raise money by loans for railways, and for defence and for contribution to the Imperial War Fund, why is it not legitimate to raise funds for national education and the development of essential national industries by the same means?

At this stage I may as well give another passage from one of Mr. Fisher's speeches. When addressing the manufacturers and business men of Bradford, he asked them if it does "not often happen in the management of a business that you find yourself compelled to face an additional outlay in order to get full value from the outlay that you have already made? And what is true of individual business is true of national business."

In order to get full value for the outlay which India has made on railways, canals and the frontier defences, it is necessary to develop the intelligence, the productive power and capacity of the nation (its defensive and offensive capacity), as well as its capacity to compete with other nations on equal terms in industries and manufacture. The raising of the nation's intelligence and skill, the improvement of its physique and the development of its earning capacity is as important, if not more, as railways, canals and forts. Sometimes it seems to me that in India the cart has been put before the horse.

My argument is that there are certain things which can only be done by the State and must be done by the State; that the State should do these things even by incurring financial obligations in the nature of public debts, if the current finances are not sufficient or adequate to do them on any decent scale; and that universal elementary education and a widespread provision for the training of teachers, and an equally widespread provision for vocational and technical education, both of the lower and higher order, are among those things which cannot be postponed without risk of serious danger to the political safety of the nation.

These things, being provided for by the State on a scale commensurate with the needs of the nation, private effort should be unsparing to contribute to the rest. All privately endowed colleges and academies should be allowed to develop into universities, conducting their own examinations, giving their own diplomas and conferring their own degrees. All research work in classical language, in history and philosophy, in logic and mental and moral sciences as well as in social sciences, may be left to them. The State-maintained colleges and the State universities should mainly concern themselves with scientific education, scientific development and research, and with the natural development of the country. Not that the State and the nation have no interest in the former. Oh! no, the nation is interested in everything that develops and aids efficiency in the individual, as well as in the classes, and more so in leadership, but for the time being the above-mentioned division of labor between the State and private enterprise in education may be the best way of collaboration to economise our resources and get the best possible results from them.

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THE LIFE OF AN INDIAN MILL LABOURER

I.

THE time has fully come when those who have the welfare of the Indian poor deeply at heart should study closely nd carefully the condition of the labourers orking in the Mills at our great indusrial centres. Nothing is more disappointng in the long Report of the Industrial Commission than to note the scanty attenion that has been paid to this subject and he inconclusive results which have been eached by the Commissioners. The Report, rom beginning to end, has been written rom the capitalist's point of view, and abour is treated in a cursory and hapazard way.

I cannot pretend to any elaborate or letailed study of the Indian problem of abour, nevertheless I will venture to put own in as simple and untechnical a manner as possible some of the experiences have gained from living for a short time mong the mill labourers in Madras and he difficulties that have thus been brought efore me. The first-hand information hich I received by actual residence has riously set me thinking, and I have a ope that, if I relate some of these thoughts hile they are still fresh in my mind, it ay help others who are working at the ame problem to take courage in their work nd press forward. For the cause is a reat one.

Nowhere in the world, except in Japan nd China, are cotton mills worked at uch long hours and under such exhausing climatic conditions as in India. The ndian Factory Act allows a working day twelve hours' full work, the only stipuation being that there must be an interval half an hour, in the course of the day's ork, during which the machines are not be used. The Mill may therefore run om 6-30 a.m. in the morning to 7 p.m. night, with only an interval of half an our in the middle of the day for food and rest. When we compare such a day with that common in English or American mills, we find that the Indian mills are kept running between twenty-four and thirty hours longer each week than those in the industrial West. The Indian mills run for 72 hours per week, the mills in England and America run between 42 and 48 hours per week.

Now let us consider how this actually tells upon an average working man's life. I will take a record from the notes which I made while living near the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills, in Madras. The man I questioned told me that he had nearly five miles to walk every day before he got to the Mill. In order, therefore, to be punctual, without any danger of a lock out, he had to get up before half-past four,—because he needed some coffee and a little food before starting and he allowed a margin of ten minutes in order to be on the safe side. When he reached his work, he would have to stand at the loom from six o'clock to twelve o'clock with hardly any pause or break. Then at twelve o'clock he would have forty minutes allowed him in which to get his food, which consisted mainly of cold rice and a little currie. He had to get back to his loom punctually at twenty minutes to one, and to go on standing at his loom working until six o'clock in the evening. He told me that he usually reached home some time after half-past seven, and then he would obtain his first properly cooked meal. He went on to describe to me how, when he reached home, he was so tired, that he usually, after taking his food, went straight off to bed. He hardly saw his children at all, except on Sundays.

The man who gave me these details was a respectable working man, drawing good pay, and it will be noticed that these Mills in Madras do not work up to the maximum limit of the Factory Act Regulations. They give forty minutes' interval

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for food instead of thirty minutes, and work 11½ hours instead of twelve.

But what a life to have to lead all the year round! What drudgery, what monotony! There is scarcely a break in it, except the weekly Sunday, and a very scanty list of religious festivals,—six or seven days in all, besides Sundays, in the course of the year. One has to take into account the heat and noise and dust inside the mills; the strain of standing for such long hours without a break; the practical certainty, sooner or later, of digestive troubles owing to badly-cooked or fermented food; the discomfort of the rainy season, walking through the mud, arriving wet through, often contracting chest and lung diseases, which are aggravated by the cotton fluff that is always flying about and getting into the throat. It must be remembered that there are no workmen's compensation or sick insurance acts in India, as in the West,—no fund to draw from in case of illness. What a life!

I asked this man whether he had to work the whole six hours *standing*. He said that the men were allowed to go out for a short time in turns to the latrines, by getting a pass, and some men stayed there to smoke. But the work was piece-work and the managers would 'speed up' one man against another, and besides this there were overseers who were ready to come down on any man, if he was away too long.

Another question I asked him was about the housing of the workmen.

"Why," I questioned him, "do you live so far away from your work?"

"It is difficult," he replied, "to get even a single room near at hand. They have all been taken up, and besides, I don't like the people's habits near the Mill. I have a wife and children to bring up, and I prefer to live some distance away."

He told me that a considerable number of the mill labourers did as he did, especially the more respectable ones. Some lived even further away still.

I have taken this example for one of the best managed Mills in India, where the Company has done a great deal to help the men. If, notwithstanding all this, the conditions of this workman's life were so exacting, what must be the case in those Mills where the Factory Act is always strained to its full limits and dirt and filth and foul atmosphere and insanitary latrines are the common daily experience? I have seen a Mill of this latter type, and there the labourer's lot must have been much harder than that which I have just depicted,—though, possibly, the slackness of oversight could give the workman a greater margin for slackness in his turn.

This brings me to a third type of Mill, which interested me greatly and made me study anew the question of the length of hours. Here, the Mill was in no sense conducted on what might be called antiquated or slovenly lines. There were no filthy floors or badly built rooms, with foul air and stifling heat. Every thing was quite up-to-date. The owners prided themselves on this fact. The passages and gangways were kept perfectly clear, and the latrine arrangements were modern and sanitary. The rooms were well situated for light and air and space, and there was no foul atmosphere. But, because labour was difficult to retain, on account of competition from other Mills, the great object of the managing body was to make labourers feel quite at ease and so come to prefer this Mill to any other. This was effected by employing an over-plus of workmen to run the machines, paying them good wages, and then permitting each labourer a margin of leisure to go out and smoke or sleep, while the labourer next to him kept an eye on his machine, which would be kept running while he was away. This relaxation would be allowed, turn and turn about. The manager himself told me that very few men did more than eight hours' solid work in the course of the day. I noticed that the morning meal was eaten within the Mill. When it was brought in, the men would sit down in little groups and eat it, while their fellow-workmen looked after the looms of the absentees. In this way the whole Mill had its breakfast, not in the interval, but during actual working hours. The men under these conditions, were contented and the Mill was popular.

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I asked the manager, if it would not be possible to work the Mill more efficiently by having a shorter working day and less going out to have a 'rest'. The manager stated his own opinion, that this leisurely method of work was more suited to the Indian climate and the Indian labourer's habits. It was expensive, for it meant a large overstock of workers; but this was compensated,—when compared with Lancashire,—by the cheap cost of labour and also by the greater number of hours per week that the machines could be run.

There are thus clearly two or three different types of Mill in India, not one kind only. There are the old, badly constructed, badly arranged, and badly managed Mills, working up to the very limits of the Factory Act, and beyond those limits where it is safe to do so. These Mills are often the curse of the country. They sweat their working men in a disgraceful manner, and do not impart to them any new ideas of order, method or cleanliness. Secondly, there are the Mills, which keep well within the hours prescribed by the Factory Act and are thoroughly up to date and modern, but take the last ounce of labour out of the workmen by rewards as well as by punishments, always dealing with the fear and cupidity of the labourer at the same time, offering bonuses and prizes on the one hand and threatening with penalties on the other. These up-to-date Mills have usually a large staff of overseers and foremen, who 'drive' the men all through the day. There is a certain educational value in Mills of this kind; they drill the workmen into punctuality, order and business efficiency. But it is a hard process, in which only the fittest survive. The waste product—the men thrown back as useless,—is enormous. The race is indeed to the swift and the rewards are to the strong: but the weak are cast out on to the rubbish heap, and our pity goes out to them. And then, last of all, there is the type of Mill, which I have just sketched, wherein slackness of a certain type is allowed and the pace is made rather by the average man than by the strong man greedy for money. Here too the educational results are not slight, while at the same time there is much less wear and tear.

I have mentioned already the question of competition with Japan and it is likely to loom larger in the future. I have visited Japan and enquired into the condition of the cotton industry there. From all that I could gather, I feel certain that the strain of the work, especially upon the women, is far greater than in India. The way the pace is forced appears to me to be quite unnatural and abnormal and a nemesis is certain to follow later on. Coming out direct from leisurely India to strenuous Japan I could see, and almost personally feel, the nervous tension. The labour also appeared to be 'sweated' labour, not organised for self-protection as in America and England, and yet drawn from a congested and needy population.

I have brought in this Japanese problem because it confronts us in India at every turn. It is the one final argument, difficult to meet, which seems to stand in the way of an immediate shortening of the factory hours. For instance, the following argument was used when I talked the subject over with certain employers of labour in Madras:—

"We would be only too glad," they said to me, "if we could have a shorter working day in our Mills. We have given evidence to that effect before the Factory Commission. But the shorter hours agreed upon must be the standard for all India, not for Madras only."

"Certainly," I replied, "let us get to work and persuade the Bombay people to fall into line. For instance, why not advocate a ten hours working day?"

"You will never," they answered, "induce the Bombay people to agree, till Japan comes into line as well; and that won't happen in a day."

In this argument we are brought up at once face to face with the international problem of modern industry. We have seen recently how the labour representatives at the Peace Conference have argued, that not only military war, but also commercial war must cease, and disarmament must begin on the commercial side of life as well as in the military sphere. There

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is a 'poison gas' whereby a neighbouring country is flooded with sweated goods, just as there is that by which armies are stricken on the battle-field. Commerce itself may become another form of militarism, no less ruthless than ordinary war.

How far this argument concerning Japan holds good, will come up for consideration in the concluding section of this paper.

Shantiniketan. C. F. ANDREWS.

MOVEMENTS IN INDIAN LITERATURE SINCE 1850

I

THE influence of England on India has been most marked and most beneficial in the department of thought, and this result has been achieved without any pressure from the Government. The vernacular languages of India have been wonderfully developed and in some cases almost evolutionised by the example of English and the needs of the modern age. In one sense our literary language has become both simpler and harder. Though poetry was very highly developed in many of the vernaculars of India before the 19th century, prose was in a crude and primitive condition everywhere. It wanted flexibility, variety of expression, and naturalness of movement, because the learned cared to write only in Sanskrit or Persian, and if the vernacular was used at all by them it was used for writing poetry. (Letters and official papers were written in vernacular prose, but they are not literature). The prose written in the early British period was overloaded with heavy Sanskrit and Arabic words and was as remote as possible from the spoken language of the home and the street.

Vernacular prose, specially in Bengal and Bombay, received a great impetus from the missionaries who published translations from the Bible, sermons and controversial treatises in it. But the style was stiff and foreign, and hardly influenced our men of letters. A few vernacular prose works were also published under the patronage of the Government, for the use of the officials studying in the College of Fort William. The necessity of supplying such officers with text books was one incentive to the creation of a prose literature.

But a literature cannot be really developed except by literary geniuses. And such appeared in Bengal in the middle of the 19th century in the persons of Michael Madhu Sudan Dutta, the poet, and Pundit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, the prose-writer. Both of them greatly modernised the Bengali tongue and made it a proper vehicle for expressing the varied thoughts and feelings of modern life. Both followed the classical style, *i.e.*, used Sanskrit words by preference and avoided colloquial or homely expressions. But at the same time, there was no stiffness, no pedantry, no obscurity in their style, and their genius was shown in combining clearness, sweetness and beauty of expression with strength and purity of diction and a certain music of sound.

The Bengali newspapers of the time also employed a classical but flexible and fairly simple prose. In Urdu the old Muhammadan models continued to be followed for a generation after Vidyasagar; but within the past 30 years a new school of Urdu writers have risen who aim at a simpler, more vigorous and more flexible style in imitation of modern English Prose. What Vidyasagar had achieved in Bengali was achieved in Hindi 20 years after him by Harish Chandra, who introduced a simple, varied but sweet and vigorous prose, rather less sanskritised than that of Vidyasagar. But the influence of Bengali on

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Harish Chandra is unmistakable. A similar transformation of Marathi prose took place in the last quarter of the 19th century; and it is correct to say in general that to-day nearly in all the vernaculars of India, literary prose has assumed a simple and natural structure, and the old rigid structures have been discarded, chiefly through the influence of the novels of Bankim Chandra Chatterji.

The Indian drama has been completely changed since the middle of the 19th century and is now really a close imitation of the modern English drama. The classical Sanskrit model of Kalidas's time has been entirely discarded. In style, plot, characterisation and scenery, the modern drama, in Bengali, Urdu, Hindi and Marathi, is an open imitation of the English drama. Many English plays have been bodily translated, many have been adapted in a modified form, and only a few miracle-plays of the mediæval Hindu type still survive to remind us of the old. In the earlier vernacular dramas of the British period a highly sanskritised prose was spoken and there were long metrical speeches and outbursts as in the French drama before Victor Hugo. But very soon afterwards a colloquial prose was adopted which still holds the field. Thus the Indian drama was completely anglicised, much more quickly than our literary prose.

Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar merely marks a transition stage in the development of Bengali prose. He improved it no doubt, but he did not proceed far enough in the direction of simplifying and modernising it. Bankim Chandra Chatterji's novels indicate a long step in advance. The basis of his style is still the so-called "pure", *i.e.*, Sanskrit vocabulary, but his sentences are shorter and simpler than those of Vidyasagar and he has a richer variety of expression and of feeling and far wider interests than the writings of Vidyasagar. He at first avoided colloquial expressions, but they got into his later novels. Long Sanskrit compounds are frequent in his earlier novels; but towards the close of his literary career his style became simpler and more easily intelligible to the common people. He, however, retained to the end the literary or strictly grammatical structure of sentences, and did not adopt the prose that is actually spoken by the people in their daily life.

II

The third stage in the development of Bengali literature is represented by Rabindranath Tagore. We shall discuss only his prose here. More than forty years ago, he and his fellow-workers in the monthly magazine *Bharati* deliberately avoided Bankim's sanskritised vocabulary and used a simpler and more colloquial style without absolutely reproducing the language of the man in the street. The conservative critics raised a hue and cry that the "purity" of the language was being destroyed by these innovators. But this simple prose went to the hearts of millions of readers, who were ignorant of Sanskrit and could understand very little of formal literary Bengali. The success of the new style was also indicated by the rise of a large number of imitators, and it is now the prevailing prose style except with a few pandits and writers on abstruse philosophical subjects.

Another solvent on Bengali prose style has been the growth of public oratory, both religious and political, and the almost phenomenal progress of the Bengali newspapers intended for the vast lower middle class. These orators and journalists have naturally adopted a style that is most readily understood by the millions, because they want to make converts to their views. (This simplification of Bengali prose has its parallel in the simple English style that Addison introduced after England became a democracy as the result of the Revolution of 1688.) The most popular literature of to-day, namely novels and dramas, are written in very much easier and shorter sentences than those of even Bankim, though they often lack the vigour, grandeur and variety of Bankim's style.

For the last ten years an acute controversy has been going on in Bengal about introducing into books the exact grammatical structure and pronunciation of the language of the man in the street at Calcutta. Rabindranath has been experimenting in

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this line in prose and verse alike during the last 5 or 6 years. His opponents are, first, the writers of Eastern Bengal, who argue that while literary Bengali is one for the whole country, colloquial Bengali differs in every district and the adoption of the latter in books would destroy the literary unity of Bengal, as the dialect of Dacca cannot be appreciated at Calcutta except in comedies, and the dialect of Calcutta would attract no readers in East Bengal.

The second class of opponents of colloquialism consists of the writers imbued with the spirit of the Sanskrit classics who insist that literary language should have a certain dignity and polish of form, which the spoken dialect of the man in the street does not possess. Experiments in pure colloquialism in serious prose and imitation of some of the muffasil dialects are being published in the monthly magazine *Sabuj Patra*, which is also ardently defending this movement. Literary or grammatical Bengali, more or less sanskritised, is strenuously advocated by the two magazines *Narayana* and *Sahitya*.*

III

The modern English drama was adopted in all its features in Bengali about 1860. At first historical plays were very popular, and large numbers of them were written. Translations and more frequently adaptations of Shakespeare were also staged for some time, but no translation of Shakespeare into any Indian vernacular has been made by any literary genius, and consequently the great poet is not worthily represented in our theatres. In the eighties of the last century religious dramas became popular and almost monopolised the Bengali stage for a quarter of a century. But these plays written with a purpose have not become literary classics. In the course of the last four years the Vernacular stage in most provinces in India has greatly deteriorated and the plays are, with a few honourable exceptions, low intellectual performances with plenty of music and dances for which alone the audience care. Their moral tone is distinctly low and from the artistic point of view also these dramas are very poor works.

Dinabandhu Mitra was the first great dramatic genius in modern Bengali and excelled in comedy. His works have deservedly become classics. D. L. Roy, in the next generation, was also a great author and excelled in historical plays and lyrics. His dramas are second only to Dinabandhu's and miss perfection only because he wrote too fast, pruned and polished too little, and did not always work at his best. Girish Chandra Ghose, the actor and playwright, was the ideal of Bengali play-goers for a generation. But he had great industry, range of reading, and power of adaptation rather than original genius. Again, his profession compelled him to write voluminously, producing two and sometimes three plays in a year; hence much of his work will be forgotten by posterity. Rabindranath has attempted the drama; but though he has attained a high level of excellence and avoided glaring defects, yet his genius is not dramatic, and he has not produced any immortal work in this branch of literature. His shorter dramatic dialogues, or rather "Imaginary Conversations" in verse, are masterly. Two of his smaller and lighter plays, namely, *Saradotsava* (The Autumn Festival) and *Goray Galad* (Initial Blunder) are first-rate productions. Recently he has been writing mystical plays like the *King of the Dark Chamber*, the *Post Office*, *Achalayatan* (the Stereotyped Cathedral Chapter).

The Hindi theatre was modernised by Harish Chandra and his plays are still deservedly popular on account of their easy and yet strong and dignified style, excellence of ideas, and general literary finish. He is admittedly an imitator of Bengali literature.

But the present-day Hindi stage is occupied almost exclusively by religious plays of the primitive kind and sensational dramas or love-plays of a low moral and

* Whatever the theoretical contentions of the editors of these magazines may be, in practice they welcome and publish many contributions written in language far different from what Prof. Sarkar says they advocate,—language which often degenerates into vulgar Calcutta slang.—Ed., *M. R.*

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intellectual type, often adapted from low-class English dramas through the medium of Urdu.

The Urdu theatre is a disgrace to our society and danger to the aesthetic faculty and morality alike. The greatest writers like Shakespeare go through a degrading perversion in the Urdu adaptations and become absolutely vulgarised.

In the Marathi theatre music preponderates, and no great dramatic genius has yet appeared.

IV

The new spirit in Indian Literature: The example of the modern European literatures and of English translations of the classics which are so dissimilar in character to the old products of the Indian authors, has caused a new birth in our vernacular literature. We have described above the extent and sources of the imitation of the European *forms* in the modern literatures of India. The change in the *spirit* has been even more striking. Happily, no foolish attempt was made to transplant European literature into India wholesale; but our authors have shown their genius by assimilating the spirit of the West and often giving expression to it in an Eastern garb. The greatest changes have been the growth of the modern drama and the modern novel in nearly all the Indian vernaculars. The change in poetry has been striking but not wholesale. The cast-iron rigidity of metrical forms sanctioned by the old books on prosody and the slavish imitation of the Sanskrit classical models, have given place to far more varied and often lighter metres. Deliberate attempts have been made with considerable success by a long line of Bengali poets from Madhusudan Dutta to Rabindranath Tagore to adapt in Bengali various English metres, especially lyric forms; and we find the same phenomenon in Hindi and Marathi poetry, though 50 years after Bengali.

Now, in respect of spirit, our first great gain has been the analysis of character. Here European models are followed even by commonplace Indian writers, while in the hands of geniuses like Bankim and Rabindranath a degree of excellence is reached in characterisation not inferior to that of the greatest European authors. Secondly, historic truth and local colour are now scrupulously observed by all our authors who care for their reputation. Hence, their writings are more life-like, more marked by naturalness and individuality and less conventional than the pre-British literature of India. Thirdly, the old theological dogmas, legends of saints and miracles of the gods or hackneyed novels which formed the subject-matter of our older literature have given place to the treatment of modern social, ethical and political problems. Our best writers now are didactic, *i.e.*, they write with the purpose of teaching certain principles or theories. All the novels of Bankim's later days and the plays, poems and stories of Rabindranath in his maturity, deal with such problems and suggest solutions to the reader. At the present moment the theories of Ibsen, Maeterlinck and Bernard Shaw are finding expression in Bengali literature, sometimes in direct translation, but more often in adaptation. In one word, the best of our vernacular literatures have ceased to be medieval and are becoming modern not only in form but in spirit also. The new spirit shows itself in a wider, more natural, healthier and more rational outlook upon life. Orthodoxy has been completely discredited in literature, though it still rules society.

Even in the treatment of a subject like love, though it was well-known to our authors of the ancient classical period and though a minute analysis of it and a considerable variety of its moods are to be found in the mediaeval Vaishnaba poetry, yet the example of English literature has enriched our modern poets' works with greater delicacy, greater thoughtfulness and a wider variety than was known in our country in the past. (Rabindranath is the best example of this gain.)

The influence of Europe has enriched our literature also by kindling our nationalistic spirit and developing our historical sense. Historical novels and plays have become popular. The Indian mind has swept away the petty barriers of caste distinctions,

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provincial isolation, and linguistic differences and risen to a sense of the oneness of us all. This awakened sense of nationality has added a manly and noble element to the Indian literature of our day. In plot, in treatment of subjects, in the general characteristics of style, it approximates to the spirit of Europe, though retaining the distinct features of our vernacular languages and contributing a peculiar Indian element to the store-house of modern thought. Hence the best things in modern Indian literature do not appear utterly foreign or grotesque in the eyes of European readers.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

WILLIAM ARCHER'S "INDIA AND THE FUTURE"

BY LAJPAT RAI.

III.

IN Chapters IV, V, & VI, Mr. Archer discusses "Hindu Spirituality," "Caste and its concomitant", and "Manners." In the first article we have made some general observations on this part of Mr. Archer's book. The object of his criticism in these chapters is explained thus:

"Until Hindu patriotism is dissociated from irrational arrogance, and associated with rational humility, the advance of the mass of the people towards self-respecting intelligence must inevitably be slow."

I, for one, am in full sympathy with this object. But that does not imply that I admit the gratuitous assumption made by Mr. Archer about Hindu arrogance. Barring a few utterances which may be rightly put down as rhetoric, no sensible Indian has ever been guilty of "irrational arrogance". Arrogance is hardly ever rational unless Mr. Archer desires to characterise his, as such. Nor do we fully understand what he means by "rational humility." But Mr. Archer is an English writer of repute and I, a foreigner, should not presume to criticise his language.

The Indian masses have no arrogance at all. If they had, they would not have submitted to foreign rule for so long. Nor can that charge be laid at the door of the old-fashioned Pandits and Maulvis. They are "irrationally" humble, if we may use such an expression. Are the English-educated classes then arrogant? Decidedly not. Some of them have only recently started paying the white man in his own coin. There are some reactionaries who have been encouraged to justify and excuse every Hindu custom by their English masters, as also to deprecate the adoption of European manners and European standards. So, it is hardly fair to hurl this charge in such a sweeping fashion, against us. The truth is that the English in India were so much accustomed to a display of "irrational" humility on the part of the Indians, that the new spirit of independence, which sometimes starts extolling the Indian civilization to the detriment of the European, galls their sense of pride and they call it arrogance. There is no arrogance, however, though occasionally there is an exhibition of false pride and a tendency to underestimate the difficulties of the situation. So far back as 1915 in one of the articles I contributed to the *Modern Review*, I warned my countrymen against the dangers of over-sanguineness. "While pessimism is positively harmful as dispiriting and discouraging, optimism may be misleading as tending to produce a frame of mind which is always sanguine, prone to belittle difficulties and to neglect very necessary precautions.*** The best and the safest course, therefore, will be to steer clear of extreme views, to weigh the situation as accurately as may be possible in the light of our own history***. Practical wisdom lies in eschewing over-estimating as well as under-estimating. While it is no good under-estimating our difficulties and over-estimating our capacities, it is perhaps more harmful to have a very low opinion of ourselves and our people.** We have so long been in doubt about ourselves, about the world, and about the good in the world, that it is time to exchange this latter attitude of mind for confidence in self, confidence in our people and hope for a better future."

Now, when I was a boy at school, and later, even when at college, the atmosphere around me was one of extreme under-estimation and humility. For over three quarters of a century the educated Hindus had accepted the word of the missionary about their religion and their past. The missionaries had made even a much lower estimate of us, our culture and our capacity than Mr. Archer has now done. The study of Sanskrit was then at a discount. We knew almost nothing of our history, except what was told us by our masters. Giving credit to our foreign censors for honesty, truthful-

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ness and good faith, we almost implicity believed what they said. That is perhaps the kind of "rational humility" which Mr. Archer wants us again to adopt. Then came the reaction, the most important force to bring it about being "the irrational arrogance" and the sweeping condemnation of everything Hindu by the former. I am free to confess that the spirit of retaliation did in a small degree introduce an element of boastfulness in the educated Hindu, and has done some harm to the cause of social and religious reform. But on the whole, its effect has been marvellously healthy. The ways of abject humility and of servile prudence are not the ways of progress. So long as the leading intelligence of the country prove their claim to that position by seeing things in juster proportion there is no danger of an uncalledfor emphasis on the other side. I am not aware of many Indians of education and position to whom Mr. Archer's description of the tendency towards arrogance can apply.

The reformers may be classified as follows:

(a) The members of the Brahmo Samaj.
(b) The members of the Arya Samaj.
(c) Social Reformers.
(d) Theosophists.
(e) Sanatanists.
(f) Free-thinkers.

There is hardly anything really valuable in Mr. Archer's criticism of Hinduism against which all these classes have not raised their voice. The degree of vehemence with which they have denounced the evil customs has been determined in each case by their estimate of the rate at which progress is or was possible. Mr. Archer pleads for "a patient and resolute struggle", a language, very similar to that which is or has often been used by the advocates of extreme caution and slow progress. Let me assure Mr. Archer that the number of Col. Olcott's followers is greater in the West than in India. By that I do not mean any disparagement of Col. Olcott. I have no doubt in my mind that there is a larger percentage of *educated men* in the West who deserve to be called "credulous" than in India. There are more Roman Catholics, Christian Scientists, believers in healing by faith, spiritualists and believers in magic, among the educated men and women of the United States, than in the corresponding classes of India. Now I do not say that these people are really credulous. I express no opinion against them. But according to Mr. Archer's ideas of credulousness they may possibly be so. Amongst the *educated* in India, there are not many who believe in palmistry or fortune-telling or magic, while in my small experience in the West, I have met hundreds of University graduates, men and women, who are crazy after their fortunes being told. Now this is no sign of degeneracy, because these men and women are extremely efficient and rational otherwise. As to the particular instance of "credulity" relied upon by Mr. Archer on the authority of Professor Oman, let me tell him with all "humility", that there are a great many "rational" westerners who believe, that the world moves in a circle, that there is nothing really new in the scientific developments of the modern age, and that the existence of words in ancient languages denoting the ideas which are embodied in these scientific developments, is evidence presumptive of their having been known to the world at some previous stage of its history. Mr. Archer would at once come down upon me, if I were to base my conclusions as to the mental or spiritual capacity of the West, upon these "insanities." The truth is, that in these respects, there is more of "insanity" in the world all round, than otherwise. I wonder, if Mr. Archer can tell me what percentage of the western humanity is entirely free from it. A "sane" world would not have started this war. A "sane" world would not give a copy of the Bible to every combatant. A sane world would not use the best products of man's intelligence for the purposes of sheer destruction. A sane world would not tolerate the horrible conditions of modern industrial life. A sane world would not tolerate the existing unequal distribution of wealth. A sane world would not punish people for their opinions nor send them to years of imprisonment for stealing a loaf of bread. A sane world would have no need of night Courts, or of "tombs" or of big prisons or of so many lunatic asylumns. Mr. Archer will come across many such "insanities" in Mr. Upton Sinclair's articles on the "profits of religion" which are being published in his monthly issued from Pasadena, Los Angeles, U. S. A. Why, as a matter of fact, there is more of insanity in the West than in the East. A sane world would not call upon God to help in the murder of their fellow-beings. The fact is, that neither the East nor the West are in a position to throw stones; neither are, or have ever been, perfectly or entirely "sane". Yet we have to admit that there is a sufficient amount of sanity in the world to enable it to go on. The mere facts of power and wealth are not evidences of greater sanity. Else we should have to admit that Chengis Khan and Tamerlane were saner than Darwin, Huxley, Buddha and Christ. The same may be said about "rational" sanity, if one can use such an expression.

At this stage I might state my own point of view. I believe (a) that once India had a great civilization, the greatest of *that age*, which lasted quite up to the beginning of the Christian era. That does not mean that the India of that time was quite free from "insanity" or "credulity" or even of "barbarism". (b) That India's degradation and fall was brought about by an abnormal increase in the volume of this "insanity", "credulity" and "barbarism". (c) That up to the middle of the 18th Century, India's "insanity", "credulity", and "barbarism" were at no time and in no way greater than that of

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the rest of the world, including Europe and America. (d) That since then, while Europe and America have in certain respects lessened the volume of their "insanity", "credulity" and "barbarism", though they have added to it in certain others, India has been, thanks to her political and economic conditions, more or less stagnant. (e) That India's future goal ought to be, not an imitation of Europe's "insanity", and "barbarism", but an assimilation of its sanity and civilization.

As regards the ridicule which Mr. Archer heaps on the Vedas and the other literature of the Hindus, all that I want to say in this place is, that they have survived the attacks of greater men than himself, and surely the evidence of their intrinsic worth is greater and more weighty, both in the number of the witnesses and the character of their evidence, than that to be found in this book. Mr Archer's witnesses are not generally of the best kind. They can be hardly considered disinterested and impartial. For example, Mr. Archer quotes a Missionary commentator of the Vedas, as saying that "the horizon of the Rishi is confined almost invariably to himself. He prays for happiness of neither wife nor child, nor for the good of his village or his clan, nor yet for his nation or people. He manifests no common joys, any more than common sorrows." A more ludicrous statement than this, is impossible to be conceived, as the Vedas are quite full of prayers of the latter kind. In fact most of the prayers are in the plural number. In some places whole chapters are devoted to prayers for common good. Take for example Atharva III. 30 or Yaj. XII. 88 or Rig. X, 191. Speaking of "monstrous conceptions", he quotes a hymn from the translation of Max Muller, which has been times out of number explained by other scholars as symbolic and which only illustrates the danger of translating the Vedas literally, and in utter disregard of the fact that the Vedic language is *Yaugika* and etymological, and that the same word is often used in different senses. It is impossible for me to attempt to reply to Mr. Archer's criticisms in detail (I was very nearly tempted to use Mr. Archer's own language and call it his "ravings"), as that would involve the writing of another volume of the same or perhaps bigger size. I am sure, I could fill a volume with quotations from European scholars of high repute and authority, testifying to the spirituality of the Hindus and the high value of their philosophy and literature. Mr. Archer has himself admitted that in places, though very grudgingly and half-heartedly, which is rather inconsistent with his general sweeping denunciation of it otherwise. I think Hindu spirituality can well take care of itself. Hindu caste is disintegrating and so we need waste no time over it. As to Hindu manners, I would not like to change them very materially. The practice of wearing nose-rings and heavy ear-rings by the women is disappearing, because (a) there are not enough precious stones to go round; Europe and America are consuming most of them; (b) the vast bulk of the population cannot afford to invest any part of their miserable pittance of income in jewelry; (c) the commercial spirit of the age is catching India by the throat.*

I am not sorry for it. I do not like either the nose-rings or the ear-rings, not even when the latter are worn by white women. But I may here add by way of explanation, that manners are more or less matters of local custom and so is the idea of beauty. What is revolting to the Asiatic sense of decency is at times extremely beautiful to the European, and vice versa. A European is crazy in admiring certain things which our Asiatic detests. I say this, not because I admire the practice of wearing nose-rings and ear-rings, but because to me the matter seems to be so trivial that Mr. Archer's repeated references to it, seems to me to be evidence of bad manners. Mr. Archer was horrified at the sight of blood at the temple of Kali in Calcutta. The sight is no doubt horrible to any man of aesthetic sense, but I will tell a story to Mr. Archer of how I was shocked, when I visited England the first time. The Headmaster of a famous College was showing me the two things for which his institution was famous,—their kitchen and their organ. When he took me to the former, the sight I saw shocked me beyond description. Reader, can you imagine what I saw? Seventy carcasses being roasted, at once. That was the thing of which my kindly host was proud. Of course I said nothing. But to me it was as bad as cannibalism. As to the habit of truthfulness, I will advise Mr. Archer to read the comedy of "Nothing but the truth", which Mr. Collier has been presenting in American theatres. I hope Lord Curzon will also glance at it. The chancellories of Europe also, will furnish much material on that subject. Let him consult Messrs. Bertrand Russel, Lowes Dickinson, Neilson and others, who have written volumes on the causes of the war.

* The jewellery on the persons of American women in New York, and in jewellery stores, would exceed the whole of British India's wealth in cash or jewels.

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AN INDIAN EDUCATIONAL COMMISSION TO AMERICA

IT seems on this side of the Atlantic that Hindustan is living in the stone age of education. If she really wishes to take her rightful place among the great nations of the world, India must have a more modern educational system. But where will she go to seek for the ideals of newer education ?

In the past the Indian zone of observations has been chiefly confined to only one country in the West, and that, too, admittedly backward in matters educational. Be that as it may, this zone should now be pushed and widened to the United States. Here one can see at this moment, better than at any other, what reconstructional plans are engaging the thoughts of American leaders, what re-educational experiments are in progress for the disabled in war, what new departments are being added to colleges of science and agriculture.

A few years ago the English government in India sent a fish commission to this country to study American fisheries. Is it too much to expect that American colleges and universities will be considered as worthy of careful study as American fisheries? At all events, the Indian leaders who are interested in the educational advancement of India should send a commission to America at an early date. The commission should be made up of the very best educational experts India can afford. The founders of the University of Mysore, Women's University of Poona, the Hindu University of Benares, as well as the organizers of the proposed Muslim University at Aligarh and the Nizamina University in Hyderabad, should be willing to co-operate in sending this mission to America. If the needed means and initiative fail to come from the government, they should be furnished by the nation itself. For after all, education is the most important piece of business in the Indian agenda just now.

It is interesting to note that several foreign countries, includiug Japan aud England, have recently sent commissions of education to the United States to make an intensive study of the American educational system. Why should not India also "go and do likewise"?

An Indian educational commission to America is not at all an idle speculation; it is eminently practical. Many of the leading American educationists whom I have consulted on the subject have given it their unqualified approval and whole-hearted support. Dr. Walter A. Jessup, the President of the State University of Iowa, with which I have the honor to be connected for the past few years, wrote to me in part:

"Should the proposed Commission visit the United States, we would be pleased to have them make Iowa City and the State University of Iowa their headquarters while studying the schools, colleges, and universities in the central part of United States. We believe that it would be to the advantage of such a commission to make this place their headquarters since in Iowa City there may be found typical public schools of all grades including the State University, with its professional colleges of law, medicine, dentistry, pharmacy, and engineering, and its college of liberal arts, graduate college, and college of education.

"The College of Education of the State University of Iowa is equipped with an experimental school, including both elementary and secondary grades, and is used as a sub-station of the United States Bureau of Education.

"In the event that the proposed Indian Commission should come to Iowa City, the State University of Iowa would do everything in its power to facilitate their work."

I also bring encouraging words of greetings from no less a distinguished man in the world of education than the Honorable P. P. Claxton, the Commissioner of the United States Bureau of Education at Washington. Dr. Claxton, whose position is very similar to that of the Minister of Education in the British Government, sent me among others the following lines: "I wish to assure you and others who are interested in the matter that it will give me great pleasure to lend whatever assistance I can to this Commission either personally or through the United States Bureau of Education."

Education in India has been more or less unsatisfactory. The time has come when the frozen decorative ideals of the past should be shattered, and swept out of the halls of learning. There is now a great need of a co-ordinated and well-directed plan to build a new education for new India. And as a basis for such an educational reform, a commission of expert investigators and trained educators should come to America, and see first hand the creative work that is being done in commerce, industry, art, literature, and science. The results of such an investigation are bound to give immense stimulus for reconstruction of educational life, and make it quiver to the very soul of India.

It only remains for me now to add that if an educational commission should come, Mr. R. K. Khemka, the very able President of the Hindusthan Association of America which has for years been helping the newly arrived Indian students to choose right American colleges, will be delighted to place his services at the disposal of the

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mission. Should it desire, both Mr. Khemka and I would be willing to look after the preliminary details of its visit and pilot it through the country. Those who are interested in the plan or want information concerning American educational opportunities are invited to communicate with the President of the Hindusthan Association, 116 West 39th Street, New York City.

Iowa City,
U. S. A.

SUDHINDRA BOSE, M.A., PH.D.,
Lecturer in the State University of Iowa.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Condition of the Hindu University.

A correspondent signing himself *A Senator of the Hindu University* has attempted to reply to my article on the Hindu University published in the June Number. Along with much irrelevant matter, evasion of the main issues and replies to what I never said or suggested, he has contradicted several of my statements of facts. Now, my membership of *every* academic and administrative body of the Hindu University has given me a more accurate and first hand knowledge of the present condition of the Hindu University and the causes thereof than a mere Senator can have.

I shall not weary the reader by refuting every one of Senator's contradictions. A few typical instances will suffice to convince him where truth lies. The sudden and capricious changing of the starting point of the college day given on p. 656 is based on the diary of a professor who kept an accurate record of these changes with dates. But *Senator* non-chalantly denies it, saying that the change was made from *season to season*. If the latter had been the case, there would have been only *one* change in the year, and not *six* as was actually the case last year. The duration of the "period" was so uncertain that one day about midday no bell was rung, though more than 48 minutes had passed. Two professors inquired at the office, which professed helplessness in the absence of the Principal's special instructions on the subject, as the periods were being changed so often.

Again, Senator writes "It is plain untruth to say that Mr Gurtu is going away." This writer's notion of truth and untruth must be diametrically opposed to that of all honest men, seeing that Mr. Gurtu openly declared the severance of his connection with the Hindu University at the 1st meeting of the committee for bringing out the results and repeated it on a later date when there was a council meeting. The reader can judge of the veracity of a writer who denies known facts in the hope that his defence of the rotten condition of the Hindu University will find credence with the innocent public outside Benares.

Similarly, a show of correction has been made in some cases where the Senator's reply is utterly irrelevant to the issue. I said that Mr. Chintamani and Dr. Jha had resigned their seats on the *Council* and other bodies. The contradiction of Senator is that Mr. Chintamani was never in the *Senate !*

Senator indulges in a long rhapsody on the service of Mr. Malaviya to the University and his sacrifices in its cause. Now, in thanking Mr. Malaviya for his exertions, his worshippers should not lose all sense of proportion nor take leave of common decency, unless they wish to make their master ridiculous. They have been steadily following the policy of effacing the memory of Sir Sundar Lal, but for whom the Hindu University would not have been allowed by Sir Sankaran Nair its independent existence with effect from 1st Oct. 1917, as is well known at Simla. It is a bad school of ingratitude in which Mr. Malaviya is training his admirers. Where will *his* memory be after his death, if we can judge from Sir Sundar Lal's posthumous reward at Benares ?

When Sir Harcourt Butler was welcomed at the University in August 1918, Dr. Ganesh Prasad publicly spoke of the Hindu University as the creation of Mr. Malaviya. Sir Harcourt in his reply said, "This University represents the enthusiasm of the Hon'ble Pandit M. M. Malaviya *and* the unfailing wisdom, patriotic devotion and patient industry of your late Vice-Chancellor, Sir Sundar Lal. How much the country owed to him, how much it has lost in his untimely death, I know as fully as any of you." If anything could deepen the infamy of the ingratitude to Sir Sundar Lal by the present rulers of the Hindu University, it was that their omission was corrected by a foreigner and outsider like the provincial governor.

In the same month Mr. Malaviya addressed the students of the C. H. C. after which Dr. Ganesh Prasad exhorted them to shout thrice *Malavi Maharaj Ki Jai !* The gross sycophancy produced a titter among the audience; even the idol blushed at the puja offered to him and cried out, "No, no, give three cheers for the Hindu Vishvavidyalaya." The true value of a man's services to an institution is proportioned to the sacrifice he has made for it. That is the real

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incidence of the tax he pays. Now, it is well-known that when University work made Sir Sundar Lal prolong his visit to Benares in the winter of 1917 by *one* day beyond his first engagement, he lost for that single day Rs 5,000 in fees. It should also be borne in mind that if Mr. Malaviya in collecting money for the Hindu University has impaired what professional practice he had, he has, on the other side of the account, secured, as the accredited agent of the Hindu University, *entree* to high places which would have been closed to him as a stumporator. The gain has been mutual.

But admitting for the sake of argument that Mr. Malaviya has done for the B. H. U. all that is claimed for him by his blind admirers, we must realise what price we are being asked to pay for it. Money getting is only a means to an end. Are we to subordinate that end,—the ideal, the efficiency, the good name of the Hindu University, —to the sole purpose of touring for subscriptions and making the travelling agent the absentee dictator of the University? All mathematicians who have not forgotten their algebra and simple arithmetic in the pursuit of "higher research" will admit the correctness of the formula that

if $m^3 = m^2 g$
then $m = g$,

i.e., If *M*adan *M*ohan *M*alaviya = *money-getting machine*, then Malaviya must be *governor-general of the Hindu University*.

With results for which see Babu Bhagwan Das's letter.

"INSIDE VIEW."

The Benares Hindu University : An outside View of an Inside Criticism.

Every one, Hindu or not, who believes that Hindu culture and learning have particular contributions to make to the wellbeing of humanity must place great hopes upon the eventual achievements of the first Hindu University of recent times. But the greater one's insight into the nature of such an institution as a University, and the more closely one has followed the course of the histories of other Universities the more patient one will be with regard especially to the efforts of the early years of a new University. It is, perhaps, before all things necessary to go slowly in circumstances of this kind. In the particular conditions of Indian Academic life which does not seem to train, as yet, very many prominent scholars, and in which when such scholars are produced they are as long as possible retained in paticular institutions and localities, it is not possible to bring together in a short time the kind of staff which should be aimed at. It seems to us far better to wait than to appoint men about whom it is possible for people to say that their positions were gained by personal influence and not by evident merit. We have heard it said, for example, that one of the Professors was appointed chiefly through the influence of one about whose poetry he had written in flattering terms. For the sake of the Hindu University we shall be glad to find that such reports are radically false. In any case a good reason may be given for delay in filling University appointments until the type of man required is available. It should be regarded as the best in the circumstances to make some temporary appointments.

From what has been said—also from an inside source—there appears to be an absence of loyalty and co-operation amongst the members of the staff and it would seem from the attempt to make criticisms against the Principal that he is not treated as one has learned to expect. To us, and we know Dr. Ganesh Prasad neither directly nor indirectly, the statements about his policy are really indefinite and not such as to give any support to the view that the University is in "rapid dissolution". Had there been more efficient organisation at the beginning, in the time of a certain Acting Principal of the Hindu College, Dr. Prasad's task might have been easier. No University can expect to do good and effective work, no Principal of a College can organise with credit to himself and the institution, if there is a source of disaffection in the staff.

Perhaps it is sufficient to say here, that when the "Insider" has worked as hard for the University as Pandit Malaviya he may have the right to write in the manner he does. We do not hold a brief for the policy which the Pandit pursues, but we believe that he might give a good answer to much of what the critic says.

There is real ground for regret in the resignation of the Vice-Chancellorship by Sir P. Shivaswami Iyer. But such a man is able to state clearly any criticisms he may wish should be published for the good of the Hindu University; the last thing we can imagine is that he should wish an inside critic should present the matter as he does, in a manner from which it is improbable that any good may come—except perhaps the unveiling of the "Inside Critic" himself,

OUTSIDE CRITIC.

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A PEACE THAT IS NO PEACE

As the issues raised by the latest act of the Allies, in forcing an unwilling peace on Germany, are of the gravest moment for the future history of the world, and of especial importance for India, I propose to put the case, so far as the present data are available, with some detail. For if selfishness has actually prevailed over humanity, if the Armistice terms have not been truly kept, (as I believe to be the case), then it appears to me to be certain, that, only when we have retraced our steps and acted humanely towards Germany, can we afford to rejoice. It is no slight thing to be called upon to invoke God's name upon our actions, and we must not take that Name in vain.

I

The Armistice was concluded on November 11, 1918, with two reservations mentioned later, on the basis of the terms offered by President Wilson in his speeches during the year 1918, which have been called respectively,—

A. The Fourteen Points.
B. The Four Factors of Peace.
C. The Five Requisites of Peace.
D. The Five Issues of Peace.

It is necessary to get these, in their outline, practically and concisely before the eye of the mind. I shall give them, therefore, in detail with very slight abbreviation,—

A. The Fourteen Points.

I. Open covenants of peace shall be openly arrived at. No private national understandings. No secret diplomacy.

II. Absolute freedom of navigation of the seas, outside territorial waters. No naval blockade except by international action.

III. The removal of all economic barriers, as far as possible, between nations.

IV. Adequate guarantees, given and taken, that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.

V. A free, open-minded and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims.

VI. The evacuation of all Russian territory. The settlement of all Russian questions, by giving Russia unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy, under institutions of her own choosing.

VII. Belgium must be evacuated and restored.

VIII. All occupied French territory to be restored. The wrong done in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine to be righted.

IX. A readjustment of Italian frontiers to be made along clearly recognisable lines of nationality.

X. The peoples of Austria-Hungary to be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.

XI. Rumania, Serbia, Montenegro to be evacuated and occupied territories to be restored.

XII. The Turkish portions of the Ottoman Empire to be assured a secure sovereignty. The other nationalities to be guaranteed full opportunity of autonomous development. Dardanelles to be a free passage for all nations.

XIII. An independent Polish State to be formed, which should include territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations.

XIV. A general Association of Nations to be made affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small States alike.

B. The Four Factors of Peace.

I. The destruction of every arbitrary power that can secretly, separately, and of its single choice disturb the peace of the world.

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II. The settlement of every question, whether of territory, of sovereignty, of economic arrangement, or of political relationship, upon the basis of the free acceptance of that settlement by the people immediately concerned, and not upon the basis of material advantage or interest of any other nation which may desire a different settlement for the sake of its own exterior influence or mastery.

III. The consent of all nations to be governed in their conduct towards each other by the same principles of honour that govern the individual citizens of all modern states in their relations with one another.

IV. The establishment of an organisation of peace which shall make it certain that the combined power of free nations will check every invasion of right.

C. THE FIVE REQUISITES.

I. The impartial justice, meted out, must involve no discrimination between those to whom we wish to be just and those to whom we do not wish to be just. It must be a justice that plays no favourites and knows no standards but the equal rights of the several peoples concerned.

II. No separate or special interest of any single nation, or any group of nations, can be made the basis of any part of the settlement which is not consistent with the common interest of all.

III. No leagues, or alliances, or special understandings, shall be made within the general and common family of nations.

IV. No special or selfish economic combinations, and no employment of economic boycott shall be made, except when the power of such boycott is vested in the League of Nations for discipline or control.

V. All international agreements and treaties must be made known in their entirety to the rest of the world.

D. THE FIVE ISSUES.

I. Shall the military power of any nation, or any group of nations, be suffered to determine the fortunes of peoples, over whom they have no right to rule, except the right of force?

II. Shall strong nations be free to wrong weak nations and make them subject to their purpose and interest?

III. Shall people be ruled and dominated, even in their own internal affairs, by arbitrary and irresponsible force, or by their own will and choice?

IV. Shall there be a common standard of right and privilege for all peoples and nations; or shall the strong do as they will, and the weak suffer without redress?

V. Shall the assertion of right be haphazard and by casual alliance; or shall there be a common concert to oblige the observance of common rights?

There are certain extremely important utterances of President Wilson, interpreting the Armistice position, which were made during the days of the Peace Conference sessions. The following are the most important:—

(*a*) *Speech to the Italian Deputies.*
January 3, 1919.

"Our task at Paris is to organise the friendship of the world, to see to it that all the moral forces, that make for right and justice and liberty, are united, and are given a vital organisation, to which the peoples of the world will gladly and readily respond."

(*b*) *Address to the Peace Conference.*
January 25, 1919.

"We are here to see that the very foundations of this war are swept away. These foundations are the power of small bodies of men to wield their will and use mankind as pawns in their game. Nothing less than the emancipation of the world from these things will accomplish peace.

(*c*) *Speech in the Chamber of Deputies.*
Feb. 3, 1919.

"We have come to work out a world which is fit to live in, and in which all countries can enjoy the heritage of liberty for which France, America, England and Italy have paid so dear.

(*d*) *Message to the American People.*
Feb. 24, 1919.

"The men, who are in the Conference at Paris, realise that they are the servants of their own people, and that the spirit of their people has awakened to a new purpose,

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and that no man dare go home from that Conference and report anything less noble than was expected of it.....I have uttered, as the objects of this great war, ideals and nothing but ideals ; and the war has been won by that inspiration.

(*e*) *Statement on the Italian-Jugoslav dispute.* April 23, 1919.

"The war was ended by proposing to Germany an Armistice and a Peace which should be founded on certain clearly defined principles ; which set up a new order of justice. Upon these principles, the peace with Germany has not only been conceived, but formulated. Upon these principles it will be executed."

We can find, with perfect clearness, in President Wilson's very carefully defined terms,—which were actually taken as the basis of the armistice,—the principles and professions with which the Allies came to the Peace Conference. Germany had already accepted these principles, and had made drastic changes in her political and national constitution in guarantee of that acceptance. She had carried through a Revolution which made her, for the first time in her history, a Federal Republic. She had also, for all practical purposes, disarmed herself by sea and land.

What has to be continually remembered is this fact, that the leaders of Germany accepted the Armistice on certain conditions. They did not unconditionally surrender. The allied leaders offered those conditions and pledged their honour to abide by them.* As President Wilson himself has described it,—"*The War was ended by proposing to Germany an Armistice and a Peace, which should be founded on certain clearly defined principles.*"

II

It has now to be considered, in the light of all we know, whether these principles, which were agreed upon by the Allies at the Armistice, have been faithfully carried out.

* There were two points only left 'open for discussion', viz : the meaning of the 'freedom of the seas' and the question of 'compensation.'

To take certain facts of the Conference itself,—it is comon knowledge that President Wilson and the American delegation were more than once on the verge of giving up the whole of the Conference in despair because of the turn which events were taking. The Italian and French delegates stood for an extreme attitude of paralysing Germany financially, and also for obtaining territorial concessions beyond the Armistice conditions. Secret treaties were brought to light and insisted on, and Great Britain was compromised. The claims of Japan also in the Shantung Province were put forward, although they were clearly contrary to the Armistice terms.

But President Wilson appears to have made no serious stand, except over the Italian claim to Fiume. We can be fairly sure, by the length of time that the Treaty took to frame, that there must have been many deadlocks ; we can be also sure that the French and Italian delegates gained their way in the main. President Wilson did actually sign. But it is not clear whether he compromised, as politicians often will do, on certain matters, in order to carry his main point, concerning the League of Nations. It is well known that he regarded the League of Nations as the vital part of the Treaty.

In England, we have had a significant statement from General Smuts. This delegate came nearer to President Wilson, in his general outlook upon the future, than any other statesman. This makes his opinion all the more impressive. He says bluntly, that he signed the Peace treaty, not because it is a satisfactory document, but because it is imperatively necessary to bring these months of suspense after the war to an end. The six months since the Armistice, he continues, have perhaps been as ruinous to Europe *as all the four years of war put together.* Any further delay would mean chaos. In the Peace Treaty, we have not achieved a real peace ; the real work of making peace is only just beginning. The statesmen found the problem too hard, the people must solve it. The territorial settlements, punishments and stipulated indemnities,

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all need *revision, modification, or expungement.*

Mr. Lloyd George,—who alone of the Prime Ministers has spoken officially up to the date of writing—takes a typically defiant attitude. His speech reads rather like that of a politician desirous of making capital out of the situation, for party purposes, than that of a trustee, who has been given a most sacred trust to fulfil for the people.

The terms, he admitted, were stern, were even terrible, but the crime of Germany had been terrible ; besides, they would have been more terrible still if Germany had succeeded in winning the war. As for justice, it would have accorded with every principle of jurisprudence to have thrown the whole cost on Germany. He therefore challenged any member of the House to show a single case of actual injustice in the terms which had finally been settled. Germany's offence was heinous, and the world could not afford to take such risks again. This Peace Treaty should not be a 'scrap of paper.' Germany must fulfil it. The guarantees included the disarmament of Germany and the destruction of her arsenals.

I propose to take up that challenge of Mr. Lloyd George and examine it.

The primary question is not whether the peace terms, which have now been signed under compulsion, shall be made a 'scrap of paper'. If they are unfair and unjust,—as even General Smuts, who signed them, seems to think,—then, the sooner they are amended, and even (to use General Smuts' own word) *expunged*, the better.

No ! The crux of the situation is not there at all. It lies in the one supreme point of honour. Did the Allies at the peace table, when Germany was absolutely at their mercy, *make the Armistice terms a 'scrap of paper'* ?

III

There are two charges brought forward.

A. That the Armistice terms concerning (i) Open diplomacy, (ii) Disarmament, (iii) Transfer of territory, have been violated by the Allies.

B. That the financial exactions, imposed by the Allies, have been beyond anything ever contemplated in the Armistice agreement. They are contrary to the *spirit* of President Wilson's declarations.

A. (i) The initial clause of the Armistice principles was, that no secret diplomacy should be allowed. Yet the Allies are proved to have been engaging in secret treaties with one another all through the war ; and at the peace table these secret were treaties regarded as inviolable, even when they have been contrary to the principle of free self-determination of peoples, on which principle the war was fought and won.

There is a direct charge of bad faith here, and it is difficult to see anything but double-dealing in the conduct of England, France, and Italy and also of Japan. Here is the cabled despatch to America of what happened at the peace table :

"It was an awkward moment.—Mr. Lloyd George turned to Baron Makino ; whereupon Mr. Wilson was informed, that Japan had received the promise of England, France, Italy and Russia, two years ago, that she should have outright all German islands Worth of the Equator... After learning so much, Mr. Wilson asked if there were any other secret agreements. It was then admitted that the agreement with Japan also included the British, French and Italian promises to support her claims to the Chinese province of Shantung, as the price Japan demanded *for allowing China to enter the War.*"

"It was an awkward moment."

The awkwardness needs to be called by a much blunter name. It was a moment of dishonour.

(ii) Concerning the question of disarmament, the Fourteen Points of President Wilson are so explicit, that it would seem quite impossible to get round them. The words are,—"adequate guarantees (i.e. of disarmament) shall be given and taken." (Point IV.) With regard to guarantees *taken* from Germany we have Mr. Lloyd George's own statement,—"Our guarantees include the disarmament of Germany and the destruction of her arsenals." But we do not find a single word in the Peace

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Treaty about guarantees of disarmament being *given* by the Allies. General Smuts confesses, in his statement of what happened, 'regret, that the abolition of militarism is confined to the enemy.'

What can be said about responsible people, who first solemnly pledge themselves that adequate guarantees of disarmament shall be *given and taken;* who then insist on the disarmament of the other side; and, last of all, when the other side is disarmed, refuse to give any guarantee themselves?

There is a certain action sometimes tried by sharpers called the 'confidence trick.' It is difficult not to call the action of the Allies by that name.

(iii) No single point was insisted on more often in the Armistice terms than that of the free self-determination of peoples; that peoples should be governed according to their own choice and not merely used as pawns by the stronger nations. All the territorial articles, in the Fourteen Points, keep this end in view. The principle is defined with great care and exactness in the second of the Four Factors; and it is also implied in the first two of the Five Requisites and the first four of the Five Issues. Indeed, it would hardly be too much to say that the War was determined by this issue. Yet in the Peace Treaty terms we know that the following four territorial changes, *against the will of the peoples and by military force*, have been decided.

(*a*) The Saar Valley, with its coal fields, which is German territory, is to be handed over to France with an international administrative control, for fifteen years' exploitation, after which a plebiscite is to be taken.—The disguise of this plebiscite is too thin to deceive any one.

(*b*) Territory bordering on Poland is to be handed over to Poland though the population is German.

(*c*) A part of the northern Adriatic coast is to be given to Italy even where the population is not Italian.

(*d*) The German 'rights' in the Shantung Province of China are to be handed over to Japan, even though China strongly and emphatically objects to it.

It is not unlikely that other breaches of the right of self-determination have actually been decided upon by the Council of Four, especially in Asia Minor; but, apart from this, those which have been publicly acknowledged appear to me incontestably to prove that the Armistice terms have been departed from in order to satisfy imperialistic aims. The terms have not been honourably kept.

B. It is difficult to record concisely all the economic and financial exactions which have been levied upon Germany under the Peace Treaty. The following is a brief summary of the main points:—

(*a*) Germany, an industrial country, depending on coal and iron, loses one-third of her coal supply, and two-thirds of her coal reserves.

(*b*) She loses one-half of her iron supply, and three-fourths of her iron reserves.

(*c*) She has agreed to grant freedom of transit through German territory to "persons, goods, ships, carriages and mails from or to any of the allied or associated powers, without customs, transit duties, undue delays, restrictions, or discriminations."

(*d*) She restores all devastated regions, and makes good any coal deficiency. She also must give option to France, Belgium and Italy on 21,500,000 tons of coal annually (one seventh of Germany's pre-war production.) For 3 years, she must deliver benzol, coal-tar and ammonia to France. She forfeits 5000 railway engines, 5000 motor lorries, 160,000 railway cars.

(*e*) She forfeits all ocean ships of 1,600 gross tons and upwards, one-half of those between 1,600 and 1,000 tons, and one quarter of her steam trawlers and fishing fleet. In addition, she is bound to build a million tons of ships for the Allies within five years.

(*f*) Abroad, Germany is stripped literally of everything. On this account, she is practically deprived of all opportunity of taking immediate active part in industry and trade abroad,—so far as the conquerors can dictate.

(*g*) She accepts, in addition to all this, the responsibility for a war Indemnity

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(called compensation) which is to be finally settled by an Inter-allied Commission, not later than May 1st 1921. She pledges an initial indemnity of 20,000,000,000 marks within two years, and to issue bonds for 40,000,000,000 marks, assuring the full payment of these bonds within 30 years. The total discharge would require 160,000,000,000 marks. Staggering already under an enormous public debt, driven out of the world markets, and economically imprisoned within Germany's own markets, with her economic equipment exhausted by the war, each single German family will have to pay, for the next 30 years, in addition to all other burdens, 300 rupees out of its own scanty domestic income to the Allies.

It is this Peace Treaty which Mr. Lloyd George declares must be fulfilled at the point of the sword and not allowed to become a 'scrap of paper.' It is this Peace Treaty which, he says, can be guaranteed, because "the guarantees include the disarmament of Germany and the destruction of her arsenals."

It may be thus guaranteed, but again we ask the question,—Is this fair, is it just, is it human, is it true to the Armistice proposal? There is not the least doubt that Germany was inhumane in war, but that is no reason why the Allies should not be humane in peace.

Place these economic terms side by side with President Wilson's own speech, containing the Fourteen Points,—on the basis of which the Armistice was made. Here are his own words :—

"The day of conquest and aggrandisement is gone by.....We have no jealousy of German greatness and here is nothing in this programme which impairs it. *We do not wish to injure Germany*, or to block in any way her legitimate influence or power..... We wish her only to accept a place of equality among the peoples of the world,—the new world in which we now live."

Then take the British Officers' Official Report of conditions today in Germany :—

"We were shocked at the condition in the poor quarters. *Spinach is brewed in the kitchens for babies of three weeks to three years old and the sight of babies sucking spinach soup out of their bottles, in place of milk, is distressing. Charts show that babies at the end of their third year do not weigh much more than at the end of their first year.*"

I have put side by side, with very little comment of my own, the professions and the practices of the Allied statesmen towards Germany.

The Treaty which has ended the war with Germany contains no true or lasting peace, because it is based upon untruth. It will have to be undone.

Just as, from every corner of the world the cry went up before against the inhumanity of the war methods employed by Germany, which shocked the conscience of mankind, so now from every corner of the world the cry will go up against the inhumanity of these 'peace' methods of the Allies, which, as soon as they are fully known and understood, will shock the conscience of mankind. Inevitably this will come to pass and the voice of thoughtful men everywhere will be clear and strong.

July 9, 1919, C. F. ANDREWS.
Shantiniketan.

THE WORKING OF THE HINDU UNIVERSITY

ABSENTEE ADMINISTRATION AND ITS RESULTS. It has been shown in the June Number of this Review how, as the result of preferring absentees to resident University teachers in elections to the Executive Council of the Hindu University, in 1918 *not a single meeting* was attended by even half of its members, and that most of the

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meetings were composed of only *one fourth or even less* of the full strength of the Council. For the major part of the year 1918 there was *only one* resident teacher in the Council. In July two other councillors became resident teachers and in November a third. At the elections held at the end of 1918 and early in 1919 two other teachers of the University got in, and there were six resident teachers in the council, but it was for less than *three months* (January—March.) The number has been now reduced to *three* in consequence of the late resignations.

The various University bodies of Benares look very grand and representative of all India on paper. But as the actual figures quoted in the June Number show, all work is done by a very small minority—one-third or even one-fourth, and the distant members (in some cases people living as near as Allahabad and Patna) keep away from the interminable, jejune and mostly irrelevant speeches which are allowed to go on unchecked.

The reader will be surprised to learn that Pandit Malaviya was elected Pro-Vice-Chancellor by just a trifle over *one-tenth* of the members of the Court. This august body, adorned with Rajahs and Maharajahs, representatives of the Native States and learned professions, pandits and scientists, lawyers and doctors, looks formidable with its memberhood of 187. Only 20 is the quorum. But 18 or less than one-tenth attended at the time announced for the election of the Pro-V.-C. Under the law, if a quorum is not found within 15 minutes of the opening of the meeting, the President has to dissolve the meeting as void. It would have been a public scandal if this meeting had been so cancelled and the seat of the Pro-Vice-Chancellor left vacant for months. So, Sir Sivaswamy, poor old man! stood shivering in the verandah in the biting cold of a dark winter morning of Benares for two mortal hours, without entering the hall, so as to save the letter of the law, while University clerks were sent out in *ekkas* to hunt the town for lurking courtiers. The meeting had been timed to open at 8 A.M. It actually began after 10, when the whippers-in had secured the bare quorum. Thus was the second highest executive office of the University filled! *Vox populi est vox quorami* (pardon the dog Latin.)

On the academic side the failure to secure high grade men on the staff and its inevitable consequence of reliance on absentees, have produced disasters. The last meeting of the Board of Studies in Econonics was attended by only *two* members (both local professors) out of *seven*, though four of the absentees (including Mr. Malaviya) were living at Allahabad and Patna. This happens at a university whose sole *raison d'etre* is that it is residential and unitary!

How not to do things academic.

As early as 5th May 1917, the Syndicate appointed a sub-committee (including Mr. Malaviya) to select and publish (after approval by the Board of Studies and the Faculty of Arts) the courses in Sanskrit for all the examinations. As the Benares University curriculum was to be begun in July 1918, the selections should have been made and the text-book printed *before* that month. But nothing was done, though a senator (Mr. Sheshadri) drew attention to the urgency of the matter early in the summer of 1918 and later moved a resolution (Senate. 17th Aug.) to the effect that some text-books should be prescribed by name and expurgated editions specified, as the selections proposed to be compiled by the University had not yet been taken in hand. This simple and business-like suggestion provoked opposition, as it was supposed to cast a reflection upon Mr. Malaviya, who had taken the Sanskrit selection business under his own care *while declining the responsible position of convener of the Sub-committee.* Mr. Malaviya assured the Senate that the proposed measure was unnecessary as progress had been made in preparing the selections and he was suggesting steps for finishing the work *at an* early date. Mr. Sheshadri—a man of peace—withdrew his resolution.*

* The wording of the minute on this point is significant of the methods followed at Benares. Mr. Sheshadri dictated, "In view of the

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Now mark the sequel. Since that Senate meeting *eleven months* have elapsed but no duly sanctioned selections have been made available. Towards the end of the academic year 1918—19, a brochure of 17 pages containing the hackneyed Chanakya *slokas* and some 180 couplets from the *Ramayan* was printed, but as the booklet has not yet been passed by the Board, the Faculty and the Senate, it cannot be used in the classes. Thus our academic mountain, after having been in labour for 2 years and 2 months (May 1917—July 1919) has not even brought forth the proverbial mouse. An impasse was reached in Dec. 1918 when an examiner in M. A. Sanskrit wrote to say that he could not possibly set his paper of the next examination as the selections from the Vedas had not yet been made. The Vice-Chancellor had to use his *emergency powers* and prescribe certain books to save the situtation,—thus justifying Mr. Sheshadri's wisdom. But what time had the candidates to prepare these pieces which were announced on 19th January 1919, while the examination was to take place in April next ?*

This Sanskrit selection sub-committee was appointed on *5th May 1917* with *five* members. But its *first* meeting was held on *31st October 1918* (i. e. 1½ years afterwards) only *one* member attending. The 2nd and 3rd meetings were attended by the same number and the 4th and 5th by *two* members, out of *five* ! And this (or these) "resolved" on behalf of the whole body. Happily there is no quorum in a sub-committee.

Promises and performances.

No private gentleman who has the least sense of responsibility will make any promise which cannot under normal circumstances be carried out. Caution in this which is expected to have a permanent impersonal existence, stretching beyond the lives of its founders. In raising subscriptions (or what comes to the same thing, in attracting students), there is naturally a strong temptation to humour the audience and a practised orator is apt to let his tongue run away with him. But promises made on such occasions without due consideration of their practicability, have a disadvantage: they come home to roost, as Mr. Malaviya's are now doing, to the dismay of the officers of the University.

Mahatma Munshi Ram, the revered leader of the Gurukul educational scheme, recently remarked in adressing the C. H. C. students :—

> "It may be sedition to say so in this hall, but none of the founders of this University realises what they mean when they speak of this institution reproducing the educational ideal of ancient Aryavarta. Such dazzling promises are made by your leaders when they find it necessary to induce a shower of silver from the audience. But in practice they have only added one more to the stereotyped Universities of modern India. You attend lectures, lead free and easy lives, cram at the end of the term and go through the grind of the examination, here as elsewhere."

The orator and "financial resource beggar" of the Hindu University has been telling his audiences that it would harmonise the East aud the West intellectually, that it would impart the highest modern or Western knowledge while reviving the devotion and morality of ancient India, and therefore all Hindus, all well-wishers of India have a sacred duty to subscribe to it. "Easier said than done," one is tempted to reply in the language of Carlyle when criticising Scott's dying speech to Lockhart.

The synthesis of the East and the West can be effected only by divinely gifted geniuses who are born as the winds of Fate blow. You cannot create them to order, or by mechanically stamping men with the hall mark of Ph. D. and D. Sc. In religion such a synthesis was effected by Rammohun Roy a century ago, and in literature by Rabindranath, three generations afterwards. In art we are still striv- respect is still more obligatory on the leaders of an institution, like a University

assurance given by Mr. Malaviya, I beg leave to withdraw the resolution." Mr. Malaviya immediatly insisted on the word *assurance* being changed into *explanation*, so that no responsibility would lie on him when his assurances afterwards came to nothing, as they have actually done.

* Later, the M. A. examination was put off to July, on account of the late epidemic.

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ing after it. The Hindu University, even if it piled up the 4 crores of Rupees demanded by Mr. Malaviya, cannot create the genius who will "harmonise the East and the West" in the domain of knowledge.

But one thing it can do. It can and ought to improve the quality of its passed students, so that they may go forth and compete in the world's market better equipped than their rivals from the Allahabad, Calcutta, Bombay or Madras Universities. The present condition of the Benares teaching staff has been already described; now for the output. At the recent B.A. examination, which is the first conducted by the Hindu University with its own examiners and its own question papers, at first 73 p. c. of the candidates were passed, and then two more in a supplementary list, making about *75 p. c. of successes!* Sir Asutosh Mukerjee must look to his laurels, as he could not pass more than 54 p. c. at the B. A., in the days of his highest glory. The Hindu University in the first complete year of its existence has done nearly half as much again.

Great as this achievement is, it just misses the mark of Mr. Malaviya's eloquent address to the C. H. C. students last monsoon term, when he publicly expressed the hope that the Hindu University would *pass* 95 p. c., nay *cent. per cent.*, of its candidates! The reader can easily imagine the effect of such a speech by a man of his position on students from the province of Allahabad where the old University has hitherto passed about 25 p. c. only at the B. A.*

Another promise of Mr. Malaviya—equally alluring to the ear, especially the orthodox and Marwari ear, but equally difficult to perform, was flung in his teeth by Babu Shiva Prasad Gupta at the 1st Annual Meeting of the Court in 1917. Mr. Malaviya was reminded that he had, when collecting money, promised that he would reproduce the scene of 5000 students sitting on the grass by the Ganges under thatched roofs at the new Hindu University and receiving the highest education, whereas he was now proposing to spend twelve lakhs on buildings.

Yet another case. When welcoming the Maharajah of Darbhanga to the C. H. C., in 1918, Mr. Malaviya declared that it had long been his aim to teach Sanskrit to every student of the Hindu University from the Brahman to the Chandal. (The audience, as the intelligent reader may guess, was composed mainly of Pandits.) The real facts are that Sanskrit has been omitted altogether from the science course, made optional at the matriculation and a very elementary test in it has been laid on such Arts students as do not wish to offer it as a subject.

BUSINESS PROPOSALS THAT DO NOT MATURE.

The reader's attention is also drawn to the paragraphs which are inserted in the daily papers at the psychological moment without any signature—for that would be inconveniently binding and would fix definite responsibility in the case of their proving false,—but also without any contradiction from the University chiefs. Such paragraphs are so worded as to be very soothing to past donors and alluring to prospective only. Hitherto they had promised the migration of the University to Nagwa and the opening of a complete residential University there in the near future. The latest resource-catcher in this line announces that the Hindu University would supply electricity to the whole town of Benares and would also manufacture chemical dyes commercially. The last item is particularly interesting, seeing that the new British Dye Company formed to compete with the Germans has a capital of many crores. Subscribers would do well to watch for the date when the chemical dyes manufactured by the Hindu University enter the Indian market commercially.

An advertisement for a post is a promise that the advertiser is prepared to appoint a suitable man if found. In the case of the highest academic chairs the selection of their incumbents may sometimes take time, but ordinary lecturships should be rapidly filled, as they are at all other in-

* The proportion of its candidates which a university passes is *in itself* not a proof either of its efficiency or of its inefficiency. Ed., *M. R.*

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stitutions in India. But it has become a matter of adverse comment in educational circles all over India that an advertisement by the Hindu University does not really mean business, it does not usually mature in the appointment of anybody. Select candidates are written to, and interviewed, but months pass away and the post remains unfilled, while men of exactly similar qualifications get or have already got posts at other colleges without delay.

Similarly, the Exodus of the whole University to the promised land of Goshen at Nagwa is being repeatedly put off and making our "chosen people" soul-sick. When investing the Hindu University with the powers of an independent body from 1 Oct. 1917, the Government of India demanded an assurance that the removal to the residential site would soon take place. The assurance was given. At the Council meeting of 30 Oct. 1917, on Mr. Malaviya's motion, the Engineers were ordered to "start work *forthwith*" on the Arts College, the two Science Laboratories and a Hostel for 600 students. (*Minutes*, II. 282.) Building materials cannot be said to have appreciated since that date, but migration to Nagwa is now (July 1919) conditional upon the University realising above 9½ lakhs of Rupees of the arrears of promised subscriptions and donations and above 22½ lakhs of new, not yet promised donations. Thus, unless more than 32 lakhs of Rupees are actually collected in the present year, "urgent expenditure on buildings" cannot be met. (Budget Estimate, p. 2). Will a new Moses appear, coin all this money with his prophetic rod, and accomplish *our* Exodus? If so, when?

The Future.

From the facts quoted by us the public will get an inside view of the Hindu University as it is run at present. Where lies the remedy? The first to strike a certain type of politicians is to use a morning paper or two to assure the public that all is for the best in this the best of all universities in India. But blinking truth will not avert catastrophe. In the severe struggle of the after-war world, mere votes (of the *quorum* as usual), mere platform clap-trap, the habitual wriggling out of promises when they happen to be unwritten, the evasion or denial of unpleasant truths, is "not business." The cure can come only if the patient with a contrite heart admits his disease and does not try to brazen it out or to hide his head in a sand-heap. Whether that mental stage has been reached at Benares we cannot say. But hoping for a better day we suggest the following remedies as likely to help forward that day:

(1) The recognition that money is only a means to an end, and that end should not be jeopardised in the quest of money.

(2) The use of common sense and common business honesty in the conduct of affairs and addresses to the public.

(3) A definite, simple and practical programme of work clearly laid down in advance and steadily followed without being lured away to "side-shows." The merciless rejection of the theatrical element and newspaper advertisement.

(4) A resident Executive Head (Vice-Chancellor), with experience of the working of some older University, power of controlling assemblies, and capacity for hard labour. Sir Michael Sadler told me, "I feel that I cannot stay away even for a day from the University of which I am Vice-Chancellor." A resident and active Vice-Chancellor of commanding personality is essentially necessary for a new University like that of Benares, in its initial stage.

(5) The predominance of men with modern knowledge and teaching experience in the governing bodies of the University. Hence, the formation of a professoriate *on the spot*, capable of running the University unaided. Quality not quantity.

Inside view.

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THE DUTIES OF KINGS IN ANCIENT INDIA

FROM Dr. R. C. Majumdar's learned work on *Corporate Life in Ancient India* which has been recently published, we learn that in the Vedic Age kings were sometimes elected by the *sabhas* and *samitis* which were a part of the constitution, that the only means by which rival claimants to the throne sought to gain over the assembly was supremacy in debate, that after the death of King Dasaratha the *rajakartarah* (King-makers) met together to select a King,[1] that the King's Privy Council (called *mantriparishad* by Kautilya) was, according to the Mahabharata,[2] to consist of 4 Brahmanas, 8 Kshattriyas, 21 Vaisyas, 3 Sudras and 1 Suta, that the whole of northern India immediately preceding the Christian era was studded with non-monarchical or republican states known as *ganas*, that even in the Deccan 'some states were republican and some monarchical in form',[3] that unity was the chief refuge of the *ganas*[4] and that it was only from the fifth century A. D. onwards that they ceased to be important factors in Indian politics.

As an instance of the custom of electing the king may be mentioned the Junagadh inscription of the Satrap Rudradaman who ruled in Ujjayini about the middle of the second century A.D., where it is represented that men of all castes went to him and chose him as their lord for their protection.[5]

The whole subject has been treated in the book under reference with a wealth of detail which leaves no doubt in the mind of the reader that "institutions, which we are accustomed to look upon as of western growth, had also flourished in India long, long ago." (p. 122).[6]

My object in writing this short article is to add a few more authorities which I have come across in the course of my reading on the duties of kings. In the Mahabharata,[7] we read ;

'The king who, taking the sixth of the produce from his subjects, fails to protect them, is said to take upon himself the entire burden of their sins'.

Similarly, in the Bhagavata Purana[8] ;

'The protection of his subjects is the highest of royal virtues, by which in after life the king robs them of a sixth of their merits ; otherwise, by exacting taxes from his subjects and yet failing to protect them, he is robbed by them of his merits, and himself eats their sins'.

But nowhere has this idea been more forcibly expressed than in the Markandeya Purana,[9] where the royal sixth has been

1. Ramayana, II, 67-2.
2. Santiparva, Section 85.
3. Vide 'अवदानशतक, no. 88 (first century B. C)— "केचिद्देशा गणाधीनाः केचिद्राजाधीना इति'
4. 'सङ्घा' एवाहुर्गणानां शरणं महत्'—Mahabharata, Santiparva, section 107.
5. 'सर्व्ववर्णैरभिगम्य रक्षणार्थं पतित्वे वृतेण' । quoted at p. 22, Dr. Bhandarkar's Early History of the Deccan (1884).
6. See also, on the same subject, *Buddhist India*, by Rhys Davids, ch. II ; *Epic India*, by C. V. Vaidya, ch. VIII : Kautilya's *Arthasastra* translated by R. Shamasastry, Bk I, ch. XIX, Bk V, ch. VI, Bk VIII, ch. II, Bk XIII, ch. V, &c.; *Sukraniti*, translated by Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, ch. I.
7. अरक्षितारं राजानं बलिषड्भागहारिणम् ।
तमाहुः सर्व्वलोकस्य समग्रं पापचारिणम् ॥
Adiparva, section 213, verse 9.
8. श्रेयः प्रजापालनमेव राज्ञो
यत् साम्पराये सुकृतात् षष्ठमंशं ।
हर्त्तान्यथा हृतपुण्यः प्रजाना—
मरक्षिता करहारोऽघमत्ति ॥
Skanda 4, ch. 20, v, 14
9. यदन्यैः पालयते लोकस्तद्वृत्तान्तरसंश्रितः ।
गृह्णतो बलिषड्भागं नृपतेर्नरको ध्रुवम् ॥
निरूपितमिदं राज्ञः पूर्व्वं रक्षणवेतनम् ।
अरक्षंश्चौरतश्चौर्य्यं तदेनो नृपतेर्भवेत् ॥
ch. 18, v. 6–7

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described as the king's *rakshanabetanam* or wages for protecting his subjects. Here a distinct contrast is implied between the king and the people over whom he reigns, by virtue of which the right of the sovereign to exact tribute from his subjects is strictly limited by his obligation to render them adequate service in the shape of protection. The whole passage runs thus :

'If the subjects, after paying a sixth of the produce as tribute to the king, have to be protected by others, the king is sure to go to hell; this tribute has been fixed by former jurists as the king's salary for protecting his subjects; if the king does not protect them in return, he robs them, and is guilty of theft'.

The Code of Manu displays a high regard for the kingly position, and says that the king is a great deity in human shape,[10] and that the Lord created the king for the preservation of order on earth.[11] Yet Manu declares that the king who through infatuation oppresses his own state, soon loses his kingdom as well as his life with his whole family. Just as a man's vitality is undermined through physical suffering, so also the king's life is shortened by the oppression of his state.[12] The Mahabharata[13] even goes the length of saying that an unrighteous king deserves capital punishment.

Nowhere has the object of the tribute paid to the king been more beautifully expressed than in the well-known lines of the immortal Kalidasa, where he says that the king levies taxes on his subjects for their own welfare, just as the sun draws up moisture from the earth only to return it a thousandfold (in the shape of rain).[14]

The proper manner of levying the tribute has been very happily illustrated in a passage in the Mahabharata,[15] and the same idea is also to be found in the Manusamhita[16] and the Garuda Purana.[17]

Says the Mahabharata,

'The king should tap the resources of his kingdom as gently as the bee sucks honey from the flower, as men milk a cow without wounding her udder and starving the calf, as the leech drinks the blood, as the tigress takes her cubs between her teeth and lifts them without inflicting pain, as the mouse bites the sole of the feet imperceptibly with its sharp teeth; from people in affluent circumstances the king should levy taxes on a gradually increasing scale'.

In the Sabhaparva of the Mahabharata there is a long dialogue between Narada and Yudhisthira on the duties of kings, from which the following extract[18] is given. Narada asks Yudhisthira :

"Is thy kingdom persecuted by thievish or covetous people, by the imprudence of minors, or the influence of women or thyself or not? In thy kindom, hast thou established large tanks and lakes full of water, and hast thou distributed them in such a manner that all the lands have a proper share? Or hast thou left the agriculture of thy realm wholly dependent on the mercies of the gods? In thy kingdom do not the agriculturists feel the want of either seed-grain or food? And dost thou, out of due consideration, grant the tillers of thy realm loans at a small rate of interest? O child, are the departments of thy state, dealing with the four professions of agriculture, trade, cattle-

10. महती देवता ह्येषा नररूपेण तिष्ठति ।

ch. 7., v. 8

11. रक्षार्थमस्य सर्वस्य राजानमसृजत् प्रभुः ।

ch. 7, v. 3

12. मोहाद्राजा स्वराष्ट्रं यः कर्षयत्यनवेक्षया ।
सोऽचिराद्भ्रश्यते राज्याज्जीविताच्च सबान्धवः ॥
शरीरकर्षणात् प्राणाः क्षीयन्ते प्राणिनां यथा ।
तथा राज्ञामपि प्राणाः क्षीयन्ते राष्ट्रकर्षणात् ॥

ch. 7, v. 111—12

13. वध लोकस्य धर्मेहा ।

Santiparva, section 92, v. 9

14. प्रजानामेव भूत्यर्थं स ताभ्यो बलिमग्रहीत् ।
सहस्रगुणमुत्स्रष्टुमादत्ते हि रसं रविः ॥

Raghuvamsa, canto 1, v. 18

15. मधुदोहं दुहेद्राष्ट्रं भ्रमरा इव पादपम् ।
वत्सापेक्षी दुहेच्चैव स्तनांश्च न विकुट्टयेत् ॥
जलौकावत् पिबेद्राष्ट्रं मृदुनैव नराधिपः ।
व्याघ्रीवच्च हरेत् पुत्रान् सन्दशेन्नच पीडयेत् ॥
यथा शलभकश्चानाखुः पदं धूनयते सदा ।
अतीक्ष्णेनाभ्युपायेन तथा राष्ट्रं समापिबेत् ॥
अल्पेनाल्पेन देयेन वर्धमानं प्रदापयेत् ।
ततोभूयस्ततोभूय क्रमवृद्धिं समाचरेत् ॥

Santiparva, section 88, v. 4—7

16. ch. 7, v. 129.

17. Part 1, ch. 111, v. 4—6

18. Section 5, v. 76—79.

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rearing, and banking, managed by honest officers? Upon these, O son, depends the happiness of thy people."

The happiness of the people should indeed be a prime consideration with good kings according to the ancient political theorists of India. 'Raja *prakritiranjanat*'—the word 'king' in Sanskrit is derived from a root which means to please (the people).[19] Whether the banishment of Sita was morally justifiable or not, the fact remains that Rama, knowing in his heart of hearts that his queen was chaste and honourable[20] did not scruple to exile her in her delicate state of health in order to please his people. In the Matsya Purana,[21] we have the following pregnant advice:

'Every king should consider what are the acts which please or offend the people in his state, and he should take particular care to avoid the offensive acts. O moon of the solar dynasty, royal prosperity depends on the people being favourably disposed. Hence the best princes on earth should carefully act in such a way as to please the people'.

In two passages in the Vamana Purana[22] and the Brahma Purana[23] we have it that where the king is virtuous and powerful and his officers are well-disposed towards him, and the country is well-governed, and where moreover the people live in unity and follow the path of justice, are peaceful and without mutual jealousy, there one should fix his habitation, as it is pleasant to reside in such a country, whereas it is otherwise in a country under a bad king.

The seven deadly sins of a king are—(a) excessive fondness for hunting (b) gambling (c) excessive sexual indulgence (d) drunkenness (e) financial extravagance (f) habitual use of harsh language (g) fondness for severe punishments.[24] In the last lines of the same chapter we are referred, for details, to the treatises of Sukra and Vrihaspati, who are said to be the founders of the science of politics.

Ancient Indian authorities were not very favourably disposed towards bureaucracies. Manu lays down the following:

"Since the servants of the king whom he has appointed guardians of districts are generally knaves, who seize what belongs to other men, from such knaves let him defend his people."[25]

Kalhan, in his Rajatarangini, everywhere bitterly complains against the "Kayastha"s or royal officers, who according to Sir Aurel Stein, were mostly Brahmins by caste, and ridicules their sacrosanct pretensions. According to the *Sukraniti*, the king should take the side not of his officers, but of his subjects.[26] "For who", says Sukracharya, "does not get intoxicated by drinking the vanity of office?"[27]

Alluding to Hieun-Tsang's description of the grand Parliament of Religions convened by Harshavardhan under the presidency of the celebrated Chinese Master of the Law, Mr. Havell says:

"Another striking characteristic of Indian political life is the extraordinary deference shown by military rulers to the authorised exponents of national culture, the professional pandits."[28]

The influence of philosophers was not the only factor in curbing royal despotism. The coronation oath which the king had to swear required him to consider always as God whatever is law and whatever is

19. 'रञ्जिताश्च प्रजाः सर्व्वास्तेन राजा'
Mahabharata, Santiparva, section 59, v. 125

20. 'अन्तरात्मा च मे वेत्ति सीतां शुद्धां यशस्विनीं'
Ramayana, Uttarakanda.

21. कर्म्मणा केन मे लोके जनः सर्व्वोऽनुरज्यते ।
विरज्यते केन तथा विज्ञेयं तन्महीक्षिता ॥
विरागजनकं लोके वर्ज्जनीयं विशेषतः ॥
तथाच रागप्रभवा हि लक्ष्मी
राज्ञां मता भास्करवंशचन्द्र !
तस्मात् प्रयत्नेन नरेन्द्रमुख्यः
कार्य्योऽनुरागो भुवि मानवेषु ॥
ch. 215, v. 95—96

22. वसेत् सुदेशेषु राजकेषु । सुसंहितेषु च जनेषु नित्यं ॥
ch. 14, v. 55

23. जितभृत्यो नृपो यत्र बलवान् धर्म्मतत्परः ।
तत्र नित्यं वसेत् प्राज्ञः कुतः कुनृपतौ सुखं ॥
पौराः सुसंहता यत्र सततं न्यायवत्तिनः
शान्तामत्सरिणो लोकास्तत्रवासः सुखादयः ॥
ch. 221, v. 110—11

24. आखेटाक्षौ स्त्रीसेवा पानञ्चैवार्थदूषणम् ।
वाग्दण्डोयश्च पारुष्यं सप्तैतानि विवर्ज्जयेत् ॥
Kalikapurana, ch. 84, v. 42.

25. Chap. VII, v. 123.
26. i, 754.
27. ii, 227.
28. *The History of Aryan Rule in India*, Harrap, London, 1918, p. 207.

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in accordance with ethics and whatever is not opposed to policy and to act according to that and never to act arbitrarily.[29] "There was no struggle", says Mr. Havell, "for freedom of conscience or for the political rights of individuals, because both were established by the unwritten law of the land, confirmed by every monarch in his coronation oath.....

Religion took the foremost place in the political history of India by a natural psychological process, because when the preliminary steps in social evolution were passed—freedom of conscience and a sufficient measure of personal liberty to ensure the contentment and material prosperity of the community—all impediments to the attainment of the highest goal of intellectual effort—spiritual freedom—had been removed."[30]

The Sukraniti lays down that the king must never act upon his own opinions,[31] but upon the opinions of the majority.[32] Public opinion is more powerful than the king, as the rope made up of many fibres is strong enough to drag a lion.[33]

"In defining the limitations of monarchy the Hindu lawgiver is much more explicit and outspoken than the barons of England at Runnymede when they dictated Magna Carta. ....Whoever the reputed author [of the *Sukraniti*] might have been, he certainly was regarded as an exponent of an ancient popular tradition which every king was bound to respect, for these *Nitisaras* were the text-books for the king's education. There are always kings who forget their lessons or learn them badly, but the theory that India has never enjoyed a constitution according to modern ideas is an historical fiction which does not bear careful examination."[34]

Discussing the very remarkable evidence of genuine local self-government and the management of village revenues and common lands, tanks, gardens, and charitable endowments, &c., by different committees of the village Sabhas and Maha-Sabhas elected after regular voting by ballot on the most approved modern methods and the exercise of judicial powers extending not only to the imposition of fines but also to capital punishment by these assemblies, all details of which have been brought to light by recent archaeological research on South Indian temple inscriptions of the ninth to the twelvth centuries A.D., Mr. Havell very justly concludes that

"the common belief of Europe that Indian monarchy was always an irresponsible and arbitrary despotism is so far as concerns the pre-Muhammadan period, only one of the many false conceptions of Indian history held by Europeans. Neither ancient nor modern history in Europe can show a system of local self-government more scientifically planned, nor one which provided more effective safeguards against abuses, than that which was worked out by Aryan philosophers as the social and political basis of Indo-Aryan religion. The liberty of the Englishman was wrung from unwilling rulers by bitter struggles and by civil war. India's Aryan constitution was a free gift of the intellectuals to the people; it was designed, not in the interest of one class, but to secure for all classes as full a measure of liberty and of spiritual and material possessions as their respective capacities and consideration of the commonweal permitted".[35]

Speaking of Southern India at the dawn of the Christian era, Mr. Aiyangar in his *Ancient India* (ch. IV) says :

"The rulers in those days held before them high ideals of government. Their absolute authority was limited by the 'five great assemblies', as they were called, of ministers, priests, generals, heralds (spies), and ambassadors. There appears to have been a general permit for a learned Brahmin to speak his mind in any durbar ; and these often gave out their opinions most fearlessly. This privilege was similarly accorded also to men of learning."

The account of the Chola administration (A.D. 900 to 1300) in chapter VI reads like a romance, though gathered from the most authoritative and unimpeachable sources, and demonstrates that self-government of a democratic type not surpassed by any country in the modern world formed the very basis of society in Southern India.

In a little book recently written by Mr. Vincent A. Smith to prove the unfitness of Indians for responsible government, that most hostile of all writers was compelled to admit that

"Both Hindus and Muhammadans recognised that the king had duties as well as rights, and that if he was from one point of view the master, he was from another the servant of the state. A

29. See the quotation from Mahabharata, Santiparva, Havell, pp. 35—6.
30. Havell, *op. cit.*, pp. 215—16.
31. ii, 5—6. 32. i, 232—33.
33. iv, 7, 838—39. 34. Havell, *op. cit.*, p. 224.
35. Havell, *o. cit.p*, p. 235.

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recent Hindu author justly observes that 'the conception of the king as servant of the state was one of the basic principles of political thought in Ancient India'. The idea finds frequent expression in literature, most emphatically, perhaps, in the declarations of Asoka".[36]

Bhartrihari in the seventh century A.D. wrote as follows in his *Nitisataka* or Century of Morals :

'O king, if thou wouldst suck the Earth like the cow, tend now thy subjects like a calf, for if they are so tended, constantly and well, the Earth becomes as fruitful as the mythical Kalpa tree'.[37]

The prosperity of the people under a good king was, in fact, a fundamental axiom of Hindu politics.

We shall conclude with two further extracts.

'The king whose subjects are devoted, who is devoted to the protection of his subjects, and who has disciplined himself, enjoys great prosperity.'[38] 'In the happiness of his subjects lies his happiness ; in their welfare his welfare ; whatever pleases himself he shall not consider as good, but whatever pleases his subjects he shall consider as good'.[39]

X.

36. *Indian Constitutional Reform viewed in the light of history*—by V. A. Smith (Oxford, 1919) p. 20.

37. राजन् दुधुक्षसि यदि क्षितिधेनुमेतां
तेनाद्य वत्समिव लोकमसुं पुषाण ।
तस्मिंश्च सम्यगनिशं परिपोष्यमाणे
नानाफलैः फलति कल्पलतेव भूमिः ॥

38. The Sukraniti, ch. I, v. 191—92

39. Kautilya's Arthasastra, Book I, ch. XIX, 39.

WHAT IS THE MATTER WITH CHINA ?

By St. Nihal Singh.

EVERY Oriental, no matter to what particular Eastern nation he may belong, is deeply interested in China's future; for so long as she remains a prey to chaos, the finger of Occidental scorn will be pointed towards her, to remind all Asiatics of their incompetence to manage their own affairs. I, therefore, took the opportunity of seeing His Excellency Cheng-ting T. Wang, one of the Chinese Peace Delegates, when he recently came to London on a brief visit, and asked him to tell me just what the matter was with China, why the Republic was so unstable, why there was internecine conflict, and why his people could not settle down to putting their house in order, and to assisting the world to create a new order.

I first met His Excellency in Shanghai fourteen or fifteen years ago, when I was engaged in journalism in the Far East, when he was trying to learn all that he could of Western institutions from friendly Americans and Europeans. Shortly afterwards we both travelled on the same steamer to Japan, where he had undertaken to work among the Chinese students, who at the time numbered something like 18,000 men and women, all eager to learn from Nippon the arts of peace and war which had enabled her to defeat Russia, and to become recognised as one of the great Powers of the world. Now that China is a Republic, it will do no harm for me to say that on board that steamer Mr. Wang told me that China would have no chance whatever until the Manchus had been swept away and the way had been cleared for the younger men to come into power and set things right. More than once while in Japan he enlarged upon that theme in conversation with me.

After leaving Tokyo I lost sight of Mr. Wang, until I met him the other day in London. During the intervening years he had gone to the United States, taken his M. A. degree from the Yale University, and returned to China just before the revolu-

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tion began. Believing, as he did, that the Manchus should be driven out of power in the interests of Chinese progress, Mr. Wang threw himself heart and soul into the movement. He was at Wuchang when fighting was going on there, but apparently he bore a charmed life, and came out of it without a scratch. After the disappearance of the Manchus his intimate knowledge of Eastern and Western institutions, and his great energy, enabled him to force his way to the forefront of public life in his country, and he was elected Vice-President of the Chinese Senate, and later was appointed Minister of Agriculture and Commerce. When Yuan Shih Kai usurped power Mr. Wang remained true to the ideals of republicanism, and stuck to the South. His inclusion among the Chinese Peace Delegates is, for that reason, significant.

For a man in the prime of life and full of energy, His Excellency talks with great gravity. He told me that to understand the situation that exists in China to-day, and to realise the problems that confront the Chinese patriots, it is necessary to make a survey of recent Chinese history.

"You may recall," he said, "that in 1897 two German missionaries were accidentally murdered in the interior of Shantung. The Chinese murderers were apprehended and executed, certain officials were punished for lax conduct, indemnity was paid, and two expiatory churches were erected. Nevertheless Germany refused to drop the matter, and demanded that Kiaochao be leased to her for a period of 99 years. Since that demand was enforced by a German squadron under the command of the Prince Henry of Prussia, the late Kaiser's brother, China had to submit.

"Other European nations were watching the German game in the Far East. None of them stopped Germany from robbing China, but as soon as she had succeeded in wringing concessions out of China, Russia demanded Port Arthur and Dalny, Great Britain Wei-Hai-Wei, and France Kwang-Chwai-Wan, in order to maintain the balance of power in Extreme Asia.

"China was helpless in the matter. Everyone believed that she had no self-respect—no national pride and thus it would be impossible to hurt her self-respect and her national pride. Greatly was the world surprised, therefore, when the Boxer Rebellion broke out in the beginning of the present century. Many explanations were given at the time and many have been given since, but the only basis on which it is possible to explain why certain Chinese massacred foreigners, and laid seige to the Legation in Peking is that they resented the humiliation that the foreigners had heaped upon their country. In other words the "blow-out" was the result of mad resentment, although it was expressed in a stupid way.

CHENGTING T. WANG,
Late Vice-President of the Chinese Senate,
Former Minister of Commerce and Industry,
Peace Delegate of the Chinese Republic.

"Not long after the outbreak had been put down by the joint forces of the various Western powers and Japan, an indemnity levied, and other harsh terms imposed upon China, things appeared to settle

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down. But they really never did so. There was unrest under the surface. China still nursed her bruised national pride. Those of her sons who could think for themselves, and who were filled with love for their country, found it difficult to hold their heads high. Severally and collectively they felt that the weak, effete Manchu Government which was unable to give China a sound, progressive, administration, and which was no match for the foreign diplomatic, consular, financial and military agents was a stumbling block that must be removed at any cost, and as speedily as possible.

"Then came the Japanese war with Russia. That inverted values. Russia, which the Chinese had looked upon as a giant, was beaten by our little neighbour from across the China Sea—our little neighbour who got her religion, literature, and art from us, and who still employed our ideographs. They said that Russia's heart was not in the fight, otherwise little Japan could not have beaten her. But explanation or no explanation, we could see that Japan had hurled the Russian soldiers back from the seaboard, hundreds and hundreds of miles, and that in their retreat, the Russians had lost large numbers of men and great quantities of *material.*

"That defeat—or whatever you may like to call it—galvanised China. Thousands of our young men who used to scoff at Japanese progress hurried across the sea and entered Japanese schools and colleges. Hundreds of other young men went to America and to various other countries in Europe to learn the art and science of the West. The progressive among the provincial governors aided many of these enthuiastic young Chinese to go on their pilgrimages to the students' Mecca of the world.

"The United States of America set a high moral example to the world. It refused to take any more Chinese money for the men who had been killed or maimed, and the property that had been damaged during the Boxer Rebellion. That example was, alas! lost upon the other nations, but China was deeply moved. And I am glad to say that our Government, in spite of its weakness and shortsightedness, rose to the occasion at that time. It told the authorities at Washington that China was ineffably moved by American generosity and that it wished to make arrangments so that the money that the United States was remitting would still be spent in America. She proposed to use it in educating her promising young men and women at American schools, colleges and universities.

"It is strange how even intelligent persons all over the world continue to cherish the notion that in remitting their share of the Boxer indemnity Americans made a bargain with the Chinese that that money must be spent in the United States of America. That is a libel upon American character. The arrangement was suggested by China.

"As the young men, and aye, the young women educated abroad—and especially in the United States—returned to China to find that the Government still went on in its sleepy reactionary way, the warm young blood coursing in their veins began to boil. Controversy over affairs in Manchuria was going on between China and Japan at the time. Chinese indignation at Japanese high-handedness led to the boycott of Japanese goods. Collision between the Chinese and the Japanese in China occurred, for which China had to eat humble pie. That made the young Chinese men grit their teeth, and hastened the revolution, which was precipitated on October 10, 1911.

"I myself thought", said Mr. Wang, "that the revolution broke out prematurely. But that could not be helped. It is not possible to control such a movement when it goes beyond a certain stage. Anyhow, premature or not, it succeeded. The struggle was brief and not particularly sanguinary. The Manchus were advised to abdicate by Yuan-Shih-Kai. They did so. The way was thus made clear for the establishment of the new order.

"Time did not justify the placing of Yuan-Shih-Kai at the head of the Republic, but at the time that appeared to be the only thing to do. At any rate, in the circumstance, it was magnanimous of Dr.

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Sun-Yet-Sen the 'father' of the revolution, to offer the highest prize in the gift of a nation to another individual. Even though Yuan acted treacherously, Dr. Sun's abnegations did not go altogether in vain. I believe it had a tremendous effect upon the world. It showed quite clearly, more than anything else could possibly have done, that Young China was not out merely for office and that, you will concede, was a great thing.

"After the revolution had succeeded we found," said His Excellency, "that our difficulties were greatly increased because the various Powers of the world—strange as it may sound—appeared to be lined up with the reactionaries against the progressives. The reactionary elements in the country were strong numerically, and extremely influential. With the backing that they received from various agents, and especially the money that they were given by various nations, they could defy the progressives. That, I think, is the real reason why the progressives have not been able to succeed any better than they have done—why during the short space of 7 years there have been 4 revolutions, and two attempts to re-establish the Imperial regime.

"When the War began and the liberal Powers of Europe ranged themselves against the autocratic Powers of Central Europe, the progressive element in China hoped that a new chapter in Chinese history would begin. We heard, for instance, that Great Britain was going into the fight in defence of national rights and the freedom of small nations. We wanted nothing more than to be left alone to work out our own salvation, and we believed that Britain and her Allies meant their formulas to apply as much to the Far East as to the Far West.

"While Chinese Progressives felt thus, the Chinese Government began to negotiate with Germany for taking over the unexpired lease of Kiaochao. But these negociations were rudely interrupted by the ultimatum served by Japan upon Germany. When China offered to join forces with the Allies to co-operate in the reduction of that German outpost, her offer was objected to by a certain Power.

"Early in 1915 China renewed her offer to go into the war. But for some unspecified reason that same Power was opposed to her doing so. A friendly diplomat in China advised our Government not to press her demands. What could China do ?

"You will see, therefore," pointed out His Excellency, "that it was not China's fault that until 1917 she remained neutral, and that her contribution to the war consisted merely in sending thousands of Chinese sailors to help to keep afloat Allied merchantmen engaged in bringing food to Britain and other lands, and hundreds of thousands of Chinese labourers to work behind the lines and in munition factories in France, Mesopotamia and elsewhere; and providing large quantities of provisions and raw materials for use in war and other industries. The entry of the United States of America into the war, and her appeal to the neutrals to join the Powers associated together to crush the menace of militarism and to make the world safe for democracy, paved the way for China to come in.

"You may recall", emphasised the Chinese statesman, "that no delay occurred on the part of China. Further she made it absolutely clear that she had gone into the fight from no sordid or ulterior motive. Her whole aim was to help to crush the peril to civilisation, and to insure national rights and self-determination.

"China's entry into the war profoundly affected the Far Eastern situation, especially the situatiou in regard to Kiaochao. From that time onward the territory did not remain territory that had been acquired by an enemy from a nation that was neutral. With China fighting on the side of the Allies, it became a territory that rightfully belonged to an Ally, and that, if the Allied formulas of national rights and self-determination had any meaning whatever, must be handed back to China. But the Chinese delegates at Paris find that the fate of a territory which belongs to China, one of the Allies, is being settled on the basis of *conquest*. While the Allies have refused to make the territories in Africa which actually belonged to Germany the subject of barter with Germany, it is proposed that the fate of Kiaochao, which

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was merely leased to the Germans, shall be a matter to be settled by the victors with the vanquished. China is to be treated in this matter as if she were not an Ally at all."

I reminded His Excellency that the Japanese had definitely promised to transfer to the Chinese the rights and privileges in the leased territory in Kiaochao that Germany was to transfer to them. "Yes," said he, "I know all that. But Japan has expressed the intention of retaining part of Tsingtao as a Japanese concession. They want no more than twelve (12) square miles. That is true. But those twelve square miles contain the wharves, railway terminus, and the business part of the town. Besides, the Japanese desire to have certain railway, mining, and industrial rights in Shantung—including the joint management of the railways, with Japanese guards stationed on them."

After a short pause, the Chinese statesman added with great deliberation, as if he was weighing every word that he uttered: "If the Chinese were to consent to giving such rights to Japan, which, unlike Germany, is China's next-door neighbour, what becomes of China's territorial integrity and her sovereignty? That is the reason why my colleagues and I in Paris have adopted an uncompromising attitude over the Kiaochao question. Since we are asking for nothing but the application of the principles for which the Allies fought so nobly, we fully expect that they will sympathise with our cause.

"Whatever the future may hold for Kiaochao, it is to be hoped that alien imperialism and foreign financial interests will let us alone to work out our own salvation. If the world will give us a chance it will find that we Chinese know our own minds. Whatever the cost, all the progressive elements in our country are united in their desire for the preservation of Chinese independence, and the Republican form of Government. In face of tremendous difficulties we are doing all that we possibly can to improve and extend education, sanitation, and communications, to revise and codify our laws, and to re-organise our institutions, so that, while retaining the essential Chinese characteristics, they will conform as far as possible to the most modern standards.

"Our ideals and aims should appeal to every progressive person in the Allied countries, and should guarantee to us that sympathy and help without which, as matters stand at present, it is impossible for us to establish a new world order in China. 'The spheres of influence' which menace our sovereignty and which prevent our commercial and industrial expansion, must go. So must consular jurisdiction, which offends Chinese national self-respect and often causes miscarriage of justice. The postal and similar concessions wrung by the Powers from China must also disappear, for they are like grit in the Chinese eye, and they hamper Chinese progress. The Powers must also withdraw the obligation imposed upon China to levy customs at the uniform rate of five per cent. *ad valorem*, irrespective of whether they are necessaries or luxuries—a clear case of injustice.

"Besides all this 'negative help,' the liberal peoples of the Allied countries can render us much 'positive' assistance. We need capital, not to carry on internecine warfare and to pursue Imperialistic and jingo politics, but to build railways and roads to develop natural resources and industries, and to carry out other equally urgent measures of national amelioration. We need not only capital, but also experts who will help us to reorganise our institutions, whom we are willing to pay adequately, and who, in days to come, will be sure to be gratefully remembered by China. But first, last, and all the time, we desire to be left alone, so that we may be able to carry on the work of regeneration undisturbed. Foreigners must cease interfering with our internal affairs—aiding one party against the other. That really is the root-cause of the trouble. The minute foreigners cease giving money and other help to Chinese factions, internecine warfare will receive its death-warrant, and the reign of order and progress can be unshered in."

Let us hope that this appeal of the Chinese statesman and patriot will not fall upon deaf ears.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Rabindranath's Resignation.

Everyman's Review (Madras) for June, 1919 in its Notes and Comments writes :

Though the title of a Knighthood is but a trifle for a man of Rabindranath's genius and celebrity, his resigning that conventional honour, coveted by most men and only very sparingly conferred by the Government, and resigning it quite unprovoked and unincited by personal insults is an act of heroism and charity characteristic of the world-renowned poet. If we want to have a precedent to this, we must go back to him alone; and his refusal to visit Canada and deliver lectures at the Canadian Universities because of the injustice done to the Indians settled in Canada is the only other example that can be compared to this resignation prompted by simple and pure fellow-feeling and regard for the mother-country. The letter written by the poet to His Excellency the Viceroy on the eve of his resignation will hereafter form a land-mark in the history of political and literary advancement of India. Dr. Johnson's letter to Lord Chesterfield is famous and epoch-making in the history of English Literature because of the courage with which it upholds the dignity of human nature and condemns the hypocrisy of all scheming tyrants posing themselves as patrons of Fine Arts. Rabindranath Tagore's letter is destined to take a place secondary, if at all, only to that of Dr. Johnson's celebrated epistle, and future generations of Indians will read and re-read it and feel inspired by the language of lofty moral indignation used by the poet against the wrongs done to his humble and beloved countrymen.

While we reproduce the above with approval, we fail to find any exact analogy between Dr. Johnson's famous letter to Lord Chesterfield and that of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore to Lord Chelmsford. Johnson wrote his letter actuated by the wrong, supposed or real, inflicted on him by Lord Chesterfield by neglecting his claims to recognition while he was in distress and then going forward to heap praises on him when he was no longer in need of any patronage. Rabindranath was never in distress arising from poverty and never sought any patronage from anybody, much less from the authorities represented by Lord Chelmsford. Thus while Johnson's letter was a protest against personal neglect Rabindranath's is nothing of the kind, being based solely on national grounds in that it contains his resignation of all titles and honours conferred on him by a Government with which he ceases to see eye to eye as to the manner of the administration of the affairs of his country and people.

The Uplift of Indian Womanhood.

Mr. Abdul Hameed contributes a well-written article under the above heading in the June number of *East and West* now published from Simla. The article runs :

From the beginning of time Woman has occupied a very important position in Society. She has always been in a large measure the source of strength and inspiration, and there are instances in the history of all nations where women have been the types of all the highest qualities. We have Savitri, the ideal of perfect Love, who conquered Death ; we have Sita, who is held in the highest reverence as the ideal of Indian womanhood. Women have always exerted a great influence on every race. Well has it been said, "The hand that rocks the cradle is the power that moves the world." It looks impossible that a nation can be great and free if its other half is held in bondage. That is a question with which we, in the India of these changing times, are confronted, and it looks as if in the path of our nation's destiny the words of the poet ring truer than ever :

"The woman's cause is man's, they rise or sink
Together, dwarf'd or godlike, bond or free."

In the main, we have forgotten the high ideals of the long ago, and Indian womanhood is not given the freedom and knowledge which men enjoy and that is why our national awakening is only half complete. Women are looked upon as slaves and they are considered to have no duty higher than doing the ordinary household work. They are denied the light and air of life. As for the state of their education it is very backward, and one feels the position which they nowadays occupy when it is borne in mind that on education depends the realisation of the values of life, the social, moral and political issues, as well as as the knowledge of their duties in home and civic life.

It is the mothers who are the mainspring of all the activities of the race, the mothers who in their very laps arouse race-consciousness, that have been the builders and the mainstay of empires. These are the mothers like the mother of the Gracchi, that made Rome what it was—the pride of the nations, and the wonder of subsequent ages. There is no greater duty, no nobler task for Young India than the one which can be so simply expressed. "Make women realise their Self," for only in self-realisation lies the knowledge of God, and the world. Let them feel that they are the inheritors of great ideals, and that the redemption

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of their nation depends on them. Woman's position with man's is one of equality, and both complement one another in the labours of life. This idea must take deep root in us, and will give rise to a reverence towards women which is their due. Therefore the first duty that we owe to women as well as to ourselves is the proper realisation of the place of women in society. Having done that and felt how indispensable they are to national as well as individual well-being, how handicapped societies and individuals are without the help and guidance of womankind, the next thing is to equip them so as to become of the greatest service. This can be achieved by a healthy and proper system of education commensurate with their needs. This must not degenerate into a fetish of instruction, that would be the greatest disservice we can do; rather let it aim at developing their highest qualities. When we have succeeded there, we shall have solved one of our greatest national problems, and raised society to a nobler level where men and women still walk as comrades, and the progress of the state also in every sphere will be assured.

Unless, therefore, a feeling of sacredness and reverence surrounds womanhood, and the high ideals of a golden past where women were goddesses and partakers of life, and not mere jasmine flowers, there can be no real progress. The springtide of our regeneration will not come until our women hold forth the banner of a nation's freedom. For, as the Prophet of Araby has so exquisitely said, "Under the feet of the Mother lies Paradise."

यत्र नार्यस्तु पूज्यन्ते रमन्ते तत्र देवता :—where women are honoured there the gods rejoice —is a Hindu saying.

Religious Education.

In the June number of *The Hindusthan Review* (of Allahabad) there appears an article under the above caption in the course of which the writer, Mr. Doraiswamy Iyengar, B.A., says:

The present system of English education in India which was established in the thirties of the last century has been found faulty in many respects and capable of much improvement. Of late it has become the fashion in India to decry this system without thought or moderation, and lay every evil in the land on its head. Among its suggested defects none has been subjected to so much criticism as the absence of religious instruction. This protest against pure secular education received articulate voice during the national awakening of the last decade and found concrete expression in the movement for the two denominational universities. Just now this question has drawn upon itself an unduly large portion of national attention.

The writer continues:

The problem of religious education, though apparently a simple one, really involves many issues. It is the most perplexing education problem of modern times all over the world, as it is attended with insurmountable difficulties, theoretical and practical. The crux of it is that it raises some of the deepest controversies of the modern age which have irreconcilably divided people into hostile camps. A plea for religious education falls into three parts; a case has to be made out for the universal necessity of studying religion; next, it must be proved that religious education can be satisfactorily imparted only in public schools; lastly, an actual scheme must be devised meeting all the practical difficulties. The champions of religious education mostly devote themselves to the first of these and altogether ignore the second and the third, failing to perceive the possibility of opposing religious education on any one of the three grounds even if the other two are granted. They also ignore the difference either between religious education and religious instruction, or between religious education and moral education, and confounding all of them with one another commit serious fallacies.

Continuing the writer observes:

Several reasons are advanced to show the universal necessity for the study of religion, the most pet reason being that religion is the soundest basis for morality. On this supposition very many people have indulged in a good deal of 'cheap talk' about our present system of education. This education is described as sceptical, materialistic and debased in character, capable of producing only rank agnostics and frivolous atheists without having any living faith for later life, and almost solely responsible for the moral degeneration in the country.

The writer further argues:

Leaving aside for the present the question of the difference between morality and religion, it can be seen that the summary condemnation of the present system of education as being by nature immoral and solely responsible for all the supposed moral degradation of our nation, is hardly fair. There is no doubt that the hold of traditional morality and conventional religion on the educated youth of to-day has been largely undermined, and some signs of a little moral confusion are visible in our national life to-day. But this is the result of many causes. All over the world the modern spirit is up in arms against customary morality of any sort and India has also witnessed within herself this upheaval in the world thought. The clash between the old and the new, the East and the West, is now violently raging amidst us, and the commotion incidental to such a wholesale shaking of thought and life cannot be judged by the standard of a peaceful age. All our cherished standards of life, outlook on things and experience of the world have been thrown into confusion, and under such conditions there is scope for some frivolous, if not positively immoral, living. Westernism has implanted within us the spirit on individualism which is the great solvent of all traditions and set-forms. The Age of Authority and of unquestioning obedience to it is past and the individual is the master of himself and his opinions. Modernism is also the most formidable antagonist of all kinds of formalism; it wants to have the spirit, the inner meaning, and rejects all external forms. It is just possible that our youths have given up all the external and unessential forms of moral and religious observance, and drawn upon themselves the wrath of the large body of traditional formalists. The existing system of education is the undoubted cause of the

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advent of these factors, that have shaken the hold of conventional morality but it is not inherently opposed to morality itself.

Mr. Iyengar goes on arguing :

But is not this supposed moral depravity of our educated youths an exaggeration ? Is the present system of education really so bad as is made out ? It is atrocious on the part of our leaders to call the entire educated community of India by bad names, when that community has successfully acquitted itself in all the available fields of national activity and has been primarily responsible for the national progress so far attained. It is also an exaggeration to call the modern system of education as sceptical and atheistic. How many of the thousands of its products have led atheistic lives ? Most of these are law-abiding men, meek and pious. And besides even if the education is atheistic there ought to be no harm since the Hindu is said to be inherently the most religious of beings.

The writer continues :

People say that the present system of education is essentially materialistic and as such imperfect as well as dangerous. A mere physical, external, animal sort of life is no doubt bad, and the present education is to some extent responsible for such a kind of life. But this does not arise from the secular character of the education. Education in Europe is mostly secular but still spiritual. If by spiritual we imply the notion of other-worldliness, then the European and the Indian systems of education are both non-spiritual, materialistic and secular. But how is this dangerous or low ? Are we to say that Mill, Spencer, George Elliot, Leslie Stephen, John Morley, Bradlaugh and Heckel are persons of no worth because they are not spiritual in the above sense ? One of the greatest leaders of modern India, the late G. K. Gokhale, was an agnostic who had adopted the intellectual creed of English Philosophical Radicalism. Was India any the worse off on account of this ? A distinguished student of the material sciences like Sir J. C. Bose, who has grown up, so far as his public education went. in a purely secular and materialistic environment, can prove to be a more spiritual and religious man than a Pandit who has grown up in a life-long study of religion, provided he has a tendency for introspection. Deep reflection on any thing may lead to the development of a philosophy of life, eminently serviceable to its author throughout his life. Those who have read the thoughtful discourses of Sir J. C. Bose can know how he has been able to draw out an altogether original and independent philosophy of life from a deep reflection on the biologic processes of nature. The cant about the materialism of our education and its danger to the country has no foundation in fact....

It is not thus proper to condemn the present system of education in India as being responsidle for all the moral evils of our national life. The environment and the character of our life are more to blame for this than the educational system.

The writer concludes :

Without prejudice to these considerations the contention of Mr. Justice Sheshagiri Iyer may be conceded, that if the mass of the people in a country demand religious education, it must be provided for. The best agency for it must always lie outside the school.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The British Empire and The League of Nations.

In the April number of the *Nineteenth Century and After* Bishop Frodsham, who is especially dubious about the operation of the mandatory system, writes about the League of Nations in the following manner:

It would be futile to imagine that all who are concerned with the formation of the League of Nations are friends of the British Empire. They may neither side with Germany nor be planning our undoing, but none the less they do not consider themselves as custodians of our imperial foundations or superstructure. On the other hand, there are some who believe that the British Empire will gain, in some unexplained fashion, by the mandatory system. No greater mistake could be made. And even if the British were to gain much, they would lose far more, and the whole world would share their loss, if it meant purchasing a cumbrous political machine at the cost of the new-born spirit of unity and trust which has sprung up between America and the Allies—an ethical kinship which may yet prove to be the best positive product of the war.

This article has not been prompted by any prejudice against the main principle for which the League of Nations may be presumed to stand. The British Empire stands for the same principle, which is nothing less than making the world into a peaceful home for a united human family. The main difference between the League of Nations and the British Empire is that one is a theoretical venture, the other has the right to claim experimental value ; the one plans from the circumference, the other works from the centre. The League of Nations is a glorious dream, but the British Empire is a solid reality. However drab in comparison with dreamland the British Empire may appear, it exists upon this much-enduring, blood-stained earth as a preliminary sketch of what the whole world can become, that is, a community of all varieties of the human race bound together by ties light as air but strong as iron. The ink upon the charter of the League of Nations is barely dry, aud already the draft may be pencilled over with innumerable amendments. The constitution of the British Empire has not yet been written. It is in the heart of the people—the same people who have shown their willingness to die for the Empire but who, it is complained, refuse even to be interested in the

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League of Nations. The British Empire is the product of gradual development and of three hundred years of practical experience. It has neither outgrown its usefulness nor is it tottering to its fall. It is by far the largest and most extensive part of the edifice of human society. And no greater world-disaster could be conceived than that the fabric of the Empire should be undermined in order to make room for an ambitious but imperfectly thought-out scheme for building a Palace of Peace, which may turn out to be only another castle in Spain.

How self-righteous !

The Monroe Doctrine.

We are indebted to *The Review of Reviews* (London) for the following interesting extracts relating to the oft-quoted Monroe Doctrine :

The genesis of the famous political doctrine known as the Monroe Doctrine, says Mr. J. G. R. Marriott, in the April number of the *Edinburgh Review*, has been the subject of considerable dispute. The theory contains in its complete form two distinct formulæ, first, abstention on the part of America from any intervention in European affairs, and, secondly, the exclusion of European influence from the American continent ; and both formulæ date long before the the President who gave them their name. The first was explicitly affirmed by Washington in his Farewell Address in 1795, and by Jefferson in his First Inaugural in 1801 ; and it was not long before the second and strictly correlative formula was added to it, for as early as 1808 Jefferson insisted that the object of the United States should be "to exclude all European influence from this hemisphere." The first enunciation of the Doctrine, by President Monroe, in 1823, was brought about by Canning's famous endeavour to "bring in the New World to redress the balance of the Old." Mr. Marriott says :—

By this message Canning was gravely perturbed. He had got much more than he bargained for. All that he desired was the co-operation of the United States in thwarting the supposed designs of the Holy Alliance, and in particular of France, upon the Spanish colonies. What he got was a general intimation, *urbi et orbi*, that henceforward the American continent would be the exclusive preserve of the American peoples, and that no further acquistions of American soil would be pemitted to European or other States.

From December 1823 to December 1918 the Monroe Doctrine has been the sheet-anchor of American diplomacy. Primarily put forward in reference to the Russian claim upon the North-West coast and to the crisis in Spanish South America, the principles enunciated by President Monroe were from the first, perceived to possess a far wider application. Canning's chagrin was amply justified. The message no more discriminated between Great Britain and the absolutist Powers of the Continent than did the propagandist Decrees issued by the French Republic in the autumn of 1792. It was, in fact, as Professor Dunning has candidly admitted, the pronouncement of a great democracy just arrived at aggressive self-consciousness. Its underlying spirit was in very truth antagonism, so far as concerned affairs of the Western hemisphere, to all monarchic Europe, Great Britain included.

Japan and India—As Other See Us.

Under the above heading Mr. S. Kamisaka, Managing-Director, Japan Spinners' Union, who recently travelled in India on business, records his views about this country and its people in the pages of the *Journal of the Indo-Japanese Association*, No. 24 (Tokyo), in the following words :

Rather closely connected as Japan and India are in respect of thought, they are, materially speaking, truly alienated from each other. While Europe, which first came into touch with Indian thought about the mediaeval age and which has even now but a very faint spiritual relation with India, has got ahead of Japan in entering into close material relations with India and succeeded, after exchanges of commodities, in obtaining territorial possession, Japan, to our great regret, still ranks in Indian trade among such minor European countries as have the least. This is, needless to say, due to the general trend of modern civilization of the world. Had our navigation been as active since the 17th century as that of Europe and our national resources as bountiful, India would have approached Japan before Europe, and Japan would have no doubt achieved as much at least as Europe did in India. But our domestic conditions are too widely different from those of Europe, and our national resources too inferior to enable us to reap the same result in India. It will not be, however, too exaggerated a statement to say that within twenty years hence Indo-Japanese relations will undergo a thorough change.

The writer continues to observe under the sub-caption "Religious Caste a Drag upon Indians :—"

International relations depend a great deal, if not entirely, upon national feelings, for national feeling plays an important role in international friendship. The Indians have entertained good feelings towards the Japanese, or, more properly, show a national tendency to approach Japan. But this tendency is founded not as the result of the popular feeling, but upon the national faith, which is more deeply rooted than feeling. For, the Indians are a unique religious people, and their thought is so fundamentally religious, that they can conceive nothing without religion ; religion is the sum total of Indian thought. And according to the religion which they embrace, the caste system, entirely peculiar to India, will never be changed as long as the world remains populated. To the Indian eye, therefore, the protection of the caste means more than that of the state. For man is born in caste, and there exists no human being outside of caste. Violate

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he usage of caste, and you are doomed entirely. Members of different castes never marry, have any sort of intercourse, or sit at table together. People of the same caste get intimate, but those of different castes reject one another, at the pleasure of their gods. The fundamental principle of Indian thought is religion. Religion accounts for the existence of caste, which is most strictly adhered to as something sacred. The attitude of the Indians towards other people, whether neighbours or strangers or aliens, is governed by this caste spirit. Once an intimate Indian friend called me a "Brahmin of Japan," meaning that among the Japanese people, who are on the whole friendly, I was the most friendly to this particular Indian, like one of the Brahmin caste of his country. This is enough to show how thoroughly the caste spirit permeates the thought of the Indians.

According to this Japanese gentleman "Indians are a lovable nation." Talking of the "attitude of Great Britain towards India" Mr. Kamisaka observes :

Great Britain is far more disadvantageously situated than Japan in regard to an understanding of the psychology of the Indians. For something stands in the way of the union of the European and Indian minds. There were some hundred thousand British subjects in India in pre-war times, but how many of this large number truly understood the customs, manners and hearts of the people ? Need I mention the still greater difficulty the British people at home experience in their study of India ? Still, be it said to the credit of Great Britain, that the British colonial policy has been a successful one.

Apart from political and financial affairs, England never interferes with any Indian customs or practices pertaining to their religion, but leaves such matters to the free judgment of the Indians. The British people never hint at the improvement of these practices. For they know full well that a careless interference with any religious question, which is the central thought of the Indians, might lead to serious trouble. And this fear is not imaginary or groundless, for every trouble that Great Britain has experienced with Indians and every outburst of Indian rage have been directly or indirectly connected with religion. The Indians are comparatively indifferent to matters of politics, finance and other social questions. It is the Indian policy of Great Britain, I believe, not to anglicize India from the foundation, but to unify the internal administration, maintain order and peace in the country, increase Indian wealth, and obtain as much profit herself as possible. And Great Britain has perfectly attained her object in the past, for under the Britain administration India has seen the most peaceful prosperity ever witnessed in Indian history, and the Indian is perfectly satisfied with British government, showing no sign of discontent or complaint. Even the anti-British feelings, often reported lately, represent the views of but a small portion of the Indian people, having nothing to do with the general sentiments of the nation.

The writer, under the sub-caption "Indian Trade Prospects", concludes.

I have elsewhere stated what good feeling the Indian people entertain towards the Japanese, and good feelings often pave the way for peaceful business transactions. Besides, no other nation in the world is more influenced, either favorably or otherwise, by social considerations. Their characteristic exclusiveness, by which they never eat anything touched by one of another caste, may be held to account for the distinctions they make in caste, in race, in religion, and everything else. But this same trait may influence them in business transactions, and also in the purchase of daily necessaries. This is the natural tendency from which no Indian can free himself. If, therefore, the Japanese manage to harmonise themselves with the thought and feelings of the Indians, become truly intimate and friendly with them, most confidently and confidingly lead and guide them, and, at the same time improve and promote our industries to meet fully the Indian demands, and exchange our industrial products for the inexhaustible natural resources of India, for the mutual convenience and profit, then we may safely expect to see Indo-Japanese relations most closely established within twenty years hence.

Multiplicity and the Social order.

We take the following from an article under the above caption contributed to the April number of the *Harvard Theological Review* by Mr. J. Lowenberg :

The issues of philosophy are too grave for facile theories. So are the issues of the war. The war is a struggle of general ideas of which there are exponents in every nation and some of which come to predominate now in this, now in that country. Racial and national conflicts themselves may be interpreted in terms of a deeper opposition. There are after all but a few fundamental problems, towards which there are but a limited number of ultimate attitudes. One such problem, of which the war of nations is only one instance, is the problem of multiplicity. And this problem is as general as it is fundamental. It is everywhere forced upon us. We have but to open our eyes to see it reflected in a thousand shapes. Nature with its manifoldness exhibits it ; the inner life with its diversity of moods, passions, and motives discloses it ; the social order with its variety of institutions, forces, laws, interests, and claims bares it ; the world with its many lands, races, nations, states, cultures, and creeds displays it. The world is everywhere multiple and diverse. This is the universal

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situation. And it is this situation which creates our significant problems, practical as well as theoretical. The problem of individual ethics is the problem of choice. In a world in which there is possible but one course of action, no moral perplexity can exist. There is a problem of social morality because there are many of us. Were there but one individual, no social questions would arise. And in a world made up of one nation only, there would be no international disputes. The problems of science have meaning because many and various and complex phenomena call for interpretation. Without a multiplicity and diversity of facts to reduce to law and order, science itself would evaporate. And philosophy—what is it but an effort to reconstruct the meaning of a world in which many antitheses and contradictions seem to prevail? The work of philosophy consists in formulating the many problems of life and of reality and in appraising the validity of opposed solutions.

Again:

Is the State logically prior to Law, or is Law logically prior to the State? Is the will of the State ultimate, or is there an authority, legal or moral, which ranks superior to the will of the State? Is or is not the State capable of criminal acts? These questions cannot be answered without determining the character and the reality of the State. As a mere collection of detached individuals it is irresponsible; as a mystic being existing as a sort of Platonic Idea, the State transcends the moral judgments which bind human individuals; as a "fictitious" or "symbolic" or "hieroglyphic" personality which is and is not an individual, the State again eludes responsibility. Truly romantic is the "double evaluation" of the group. As *Persona ficta* the State has all the privileges with none of the responsibilities of a person. But if the State is neither a collective name, nor a transcendent Idea, nor a fiction or symbol, but a person in the ethical sense, or an organized individuality, as Plato conceived his Republic, then the State can sin as do individuals, and is subject to the same moral restrictions as are its individual members.

What has Japan done in the War.

Baron Makino writing in the *London Daily Telegraph* of London, an article on "*Japan and China: An Official View*," says:

We ask nothing for Japan but those things which appear to us just and equitable, and of the justice and equity of which we may be able to convince not only the respresentatives of the nations in the Peace Conference, but the people of the countries they represent. We have no demands to make; we merely advance certain matters for the same consideration by other nations as we have ourselves given to them in the light of our own position and the future of the Far East. It may be necessary to go back through the history of some years in order that we may arrive at what we regard as a fair and equitable conclusion.

After detailing *in extenso* all that has been done by the Japanese in helping in the maintenance of peace and order in central Asia and in the Far East since 1905 up to the end of the War just closed which began in 1914, the Baron concludes with the following words:

The question has been asked, 'What has Japan done in this war?' I answer only by saying that Japan has done her best. It is perhaps not unseemly to state that her fleets in the Pacific and Indian oceans and in the Mediterranean traversed over 1,200,000 miles in the work of protecting transports and merchant vessels from the submarines, and we escorted three quarters of a million men rushing to the aid of France and Britain. Japan's geographical position, her resources, and the fact that the Pacific Ocean was freed of the menace which has threatened the freedom of other seas, enabled us to provide considerable quantities of war supplies and materials to Russia, to England and to France, and including loans to Russia, the money expenditure has been a very considerable item in the budget of Japan. But these are small matters in comparison with the magnificent sacrifices of our western allies. The government and the people of Japan have been the loyal allies of Great Britain and France and the friends of Russia and of the United States. It is not for me here to enter into a relation of what we have done in detail. It is sufficient to say that what has been given or spent and what has been lost in the cause for which the allies have fought and won have been coutributed in a spirit of loyalty and sympathy, and that we are here now to assist in the work of building barricades against war and in forging links of friendship and understading between the nations of the East and of the West.

The British View of Irish Nationalism.

Under the above caption there appears an article in the London *Spectator* in the course of which the writer observes:

Everyone with a faculty for argumentation must have despaired sometimes when he found himself opposed in a discussion to a person on whom logic had no effect, for whom syllogisms did not exist, and in whose mind a rationally presented series of connecting links in argument inspired nothing but some new and fantastic irrelevance. The man with the rational mind in such circumstances recognizes at length that all his rationality is of no avail, that every point of learning and dialectic on which he prided himself might just as

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well not have been uttered, for he has all the time been following the futile occupation of punching a featherbed or kicking against a brick wall. Englishmen who read the reports of Irish debates in the House of Commons know something of that despair. We cannot go into the whole of the debate which took place in the House of Commons the other day, but let us, to illustrate our meaning, disentangle a few arguments from the mass. The Nationalists—and the same thing is true of what may be called the moderate Sinn Feiners, if there be such persons—base their claim for independence upon the rights of small nationalities, and upon what in the argon of the day has come to be known as self-determination. Surely if these men had any glimmerings of statesmanship they would at once accept the offer that has been made to them over and over again that they may set up a Parliament in Ireland which will not control the Six Counties of Northeast Ulster where the population is predominantly Unionist and Protestant. Obviously, if the majority of the people in the South and West of Ireland have a right to determine their own political destiny, the local majority of the Six Counties have an exactly similar right. That is the merest logic. If the Dublin Parliament should succeed, there can be no doubt whatever that within three or four years the excluded part of Ulster would be begging and praying to come in. If we were Ulstermen, we should always be rubbing in the fact that the unwillingness of Irishmen in the South and West to set up a Parliament where they have a really homogeneous population is the most alarming fact in the situation. Within the area which is undoubtedly of their own way of thinking the Nationalists could carry on quite happily without being balked and tormented by all those tiresome Protestant or Unionist objectors from Ulster. We feel sure that if we were Home Rulers we should actually say: 'We would rather be without miserable anti-Irish Irishmen like you Northeast Ulster people.' Directly the Nationalists began to talk in that strain, and especially if they began to make an obvious success of their affairs, Ulster Unionists and Protestants would begin to hesitate, to ask themselves questions, and to wonder if, after all, there was any need to hold out longer.

The writer continues :

But the Nationalists seem to be by temperament or brain power quite incapable of appreciating this. History for them tells its stories in vain. Suppose that during the *risorgimento* of Italy, Garibaldi, Mazzini, and Cavour had said : 'We will have all or nothing. There shall be no partition. If we cannot include in our new State some city where the population is thoroughly pro-Austrian and full of anti-Italian patriots, then we will not create a New Italy at all!' Yet, if we can imagine the creators of New Italy being so mad, their madness would not have exceeded what is solemnly and eloquently asserted by Irish Nationalist Members in the House of Commons. Mr. Ronald Mac Neil in his excellent speech put the case extremely well. He pointed out that loyal Irishmen who had fought for the maintenance of the Union for generations were anxious not to be obstructive when war came, and they abandoned their insistence upon maintaining the Union. The answer of the Nationalists and Sinn Feiners to that was, as Mr. MacNeil put it, that they wanted 'self determination for Munster, Leinster, and Connaught, coupled with domination over those who are outside their own borders.' 'That,' he added, 'is the sort of self-determination which I do not think the Peace Conference is likely to support.'

Further runs the article :

This reference to the Peace Conference reminds us of the appeal which the Sinn Feiners have sent to Paris demanding independence for Ireland as being the right of a small nation. We do not ourselves think that there is any sense, justice, or safety in asking other nations to settle the affairs of our sovereign State, but as the Sinn Feiners, with their customary irresponsibility, have taken this action, it would surely be advisable for the Unionists of Ulster to deliver a counter-attack. Just as an admirable counterstatement was issued by the Ulster Unionists when the Lord Mayor of Dublin dispatched his glowing misstatement about Irish history to President Wilson, so might Ulster Unionists now tell the truth to the Peace Conference. They might invite the Peace Conference to rule that if small nations have the right of self-dermination, a similar right shall be extended to any tract of territory, in a new small State not to be separated from the country to which it previously belonged if a majority of the inhabitants express that desire. Such a right is surely co-ordinate with the right of self-determination. Could there be a proposition more opposed to the principle of self-determination than that a nation has a right to wrench away from the allegiance it professes and loves some such district as that of Northeast Ulster? It might be said that the Unionists and Protestants of Northeast Ulster are really secured by the pledges of the Prime Minister, but it would be a fine thing, and a great thing, if, in spite of the fact that they felt reasonably secure, they asserted the right we have described for other small communities.

The following lines represent the penultimate paragraph of the article :

We wish we could do justice to Mr. Macpherson's speech, in which the contrast between the prosperity of Ireland and the intense cruelty of the shootings, persecutions, and oppressions being carried out by Sinn Feiners was sharply and ably drawn. But we must content ourselves with referring finally to the speech of Mr. Lynn—a maiden speech which was a real contribution to the debate. Mr. Lynn talked of the repetition by the Nationalist speakers of the 'ancient litany' of imaginary wrongs. Here he put his finger on one of the most ridiculous of Irish irrationalities. The argument that the British Government should now do something wrong and foolish in order to atone for the faults of Englishmen of past generations is a negation of all statesmanlike ideas. If the principle of such a demand is justifiable, why is it not applied to the Roman Church? If Protestant Englishmen must make amends for injustices or crimes said to have been committed generations ago, by what right do Roman Catholics demand to be free from the same obligation? On these terms the Roman Catholics owe reparation for the massacre of St. Bartholomew, for the two Irish massacres of the seventeenth century, and for the terrible Irish rebellion of '98. Why should the poor English race be the only one to which is applied the law that 'the sins of the fathers must be visited on the children'? The argument, of course, does

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not bear looking into. Shakespeare as usual told the truth: 'Crimes like land are not inherited.'

The article concludes :—

We earnestly hope that Mr. Lynn will press his demand for information about the relations, before and during the war, between the Sinn Feiners and Germany. He traced those relations back to 1911, and stated explicitly that during the war secret wireless installations were established, German submarines were supplied with petrol and other necessaries, large quantities of German arms were landed, and elaborate arrangements were made for a German occupation. The British public wants to know exactly where the Sinn Feiners stand. What is the truth of all these matters? If a Parliament is set up in Dublin, it will, of course, be a Sinn Fein Parliament. It is really utterly indefensible for the government to say in effect: 'We will not allow any information to be published about the character of these men to whom we may entrust the task of setting up a Parliament to rule the greater part of Ireland, and who will have license to make any trouble they please at your very doors.' Mr. Lynn has failed three times to get an answer, but we hope he will persist.

Immortality and Modern Science.

In the course of reviewing a book by Mr. Edward Clodd—*A Brief History and Examination of Modern Spiritualism*—, which is the latest of the works on the subject, Dr. Frank Ballard, D. D., in the recent issue of the *London Quarterly* quotes from Mr. Fiske's *Destiny of Man* :—

'The materialistic assumption that the life of the soul ends with the life of the body, is perhaps the most colossal instance of baseless assumption that is known to the history of philosophy.'

And then observes :—

And we may say to-day even more firmly than he did, that although upon these conclusions we cannot directly base an argument sustaining man's immortality, we certainly remove the only serious objection that has ever been alleged against it.' Personality is at once the most certain and the greatest reality in the universe. And physical death can no more touch that in humanity, than a hammer can smash an idea, or the destruction of a violin necessitate the destruction of the player. Dr. Thomson's volume just mentioned deserves much more notice than it has received, for therein he gives abundant warrant for his avowal that 'a great personality may possibly make a great brain'—it is not always so—'but no brain can make a great personality.' Hence it is far from enough to say that modern science just 'leaves unsolved' the great question of human immortality. It does much more. It deliberately affirms that there is nothing, either in its efforts or its findings, against the more hopeful answer to that question. In Dr. Fosdick's well-chosen words,

"When a man has canvassed all the standard objections to belief in personal permanence, he finds them manifestly inconclusive. So far as anything that science has discovered is concerned, immortality is as possible as it is significant."

Moreover, there is scientific proof, in undeniable facts,—for all who are not wilfully blind,—of the possibility of ultra-cerebral communing here, which points definitely in the direction of ultra-cerebral continuity hereafter. In their scorn for telepathy Mr. Clodd and his friends make much of Professor Sidgwick's attitude—almost indeed as if it was all-decisive. Let us then note what he himself says concerning telepathy—

"It is for this reason that I feel that a part of my grounds for believing in telepathy, depending as it does on personal knowledge, cannot be communicated except in a weakened form, to the ordinary reader of the printed statements which represent the evidence that has convinced me. Indeed, I feel this so strongly that I have always made it my highest ambition as a Psychical Researcher, to produce evidence which will drive my opponents to doubt either my honesty or my veracity."

That should be strong enough, sceptical enough, even for Professor Armstrong. And on his own terms it sets us free to accept and estimate the significance of telepathy, as being certainly a definite and pregnant 'advance in knowledge.'

It is no part of our task here even to summarize the scientific as well as religious reasons for cherishing the hope and maintaining the conviction, that for human beings death does not end all. So far as Mr. Clodd's book tends to check untrained credulity, we heartily welcome and endorse it. But it does not show that Sir Oliver Lodge and his co-workers are ignorant dupes; nor that the S.P.R. is composed of credulous time-wasters; nor that modern science forecloses all psychical inquiry; still less that it shuts the door of latest knowledge against our immortal hope. That which Mr. Clodd accomplishes counts for nothing against that which he ignores. The breadth, and length, and depth, and height of human personality are not 'cribbed, cabined, and confined' within a few cerebral cells. Our 'advance in knowledge' throws more widely open than ever heretofore, the door of permission to accept and appreciate all those other than scientific reasons for hope beyond the grave, which come along the lines of Christain Theism.

At least we may be thankful that amid the chaotic upheavals of our time, and with all the heavy pall of numberless bereavements on our hearts, modern science does not force upon us the miserably blind despair of the old Persian pessimist which seems so satisfactory to Mr. Clodd. Rather does it leave the modern student free to say, with his eyes as wide open as his heart is full :—

My own dim life should teach me this,
That life shall live forevermore,
Else earth is darkness at the core,
And dust and ashes all that is.

Our real advance in knowledge, while not satisfying any more than the New Testament our curiosity as to the 'conditions of existence in any after life,' yet does not only permit but encourage us to turn to the God whom Jesus bids us ever think of as THE FATHER, with the humble yet confident trust—

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Thou wilt not leave us in the dust;
Thou madest man, he knows not why,
He thinks he was not made to die;
And Thou hast made him:—Thou art just.

A Way Out in India.

To the July number of the *Asiatic Review* (London) Dr. John Pollen contributes the following article under the above caption :—

"The progressive realisation of responsible Government in India as an integral part of the British Empire." This is the declared policy which underlies the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms—and which constitutes the basis of the Bill now before Parliament.

India is to remain an integral part of the British Empire but to have a responsible Government or rather responsible Governments of its own—and the means to effect the end desired are declared to be :—

(I) The increasing association of Indians in every branch of the Administration and

(II) The gradual development of responsible Self-Government.

This phrase—"responsible Self-Government"—sounds well and his almost as blessed an expression as "Mesopotamia"—"Angle-of-Vision" "attitude" or "gesture"! It may convey difierent meanings to different ears or none at all to the indifferent. But the meaning evidently intended is that Indians should be responsible for governing themselves without interference on the part of Great Britain. In other words, elected Indian Representatives should be in a position to declare the lines on which the electorates in the various provinces desire to be governed—and should have the right to dictate the policy to be adopted or carried out by the Executive. This means, (as Sir Francis Younghusband has pointed out), "The gradual transference of power from the people of Great Britaln to the peoples of India"—and the result will be that India will be responsible for governing itself just as Australia is responsible for governing itself. This is indeed the policy which all true well-wishers of India desire to see successful—if it can be made successful—and it is certainly the goal towards which faithful Administrators have been consciously or subconsciously working from the early days of the long ago! It was in this spirit that the late Mr. J. A. Nairn, of the Bombay Civil Service, wrote in the early seventies—

"Oh! men O'the Western Islands fair
Ringed white with the yeasty spume,
Declare if the wit of your forbears lives
In the tongues that fret and fume.
Look back on the years that be dead nnd gone,
Speed hence on the Wings of Time,
When first your hand on the East was laid
Like the grip of the Gods sublime!
And say, when the spirit of England rose
On the dust of a hundred thrones,
If her wings were clipped by a fool loud-lipped
'Mid the hustings' cheers and groans?
Not so: and now ye have given a voice,
Where never was voice before;
Ye have laboured to teach the strength o'speech
From the springs of your Western lore—
Ye have made the eyes of the blind to see.
And be it for life or death
Your ear must bend to the voice that speaks
By the fire of your English breath.

Men of the Western Islands have long laboured to teach the Youth of India to use the political voice and to make repeated demand for self-government and we needs must listen now—for Reform is long overdue and (as Sir Bampfylde Fuller declares) "a democracy cannot expect to permanently dominate an alien Empire." But the 'Montford' proposals and the provisions in the Bill now before Parliament are so complicated, so confusing, and so elaborate that it is to be feared that the existing administrative machinery in India will never be able to perfect them or use them within reasonable time or in a satisfactory manner.

Thus a deadlock—or undue delay—is most certain to arise. The question, therefore, is—cannot some way out of the difficuly be found? Those who know Native States think it can and it seems clear. "The federal way adumbrated by the Aga Khan, is perhaps the best. His Highness has declared that "the problem of a Free India within the Empire can only be solved by Federalism."

Now it is asserted that certain Indian principalities are admirably administered both to the satisfaction of the "politically-minded" classes and to the gratification of the masses of the people—and it is constantly proclaimed in the Native Press that the Rulers of these States have been able to give their subjects all the reform they desire—and many Rulers, like the Thakur Sahib of Limbdi, have protested that they are quite prepared to adopt in their States the particular changes and reforms proposed by Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford for British India! Why not then extend the system of Indian Principalities throughout India? and permit Indian Administrators to carry out the proposed reforms on Indian lines in their own way? Why not, in short, establish "limited Monarchies," on "Montford" principles in the various Provinces of India?

It may be recalled that the Aga Khan has proposed that India should be divided into eight Major Provinces roughly equal in area—and each capable of developing a National Government and that Indians should preside over these Provinces side by side with Englishmen and that in certain cases Ruling Princes of proved administrative ability should be invited to leave their own territory for five years for the greater field of a provincial administration.

His Highness very justly holds that no Federal scheme for India would be complete which did not take into account Native States, for it is not too much to say that "the Indian Princes are the bulwarks of the Imperial connection—and of late years some of the best-known Princes have been cherishing the ideal of a constitutional and parliamentary basis for their administrators." These things being so—why not simplify and facilitate the introduction of the desired reforms into India by converting the Major Provinces into Indian Principalities under the control of Constitutional Chiefs? *The Bill now before Parliament should certainly contain a clause or clauses enabling this to be done.* Such a change would be welcomed by the masses of the Indian populations out of whose

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life the dulness and sombreness of British administration and English unsympathetic restrictions have taken so much of the light and colour and pomp and pageantry which their souls love.

It is all very well to say airily—"the day of Autocracy or Benevolent Absolutism is dead." This is certainly not true in the East—but, even if it were, it is not proposed to raise the dead or revive the dust. All that is proposed is to set up Limited Monarchies in India—and allow the peoples to work out their own salvation in *their* own way and so shift the "white man's burden" which has certainly grown too heavy for the white staff in the India of to-day. A system of Provincial Parliaments in the Principalities with a Federal Parliament at Delhi would probably work satisfactorily.

It has been held that some of the leading Cities in India could not well be included in Provincial Principalities and that they, like Hamburg and some other great continental cities, should be allowed to manage their own affairs. There is much truth in this contention and such Cities could easily be constituted "Free Cities",—and ultimately a League of such Cities might be established from Baghdad to Rangoon and included in the "Southern Asiatic Federation" foreseen by the Aga Khan. In the Peace Treaty now under discussion at Paris the constitution of "Free Cities" is being recognised and provided for—and in resettling India on Indian lines no great difficulty need be experienced in providing that great Indian Cities like Bombay, etc., should manage their own affairs independently of outside control very much as they practically do now.

At any rate the proposal to create Indian Principalities pledged to the adoption of the 'Montford' reforms—and the suggested recognition of Free Cities wherever advisable may be taken as indicating a possible way out of the diarchic labyrinthine maze in which Moderates and Extremists and well-wishers of India find themselves more or less lost and bewildered at the present moment.

Comments on the above would be quite superfluous !

THE KEEPSAKE

IT was not yet dawn, the eastern sky was just beginning to take on a greyish tint. The back door of the house of Shambhucharan opened slowly and a young girl came out with quick light steps. She took the road to the river ghat, which was quite near. Her face and figure could not be clearly discerned in that half light, her white widow's dress and a mass of dark wavy hair alone being visible.

The river ghat was as yet entirely deserted. She sat down on one of the lower steps with her feet in the water. There was no sound to break the trend of her sad thoughts. The girl was named Uma and was the only daughter of Shambhucharan, one of the influential Brahmin residents of the village. She had been given in marriage to a man of fifty when she herself was nine. But she became a widow, the very year she was married. She had been living in her father's house ever since.

The eastern sky gradually changed from grey to rosy red. The old *Bairagee** of the village appeared on the lonely road, chanting his old songs. Uma got up hurriedly and, after a few hasty dips in the river, she filled her brass pitcher and started homewards with it.

The inmates of the house seemed to be still asleep. Uma set down the pitcher in the kitchen, then went out and hung up her wet cloth in the yard. Then she began her cooking. She was in sole charge of this department, as her father was very strict as to the duties of Hindu widows. Uma had no opportunity of failing in any of those duties which the shastras have prescribed. She performed all the household duties and her small leisure was spent in listening to her father reading the scriptures or holding forth on the duties and conduct of a Hindu widow.

Bishnu, the younger brother of Uma, had planted a sheeuli tree in front of the kitchen. It was now a mass of white-and-red flowers. The morning breeze caused the dew-laden flowers to drop down and cover the ground with a glorious carpet. Uma came out of the kitchen and began to gather the flowers in the end of her cloth.

A door opened with a harsh grating noise and a stout lady appeared in the doorway. She was looking about for some

* Mendicant.

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THE CARESS.
From a Pencil Sketch by Asitkumar Haldar.
By the courtesy of the Poet Rabindranath Tagore.

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one. Soon she caught sight of Uma and cried out in a hard voice, "So you have taken to child's play from the morning! What about the cooking, pray?"

Uma at once got up with a pained face. "Mother, I have already begun the cooking. The rice is boiling, so I came out for a bit." With that she re-entered the kitchen.

The lady returned to her bedroom. This was the second wife of Shambhucharan. Uma's mother had died shortly after her daughter's widowhood. The young widow needed a guardian, so Shambhucharan married his neighbour Narottam's grown-up daughter, shortly after his first wife's death. The lady came and took charge of Uma, and Uma in her turn had to take charge of the whole household. A young woman must not sit idle. She would at once take to reading novels in secret, which in their turn were sure to give rise to sinful thoughts. None except sufferers know how much anxiety a young widow causes. The only way of avoiding disaster is to keep her under strict surveillance.

Uma sat down in the kitchen with the flowers in her lap and tears streaming down her face. She had been listening to the stinging words of her stepmother ever since her own mother died. It must be quite eight years, but she had not yet grown accustomed to the venom.

The flowers soon shrivelled up in the hot kitchen, but Uma had no eyes for them. She herself seemed like a sister flower, as beautiful and as tortured by the heat of her surroundings.

She came out again at the call of the mistress of the house. No scolding this time. She merely told her to cook for one additional person. Uma nodded and went away.

Bishnu now appeared with his books under his arm and in a tearing hurry. He was a pupil of the local high school. He threw down his books and cried out, "Sister, I must have my meal instantly. Our new teacher is coming, so I must go earlier than usual."

Uma began to serve him and observed, "Must you go so soon? Nothing is ready yet. But is there a new teacher? When did he come?"

"Oh, don't you know even that?" ejaculated Bishnu contemptuously, with his mouth full; "he has arrived this very day and is going to stay in our house. He has brought a letter of introduction from the *Zamindar* to father." Bishnu began to swallow the hot rice as fast as he could in his eagerness to start for the school. He must not miss the oppotunity of triumphing over his fellow-students by showing off his immense knowledge of the new teacher.

Soon after Shambhucharan himself appeared in the inner apartments for his midday meal. The new guest was with him. Uma had to serve, as her stepmother never was well enough to attend to any household work. She took a peep at the newcomer. He could not be more than twenty-five and did not resemble his predecessor old Harish in any way.

Shambhucharan noticed the young man's shyness and tried to put him at his ease with courteous and honeyed words. "No need to stand on ceremony with us, my dear boy; consider yourself as one of the family." He was not always so lavish with his courtesy and kindness; but this young fellow Biswanath being the nephew of his landlord was entitled to special consideration.

It might seem strange that a scion of such an aristocratic and wealthy family should take up the life of a school-master. But Biswanath was never able to hit it off with his wealthy relatives. He seemed like a vigorous weed in a colony of hot-house plants. He was totally out of place in the company of his well-fed and immaculate cousins. His tall and well-knit frame and a head of unruly and unkempt hair clearly marked him out as a pleibian. He never took any pleasure in his cousins' gentlemanly pastimes of cards and the glass, but took to running, wrestling and swimming like a veritable peasant. He hated tyranny and never submitted to it. His uncle did not know what to make of this eccentric nephew of his.

As soon as he had passed the M. A. examination, Biswanath gave out that henceforth he intended to earn his own living. Such a thing had never been heard of in this ancient and aristocratic house.

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Biswanath's mother took to bewailing her hard lot as soon as she heard of it. His uncle was quite upset at the mere thought of one of his relations actually working for a living. The other immates of the great house could only gape and stare.

Biswanath was thoroughly disgusted with them all. He collected a large number of poor children, mostly belonging to the lowest castes, and took them to his own room, where he began to teach them to read and write. This had the desired effect. His uncle at once consented to his going out on service. Just at this juncture, a vacancy occurred in the Palashpur village school. With his uncle's help Biswanath at once secured the post and started for his future place of residence.

His uncle had arranged about his lodgings too. Shambhucharan was only too glad to oblige his influential patron.

Biswanath soon grew accustomed to his new surroundings. He liked them much more than his former ones. He began to live for the first time in his life.

Bishnu went nearly mad over the new school-master. His admiration and enthusiasm knew no bounds. Shambhucharan was no less delighted, though he held himself in check. Biswanath's uncle knew well the value of services done. Even the dignified mistress of the house condescended to speak kindly to the new immate of their house.

Uma was at first indifferent, but Biswanath was so totally different from the other young men of the village that she could not help gradually becoming interested. He seemed like a dweller of another world. Uma scarcely knew any young man, but she had seen many, and what she had seen of them, had not called forth any feeling of admiration. They never seemed to have any higher ambition than to part their hair correctly and smoke cheap cigars, and they scarcely talked anything except scandal. But this stranger seemed to belong to another kind. From what she could see and hear of him, he appeared to spend his leisure reading or sharing the sports of his young pupils.

She saw Biswanath every day as he came in for his meals. Uma noticed the fact that he paid but scant attention to his food. This neglect hurt Uma. She used to feel humiliated. She tried by every means in her power to make the meals more attractive, but without much success.

But sudddenly one day Biswanath became conscious of her efforts and smiled in grateful acknowledgement. "It is very kind of you," he muttered shyly.

This was the first time he had spoken to her. Uma blushed all over and escaped to the kitchen. "What a man he is," she thought, "he should not have smiled so directly at me. As if it matters anything to me whether he eats much or less."

But the next day she did not relax her efforts. She wanted to make his exile from home as comfortable as possible. But her power was limited and what could she do but cook her best for him?

But now she had the joy of noticing that her efforts had met with grateful recognition.

In this unpoetic way they came to know each other. Shambhucharan had got entangled in a tiresome lawsuit, which left him no time to superintend his daughter's upbringing and manner of life. So after the male members of the house had gone out after their multifarious duties and her stepmother had begun her afternoon nap, she sat close by the open window with the old Ramayan on her knees. Not that she had any special liking for the epic, but because this happened to be the only book in her possession. Thus passed her afternoon.

But one day Bishnu smuggled in a novel. It was like a godsend to Uma. So engrossed had she become that nothing but the threatening voice of her stepmother served to rouse her.

The book belonged to Biswanath. He was searching for it when Bishnu came and said, "I have given it to sister." After this the old Ramayan had to retire permanently and somehow the whole collection of Biswanath's Bengali books found their way to the girl widow's room.

Biswanath was absent-minded by nature, but in some curious way he suddenly became fully concsious of the presence of one

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human being. He began to pity this beautiful young girl who drudged for the entire household and had only stinging reproofs for her reward. As he was now considered quite one of the family, they had given up standing on ceremony with him and never troubled themselves about their manner in his presence.

Uma's stepmother frequently scolded and abused her before Biswanath. The poor girl tried her best to hide her tears and humiliation from this stranger's eyes, but it was hard to deceive him. His eyes used to become unusually penetrating whenever Uma was concerned and nothing escaped him. He used to get furious, but he knew well enough that his anger was futile and any steps taken in her defence would but increase her sufferings. But it was hard to sit still and witness such injustice. His pity for Uma knew no bounds.

But was it pity alone that he used to feel for this girl ? His behaviour seemed to be actuated by some stronger feeling. He felt helpless to defend Uma and became enraged with the whole household. Bishnu and one of his younger brothers used to sleep in the same room with Biswanath. Uma had to make the beds. Biswanath had just returned from his school when he heard the grating voice of Shambhucharan's wife. "Uma, I wonder at your sense; can't you take a little more care of that room? You ought to be ashamed of yourself. Just look at the state it is in." Biswanath flared up all at once. He rushed into the room and with a jerk flung away the whole bedding, mattress and all, on the floor. Bishnu's bewildered stare recalled him to himself and he went out saying, "It is too warm to lie on that heavy bed."

Biswanath had gradually ceased to be a stranger to Uma. In a Hindu household there was but slight opportunity of talking to an unrelated young man, but in her heart of hearts she felt him very near to her, nearer by far than those whom society called her kindred. He seldom could help her, but she knew that he wanted to, and her grateful heart accepted the wish for the deed.

The youngest members of the household were Nanu and Toonu, Uma's stepbrother and sister. They used to announce their awakening every morning by a prolonged howl for breakfast. Uma had fasted the whole of the previous day, as it was 'ekadashi', the eleventh day of the moon, on which Hindu widows must not touch food or drink. So when the demand for breakfast came in its accustomed manner she was not in a state to supply it. Her stepmother immediately stepped into the arena, with her most effective weapons. Uma tottered into the kitchen with her face streaming with tears. Biswanath glared at the whole scene from his bedroom window. He wanted to smash the ugly faces of the two shrieking children and the vixenish mother. Instead of doing that he went out and came back after thoroughly tiring himself out by a long walk.

Next 'ekadashi' came, but Uma had determined that it must not make any difference. She would be ready with everything in due time, even if she had to die for it. Nobody was up yet. Uma took up her pitcher and started for the river to fetch water. But as she came out, she heard Biswanath whispering by the bedroom window of the two children, "Nanu and Toonu, just come out and see what I have brought for you. Come quick and I shall pluck these red lotuses for you, which you wanted yesterday." The children rushed out in great glee, all thoughts of breakfast forgotten. Biswanath went off with them.

Uma went back to her room and flinging herself on the cold floor, wept her heart out. She had been regarded as a machine ever since her mother died, and left her in this cruel loveless world. But the mother had not forgotten, she had sent this man to her sorrowing daughter. Uma bowed down to the earth in salutation, she knew not to whom.

She was late coming back from the river, with the water. Biswanath was striding along the road,—he was on his way to the river for his customary swim. Uma's eyes filled with tears as soon as she caught sight of him. There seemed to be a tempest raging in her heart, roused by that touch of heavenly pity. She wanted to bow down

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and take the dust of the feet of this man. But shyness held her back and she stepped aside out of the way to let him pass. But he did not pass, he came and stood by her and asked, "Why have you come out so early? You certainly have not broken your fast yet?"

"Your meals must be ready before school-time," answered Uma evasively.

"I am not in the habit of killing people for my own convenience," said Biswanath sharply as he walked off. "Besides I am feeling a bit feverish. I don't think I shall take anything to-day."

Uma returned home quickly. She understood well this sudden fever of Biswanath.

Sorrow brought them together; joy would have kept them apart.

(2)

"Do you hear, Uma, you must be pleased to be a bit quicker to-day with your work, as my brother and sister are coming. I hope they will be able to have some refreshments when they arrive."

Uma was sitting lost in a reverie in her own room. Her stepmother's voice brought her back to the earth. She rose and went to attend to her duties.

Biswanath, on his return from the school, was rather astonished to see a man sitting on his bed and calmly smoking. His fashionable dress and carefully arranged hair clearly denoted a beau of the town. Biswanath went out after a casual glance. The young man asked Bishnu, "Is this your new schoolmaster? Seems rather high and mighty for his position. Didn't condescend more than one glance at my direction." This person was named Suresh. He was the younger brother of the mistress of the house.

He was in the habit of returning home very late for various reasons. His visit made no change in his manner of life. After the children had had their supper, Uma was ordered to put the supper of the guest in his sister's bedroom and retire. After a thought, her stepmother added, "Biswanath's supper too you can keep here. I think they would like each other's company."

Uma did as she was told, and then sat down to her own frugal meal of puffed rice and treacle. It was nearing eleven when Suresh came back, and after a stealthy glance around, he approached the open door of Uma's room. Uma looked up startled, whereupon the fashionable young man advanced with a broad grin and said, "My dear, you don't seem to recognise me, please be a little kind".

Uma's eyes blazed. Without a word she got up and shut the door in his face with a bang. The discomfited gallant was obliged to retire, though with a very bad grace. He was not long in retaliating. He found every fault imaginable with his supper and began to complain loudly of his own ill health and the scant attention paid towards his comforts by his own family. The widowed sister, who had accompanied him, loyally backed him.

The mistress of the house was rather in a fix. It was too late to prepare anything new, but her darling brother refused to be content with what had been prepared. She was feeling a bit ashamed too of the ill manners of her own people in her husband's house and before the eyes of Biswanath, who was an aristocrat born.

But Suresh was not the person to give up. The contest ended in calling Uma out and scolding her heartily for her neglect of her duties. She should have seen that a guest of the house had what he wanted. Suresh smiled in triumph as Uma went to prepare new dishes for him at that hour of of the night with her own supper unfinished.

"What a temper she seems to be in! Widows should not put on such airs. We too have to work from morning till night, but nobody can say that of us," remarked the widowed sister.

Biswanath had been hitherto sitting in amazed silence at this display of good breeding. He had been asked to take supper with Suresh and had found no way out of it. He had scarcely taken anything. Suddenly he got up and quickly went out. Suresh finished his supper alone.

Biswanath spent a sleepless night tossing from side to side. Then getting up he went out. It was already beginning to clear, so he took the road to the river. He

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had hoped to find the river ghat deserted, but somebody was already there, sitting on the steps. The keen breeze of the early dawn was shaking the folds of her white dress and a mass of black hair sweeping over the stone steps. Biswanath approached silently, then called out, "Uma."

Uma had been sitting there like a statue carved of stone, but at his call she broke down utterly and flung herself down shaking with inarticulate sobs. Biswanath sat silently by her; he knew no words with which to comfort her. But Uma felt his tears on her loose hair.

After a while he called again, "Uma." But still no answer. Suddenly a shiver went through Uma's whole frame. Whose touch was this on her hair? An electric wave seemed to sweep over her.

Biswanath did not remove his hand, he kept it where it was, and said, "Uma, this torture cannot go on. It is beyond me to sit still and witness it. Come with me, I am not rich, but as my wife you may find something greater than riches."

For one instant Uma's senses seemed to desert her; next moment she sprang up and with a panic-stricken glance at Biswanath she vanished like a streak of lightning. She reached her room and fell down in a swoon.

She recovered after a while. A withering sense of shame and guilt seemed to choke her. Shame on her, the wayward and false woman, to what had she brought herself? Was this then the result of all the austerities which her father had made her practise ever since her widowhood? So weak was she, so palpably weak that a man could propose marriage to her. To her, the daughter of a Bramhin and the widow of a Bramhin, to her, to whom even the thought of marriage should have been an abomination. Why had not she died before she heard such words? And what was he, who can insult her so shamefully?

Uma called up all her anger and detestation to her aid and tried to harden her heart against that transgressor. But alas for the insulted conventional ideal of a woman! Whom was she trying to judge and punish? She knew well that she had no power to punish him even in her heart, however much he might sin. How could she turn her heart away from the only person whose eyes had shed tears for her? She saw that she was weak, and this made her all the more bitter against herself. She had not tried hard enough to conceal her sorrows, and her negligence had given rise to this shocking evil. She alone was to blame, and may all punishment fall on her.

Suddenly she saw Biswanath standing by her open window with a world of pain and love in his eyes. Uma sat up and panted out, "Go away, go away, don't drag me towards sin any more."

Biswanath turned away with a white and quivering face. Another person who had been watching them closely, himself unseen, took himself off then, as his task was done.

The eldest sister of Suresh had just left her bed and was about to sit down to her morning devotionals when her darling brother appeared before her with a broad grin. "What is the matter?" asked the lady.

"Matter enough and to spare. I used to to think that I alone was a scoundrel, but I see now that there are many in the same boat."

The lady forgot everything about her morning prayers and asked eagerly, "But what has happened?"

"You may well ask that. Now that saintly schoolmaster of yours...." Suresh settled himself down comfortably for half an hour's refreshing talk.

(3)

It was a dark and still evening. The sky was covered with dense clouds and threatening an outburst every instant. The gloom was reflected on the face of every person in the house. Everyone was engaged in his or her own work, but none talked. But for all the silence, a strong undercurrent of perturbation was plainly discernible. The two children were seated in the yard, making mud hovels with great care.

Uma's stepmother was in whispered consultation with her sister. After a while the elder one said, "Then this is settled?"

The other answered, "Of course; what

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alternative is there? We must consider everything." She went out and dragged away her children forcibly from their play.

The storm suddenly burst with all its accumulated fury. All the windows and doors of the house were closed instantly, only Uma left her door open and gazed awestruck at the mad dance of the elements.

The storm howled and raged outside. It was as if some demented demon was indulging in a revel. She came and stood under the black and lowering sky. It was more friendly than the faces of her relations.

A maid servant came and said, "The mistress is calling you."

Uma went in and found the two sisters sitting with solemn faces. As soon as she entered, her step-mother cried out, "Pack all your things, you are to start by tomorrow's train."

Uma stood rooted to the spot. After a while she asked, "Why are you sending me away, mother, what have I done?"

"Now don't try to put on the airs of an innocent, my girl, it is too late for that," put in the widowed sister; "let me tell you that you have been found out. I am going to Prayag to have a bath at the sacred confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna. After that I shall start for Benares. You are to come with me and expiate your sins. What more can a Hindu widow desire? Don't glare at me in that fashion, please. I won't put up with any impertinence. I am doing this at your father's request, not that I have any special liking for the company of such a virtuous girl as you."

Uma came back to her room; the rain was streaming in through the open window, but she did not notice that. So she was to go away; to go away from everything she had ever loved. But she was a widow and had no right to grieve over parting from anything or anybody. It was a sin, but she could not help it, which but increased her sorrow.

Suddenly a clamour broke out somewhere in the house. Shambhucharan rushed into the inner apartments. Uma heard her stepmother's voice asking, "What is the matter?"

"A bad business, a very bad business, I don't know what I shall say to his uncle," said her father; "have any of you seen Biswanath?"

"O dear no," answerd his wife; "why, has anything happened to him? He was to have started for his home to-day; perhaps he had done so."

"Go home indeed, how can he go home in this weather?" almost shouted Shambhucharan, "he must have taken a boat to do that. If so, it is all up with him. I have just heard that a boat has foundered with all aboard."

Uma had no tears now, she, who used to weep at a slight rebuke from her stepmother. She sat still like a graven image. The night came down, but the storm did not abate. It was nearing midnight, when Bishnu rushed into the room and sobbed out in a choking voice, "sister, Biswanath *dada* is drowned. I heard it from Bhola. I went to the river side to enquire, everybody says so. He had come up after the boat foundered, but went down again as he was trying to save a little girl." Bishnu rolled about on the wet floor in a paroxysm of wild grief, but his sister did not move.

Suresh and his elder sister were to start on their journey at the break of day. It was still dark, when they went to seek Uma, but found Bishnu sleeping on the damp floor; Uma was not there. After anxiously looking all over the house, Shambhucharan's wife went and roused him from his heavy slumber.

Everybody woke up now and joined in the search. At last a maid-servant gave the information that she had heard the back door being opened a short while ago, but had taken no notice of it, thinking it to be the cat.

Shambhucharan took up a hurricane lantern and said, "I am going to find her, but don't any of you come with me." As he went out, Bishnu slipped out behind him in the sheltering darkness.

Shambhucharan searched all the thickets and bushes near his house, then started for the river ghat. Something white was visible on the steps. Shambhucharan came down, it was Uma. The dark roaring river was rushing below her feet like a

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torrent of death, the clouds still shut out all light except that of lightning, the stormy winds were howling all around. She seemed like the sad evening star, torn from her orbit by the mad storm.

Shambhucharan called sternly "Uma, come away, it is time to start."

Uma got up and without a word followed her father. Bishnu rushed to her and cried eagerly, "Sister, where have you been so long?"

His father pushed him away roughly, saying, "Don't talk to your sister, go away."

Soon after Uma left the village where she was born and started for the unknown world. The small female compartment of the train was crowded, there was no room to sit down. Uma stood near the door and watched the village vanish from her sight. The other lady passengers went on feeding their children and talking among themselves about household affairs. Uma's lady companion spent her time waging a battle royal with the other occupants of the compartment because they were not polite enough to offer her a seat.

(4)

It was already evening. The waters of the two rivers Ganges and Jumna mingled and rolled away together to the ocean. Pilgrims had thronged all the bathing places during the day, but now the ghats were gradually becoming deserted. Three women came and stood near one of the ghats. All wore the white garb of widowhood. The first woman was plainly and visibly a maid-servant, the second was a stoutish lady with a severe and solemn face. The third was a young girl, her eyes were fixed in a bewildered stare.

The stout lady cried out in a vexed tone, "Where has that good-for-nothing *Panda** gone? He has been gone over an hour to seek for a barber; when shall we return home, I wonder."

But just at that moment the *Panda* appeared accompanied by one of those barbers who swarm in this place, as it is considered that great merit can be acquired by shaving one's head at the confluence of the sacred rivers Ganges and Jumna.

The barber sat down and opening his bag began to take out the implements of his labour. The elderly lady glanced at the girl and said, "Now be quick, girl, we are very late, as it is."

The girl was gazing intently at the spot where the blue waves of the Jumna threw themselves joyously on the white bosom of the Ganges. Receiving no reply to her call, the older woman advanced and dragged her roughly to the spot where the barber was sitting.

The barber took his scissors in one hand and with the other he gathered up the mass of loose hair which was trailing on the ground. The young woman trembled violently and pulled away her hair from his hand, crying, "Don't touch my hair." That which had been made sacred by the touch of Biswanath's hand, she could not either part with or allow to be desecrated by the touch of any other person. The face of her companion nearly turned black in anger, she seemed to be deprived of the power of speech. The *Panda* looked at her infuriated face, then advanced towards the girl.

The girl's eyes became suddenly frantic and panic-stricken like those of a doe brought to bay by cruel hunters. She gazed around, but nothing met her eyes except cruel and pitiless looks. There was no mercy left anywhere for her.

The *Panda* was about to seize the girl when a piercing shriek shattered the silence. The girl shot past him, like a meteor and sprang into the water. Once only was her face seen in the fast waning evening light, floating like a white lotus on the blue waves. Next moment the dark waters closed over her head.

* Priests in Hindu places of pilgrimage in Northern India are called *Pandas*. They serve also as guides.

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THE TRIAL OF THE HORSE

By Rabindranath Tagore.

BRAHMÂ, the creator, was very near the end of his task of creation when a new idea struck him.

He sent for the Store-keeper and said: "O keeper of the stores, bring to my factory a quantity of each of the five elements. For I am ready to create another creature." "Lord of the universe," the store-keeper replied, "when in the first flush of creative extravagance you began to turn out such exaggerations as elephants and whales and pythons and tigers, you took no count of the stock. Now, all the elements that have density and force are nearly used up. The supply of earth and water and fire has become inconveniently scanty, while of air and ether there is as much as is good for us and a good deal more."

The four-headed deity looked perplexed and pulled at his four pairs of moustaches. At last he said, "The limitedness of material gives all the more scope to originality. Send me whatever you have left."

This time Brahmā was excessively sparing with the earth, water and fire. The new creature was not given either horns or claws, and his teeth were only meant for chewing, not for biting. The prudent care with which fire was used in his formation made him necessary in war without making him warlike.

This animal was the Horse.

The reckless expenditure of air and ether, which went into his composition, was amazing. And in consequence he perpetually struggled to outreach the wind, to outrun space itself. The other animals run only when they have a reason, but the horse would run for nothing whatever, as if to run out of his own skin. He had no desire to chase, or to kill, but only to fly on and on till he dwindled into a dot, melted into a swoon, blurred into a shadow, and vanished into vacancy.

The Creator was glad. He had given for his other creatures' habitations,—to some the forests, to others the caves. But in his enjoyment of the disinterested spirit of speed in the Horse, he gave him an open meadow under the very eye of heaven.

By the side of this meadow lived Man.

Man has his delight in pillaging and piling things up. And he is never happy till these grow into a burden. So, when he saw this new creature pursuing the wind and kicking at the sky, he said to himself: "If only I can bind and secure this Horse, I can use his broad back for carrying my loads."

So one day he caught the Horse.

Then man put a saddle on the Horse's back and a spiky bit in his mouth. He regularly had hard rubbing and scrubbing to keep him fit, and there were the whip and spurs to remind him that it was wrong to have his own will.

Man also put high walls round the Horse, lest if left at large in the open the creature might escape him. So it came to pass, that while the Tiger who had his forest remained in the forest, the Lion who had his cave remained in the cave, the Horse who once had his open meadow came to spend his days in a stable. Air and ether had roused in the horse longings for deliverance, but they swiftly delivered him into bondage.

When he felt that bondage did not suit him, the Horse kicked at the stable walls.

But this hurt his hoofs much more than it hurt the wall. Still some of the plaster came off and the wall lost its beauty.

Man felt aggrieved.

"What ingratitude!" he cried. "Do I not give him food and drink? Do I not keep highly-paid men-servants to watch over him day and night? Indeed he is hard to please."

In their desperate attempts to please the Horse, the men-servants fell upon him

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and so vigorously applied all their winning methods that he lost his power to kick and a great deal more besides.

Then Man called his friends and neighbours together, and said to them exultingly,—"Friends, did you ever see so devoted a steed as mine ?"

"Never !" they replied. "He seems as still as ditch water and as mild as the religion you profess."

The Horse, as is well known, had no horns, no claws, nor adequate teeth, at his birth. And, when on the top of this, all kicking at the walls and even into emptiness had been stopped, the only way to give vent to his feelings was to neigh.

But that disturbed Man's sleep.

Moreover, this neighing was not likely to impress the neighbours as a pæan of devotion and thankfulness So Man invented devices to shut the Horse's mouth.

But the voice cannot be altogether suppressed so long as the mistake is made of leaving any breath in the body. Therefore a spasmodic sound of moaning came from his throat now and then.

One day this noise reached Brahmā's ears.

The Creator woke up from his meditation. It gave him a start when he glanced at the meadow and saw no sign of the Horse.

"This is all your doing," cried Brahmā, in anger to Yama, the God of death. "You have taken away the Horse !"

"Lord of all creatures !" Death replied : "All your worst suspicions you keep only for me. But most of the calamities in your beautiful world will be explained if you turn your eyes in the direction of Man."

Brahmā looked below. He saw a small enclosure, walled in, from which the dolorous moaning of his Horse came fitfully.

Brahmā frowned in anger.

"Unless you set free my Horse", said he, "I shall take care that he grows teeth and claws like the Tiger."

"That would be ungodly", cried man, "to encourage ferocity. All the same, if I may speak plain truth about a creature of your own make, this Horse is not fit to be set free. It was for his eternal good that I built him this stable—this marvel of architecture."

Brahmā remained obdurate.

"I bow to your wisdom," said Man, "but if, after seven days, you still think that your meadow is better for him than my stable, I will humbly own defeat."

After this Man set to work.

He made the Horse go free, but hobbled his front legs. The result was so vastly diverting that it was enough to make even a frog burst his sides with laughter.

Brahmā, from the height of his heaven, could see the comic gait of his Horse, but not the tragic rope which hobbled him. He was mortified to find his own creature openly exposing its divine maker to ridicule.

"It was an absurd blunder of mine", he cried, "closely touching the sublime."

"Grandsire," said Man with a pathetic show of sympathy, "what can I do for this unfortunate creature ? If there is a meadow in your heaven, I am willing to take trouble to transport him thither."

"Take him back to your stable !" cried Brahmā in dismay.

"Merciful God !" cried Man, "what a great burden it will be for mankind !"

"It is the burden of humanity," muttered Brahmā.

RESURRECTION OF MOTHERHOOD AND FATHERHOOD

FROM time immemorial motherhood has been regarded in this country as the highest function of female life. So much so that God has been represented as having taken birth as a human babe to taste a mother's love.

"Nandah kimakarod brahman
Sreya ebam mahodayam

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Yasodā bā mahābhāgā
Papau yasyā stanam harih".
Srimat Bhāgbat, Skandha 10, Chapter 8, verse 36,

King Parikshit wondering asked Sukadeva "O Brahman, what good work Nanda and lucky Yasodā did so that God sucked her breast ?"

"Nemam Birinchi na Bhabo
Na Srirapyangasansrayā
Prasādam bebhire gopi
Yattat prāpa bimukti dāt"
Ibid, Chapter 9, verse 15.

The favour which Yasodā received from the Savior was never obtained by Brahmā, Siva or even Lakshmi.

Sukadeva said :

"Drono basunām prabaro
Dharayā bhāryayā saha
Karishyamāna adeshān
Brahmanastamubācha ha
Jātayornau Mahādebe
Bhubi Bisvesvare Harau
Bhaktihsyāt paramā loko
Yayānjo durgatim taret"
Ibid, chapter 8, verse 38.

The chief of the Basus Drona in order to obey Brahmā in company with his wife Dharā said: "Grant us that favour by which we, after being born as human beings may attain that love for God by which man gets salvation"

Brahmā said "very well", and that Drona and Dharā became Nanda and Yasodā in Brindāban. Such is the dignity of motherhood or *bātsalya* which next to *mādhurya* or wifehood, is the highest form of devotion extolled by poets and saints alike. Those who have no child of their own, try to realise motherhood or fatherhood by showering their love on an artifical baby Gopāl. They feed, dress and play with it as if it were their living child. This reminds me of the training the Americans are giving to the boarding girls to prepare themselves for future motherhood. At first they provided each girl with a doll with instruction to feed, dress and rear them as living babes. This method failed as every method without reality or religious enthusiasm behind it must fail. Now they are trying to teach the girls motherhood by putting them in charge of some baby brought from hospitals or some such institutions. In this way they are making an attempt at the revival of dead motherhood or resurrection of motherhood, if I may say so.

At a meeting of the American Association for the Study and Prevention of Infant Mortality, Mrs. William Lowell Putnam in her Presidential address observed :

"Into few businesses in life are people expected to enter with such a complete lack of training as that of motherhood—perhaps the most complicated occupation that exists. Men have evolved colleges and elaborated them into universities to give themselves the training which they need for their various forms of work, and women in entering the learned professions have very properly taken this education to fit themselves for their practice. Nurses are given a very careful and prolonged training. But when it comes to motherhood, what training have we—we on whom the whole future depends of those lives which come into being through us ? Nothing at all. We do not even give our girls training for the common calling of home-maker, which happily falls to the lot of most women—for really a woman has to make a home wherever she is, and I have an idea that only a woman can make it.....I am not advocating doing away with the higher education of woman—far from it—I believe in all the education we get. I want not less but more of it, but if we must omit some things to make room for home-making I would cut out some of the things that are more remote from the children's daily life."

As a result of this unpreparedness for motherhood many preventable diseases play havoc among mothers and their babies. Realisation of the difficulties of rearing children has led many a modern woman in the west to avoid motherhood by artificial means, and their example, I am afraid, is being imitated in the East as well. They play into the hands of those who carry on the insidious propaganda of "birth control". This propaganda consists, according to Mrs. Putnam, of saying to people : "Do what you like and as much of it as you like and I'll show you how to get away with it." It is undermining the morals of men and women. It is more than doubtful whether the poor women with large families whom the advocates of "birth control" pretend to protect are benefited by this propaganda,

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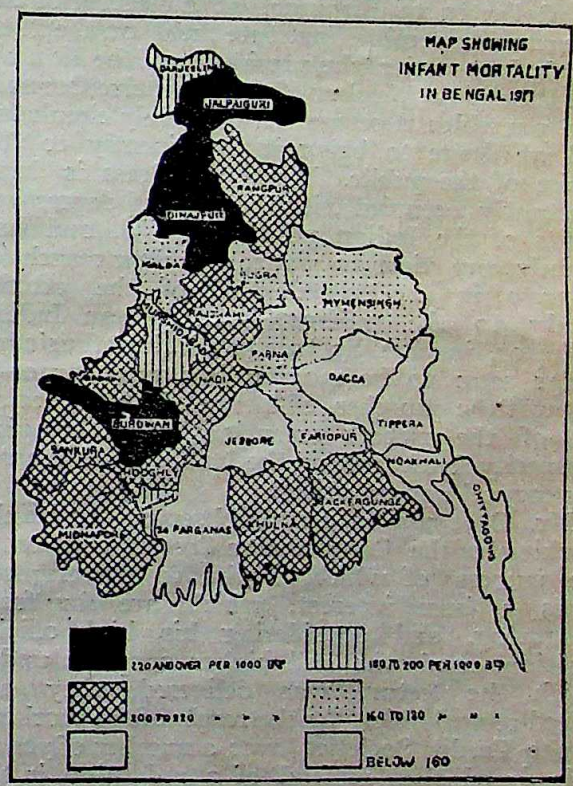
as the pernicious literature does not as a rule reach them. But the more intelligent among the unmarried as well as the married quite fully understand and are led into license. The other day a canvasser of a book entitled "limitation of family" which is largely advertised had the hardihood to consult me about the best chemicals to be used for this purpose. He came in the garb of a *sannyasi* and with an audacity more marked than his intelligence told me that His Excellency the Governor patronized this movement. The methods advocated by these mischief-makers very often fail and plunge their victims into a whirlpool of distress.

Thanks to the teaching of the *Sastras*, the generality of our women are always anxious to become mothers. Like many of our Western mothers (I will not say *sisters*, for *mother* is the one dignified name intended for them by providence and which, once uttered, dispells all impure thoughts) they do not fight shy of motherhood but undergo with great pleasure any treatment or operation for the cure of sterility. But unfortunately they become mothers without the preparatory training for this responsible function. As a result they lose in terribly large numbers those whom they covet most. Most of them lose their dear ones either before or after they see the light, mourn and get distracted, but are soon quieted by their elders with the old adage current among the Bengali ladies, "*Katak Jharti Katak Parti*", that is to say, some you must, as a matter of course, lose. This dulls their sense of responsible motherhood, which can easily be resurrected if only we have a resurrection of fatherhood as well. Bring home to our women the fact how preventible diseases collect a heavy toll on infant life every year and the day of the resurrection of motherhood and the protection of childhood would be within a measurable distance.

In the whole of Bengal every year more than three lacs of children die within a year of their birth. This excludes still-births the number of which is considerable. In 1917 there were 16,27,873 births. According to the American authorities a third of the pregnant women abort. So there must have been a loss of nearly five lacs and a half of potential lives that year in addition to the three lacs already mentioned. What a wanton waste of human life which may be prevented if we know the way! In New Zealand they have brought down the rate of infantile mortality to 50 per thousand, while we who boast of an ancient civilization stand aloof, unmoved and unconcerned, although in our premier city, Calcutta, the rate is nearly 250 per thousand. The energetic Sanitary Commissioner of Bengal, Dr. Bentley, whose name in connection with sanitary reform will soon be a household word in this province has sketched a map of Infantile mortality to evoke the responsibility of the citizens of the districts most affected.



Map showing Infant Mortality in Bengal in 1917, the black showing the most affected parts.

Jalpaiguree, Rangpore, Dinajpore, Burdwan, Khulna and Calcutta among others, should try to find out the special cause of this high rate of mortality. The Bengal Government has appointed a Child Welfare Committee with Sir Nilratan Sircar as the president. Let there be

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Branch Committees in every District to co-operate with the Central Committee and suggest means for the prevention of infantile mortality. Will not the cry for help raised every year by sixteen lacs of babes born and five lacs and a half of babes unborn raise the dead irresponsible motherhood and fatherhood from their grave of lethargy and set them to work for the preservation of these national assests?

SUNDARIMOHAN DAS, M.B.

THE RIGHT CURE FOR AGRICULTURAL POVERTY

"A PRACTICAL Scheme of Agricultural Organisation and Rural Reconstruction in Bengal" is the title of a pamphlet published by the Bengal Cooperative Organisation, 6, Dacre's Lane, Calcutta. It contains a lecture delivered by Mr. G. S. Dutt, I.C.S., Magistrate and Collector of Birbhum, at a meeting of the Calcutta University Institute held on the 28th March last under the presidency of the Hon'ble Mr. Cumming, Member of the Executive Council. The pamphlet deserves to be widely circulated and we desire to bring it prominently to the notice of the public. While the Press is kept constantly occupied with the sad and depressing events of the Indian political world, and has scarcely any time to notice the slow march of progress in the everyday life of the people, thanks to the guiding hand of an Indian Collector, inspired by true patriotic enthusiasm, things seem to be moving in a quiet corner of the western marches of Bengal in a direction full of the richest potentialities for bringing prosperity back among the half-starved masses of our rural agriculturists.

Mr. Dutt makes certain observations on the working of the Co-operative Credit Societies, in the success of which, we know, Government takes a keen interest, which are far from reassuring, and considering his high official position, and the still higher auspices under which the lecture was delivered, they are indeed remarkable. "As the result of the working of the Credit Societies over a number of years, it is found that instead of a reduction in the indebtedness of the agriculturists there has been an actual increase." He quotes the *Pioneer* in support of 'this somewhat unpopular, but none the less true, estimate of the situation', and is emphatically of opinion that the true remedy lies, not in this direction, but in increasing the productive capacity of the cultivator by the organisation of a network of Branch Agricultural Associations affiliated to the District Agricultural Association under the guidance of the special expert officers of ths Government Agricultural and Veterinary Departments. These Associations will grapple with such questions as the distribution of the selected seeds, introduction of suitable implements, utilisation of farm-yard manure, measures for dealing with insect-pests and diseases, the eradiction or utilisation of the water-hyacinth, cattle-food, cattle-diseases, cattle-breeding, crop-rotations, sericulture, fisheries, drainage and cultivation of marsh lands and the introduction of suitable crops for dry uplands, etc.—The smaller the area to be served by each Branch Association the better, and the aim should be ultimately to have one Branch Association for every large village. The more compact these Associations, the greater is the amount of corporate and educative work that may be done by them. Mr. Dutt then proceeds to describe the phenomenal success attained by agricultural organisation on this system in several European countries, such as Denmark, Servia, Holland, Belgium and Italy, and also in America and Japan, where the movement was started so late as in 1900, but already every village in the Land of the Rising Sun has its Branch Agricultural Association and the enormous cumulative effect of their various activities on the national life can be readily understood. Their system of consolidating small holdings by mutual co-operation and exchange in order to save time, space and labour in cultivation is specially instructive to us. In all these countries, the condition of the agriculturists was very miserable before the movement was started, but now everywhere they are in a prosperous and flourishing condition. Besides increasing the productivity of the land, such an organisation provides the agriculturists with a valuable training in combined work, and by interesting farmers in their economic development, gradually interests them in their social and political welfare and by generating a "community consciousness" in the villages, leads to a natural process of rural reconstruction in the country.

The Birbhum District Agricultural Association was started about a year ago. At first one Branch Association was formed for the area of each Thana or Police station. This was found too large, and Associations are now being formed on a much smaller territorial basis, there being a steady increase in the demand. During the four

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months ending in March last the number of Branch Associations increased from 16 to 30, and there will soon be a further increase. Each Branch Association has at present 50 to 100 members with a President and a Secretary. The annual subscription payable by each member is one rupee only. "The members of some of the Branch Associations range from graduates and pleaders to the illiterate cultivator..... The opportunity of common discussion and mutual observation thus afforded brings the most ignorant and illiterate member up to the level of those who, by virtue of education or enterprise, have shown themselves most receptive of new ideas." An ably-conducted quarterly agricultural journal, the *Bhumi-Lakshmi*, is already finding subscribers outside the district.

The remarkable hold which the movement has taken on the agricultural population of the district will appear from the following extract :—

"I may mention here that as a result of this activity, ground-nut, a crop which a few years ago was practically unknown in this province but which is a very valuable crop for the high sandy soils of the western districts of Bengal, now covers 1000 bighas in Birbhum and a further expansion is expected shortly. Progress has also been made in the cultivation of cotton, and in the process of home-extraction of ground-nut oil by a simple machine. In 1918, the Branch Associations, through the Agricultural Department, indented new manures, seeds of superior varities of paddy and wheat and of ground-nut and other crops as well as improved varieties of sugar-cane cuttings &c., worth about Rs. 8,000. In the present year, the indents to be made through the Department are expected to be about Rs. 14,000 in value. Besides this a large amount of ground-nut seeds and sugarcane cuttings of superior varieties will be available from members' own plots for seed purposes. For a small district of only 1,700 square miles these are no mean figures for the first year's work."

We have space only for one more quotation :

"An organism, instinct with the vital forces of nation-building and national reconstruction, which, born in Europe, has nourished and raised nation after nation from the depths of despair to the height of prosperity within the short space of thirty years—the seedling whereof, transplanted in Japan only 15 years ago, has furnished the Japanese with the material wherwith to build up the inner tissues of their great national life,—that very organism, gentlemen, has, as if bidden by Nature to give Bengal her turn, now taken its birth and fructified in a quiet and neglected corner of Bengal; and it now invites you to sow its seeds broadcast in your land. Sons of Bengal, will you, or will you not, accept this invitation ? Sentiments of patriotism and philanthropy alone will not avail. What is needed is ceaseless and untiring effort for several years to come. The task is no easy one. It will take the best men in Bengal to fulfil this mission, but I trust the best men in Bengal are there—ready to shoulder the work—and that it will be done."

X.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

THE TWO RINGS AND RADHARANI *by Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, translated from Bengali by Dakshina Charan Roy, Students' Library, Calcutta and Dacca, published by B. M. Dutt, 67, College Street, Calcutta. Nicely printed and handsomely bound. Price Re. 1.*

This is really a fascinating rendering into English of two of the most fascinating novelettes in Bengali, acknowledgedly the most developed of the Indian vernaculars, of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, who was in the course of a controversy in the early eighties of the last century, characterised by the late Principal Hastie of the General Assembly's Institution (now the Scottish Churches College), Calcutta, himself a stanch Scotchman, as the Walter Scott of Bengal. The translators into English of the Bengali books of notable Bengali authors are entitled to our thanks and grateful appreciation, for they do thereby, indeed, an immense service to the country and its people by bringing forward its literature before the world at large ; for literature, according to the celebrated Dr. William Ellery Channing of America, constitutes "the expression of the superior mind of the nation in writing" and it is, in the words of the Sage of Chelsea, "the Thought of thinking Souls." And if in the West to-day the opinion as regards Indians whom they hitherto on most occasions looked down upon as a semi-civilised people at their best is somewhat changed and modified for the better, is it not largely, if not solely, due to the translation into English of the "Expressions of the Superior mind of" our "nation" and "the Thought of" our "Thinking Souls" such as that of Rabindranath Tagore ? Mr. Dakshina Charan Roy, the translator of the books under notice, therefore, deserves not only our heart-felt thanks but also every encouragement from us all who have every

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reason to be proud of the great performances of our great authors and master minds whose writings have done so much in raising us in the estimation of the present day civilised world.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS—AN HISTORICAL ARGUMENT, *by Dr. Pollard. Printed at the Clarendon Press, Oxford, & published by the Oxford University Press, Elphinstone Circle, Bombay. Pp. 68, paper cover. Price Re. 1.*

Since the promulgation of President Wilson's famous "Fourteen Points" about a year or so ago many things, *pro* and *con*, have been said and written, here, there and everywhere, all the world over, by enthusiasts and pessimists alike about the proposed League of Nations, initiated by him. All the same, although we have, willy-nilly, been impelled to swallow a great deal of these voluminous writings of diverse writers bearing upon this by no means unimportant subject from the view point of the world's welfare, we feel bound to say, in bare justice, that the brochure under review contains a great deal that we have not found elsewhere and it is, indeed, highly readable on that account. Mr. Pollard, though not exactly a pessimist as to the welfare of the world arising from the League of Nations does not appear to us either over-enthusiastic about its outcome and results. For instance, he writes in a qualifying tone: "A simple League of Nations for defence would not, however, provide an immediate means of solving problems which peace will leave unsettled and the future will produce. It would not directly guarantee liberty for subject nationalities nor good government for any State, and it would not provide for the settlement of a single international dispute. The bare prevention of war may thus seem a poor substitute for justice..." Again: "The simplest form of a League of Nations will require from all of us a self-restraint and sacrifice of nationalistic pride which will tax our moral qualities to the utmost it is prudent to demand."

R. MUKERJEA.

A MANUAL OF DISTRICT BOARD WORK. *Part I, Water Supply, by L. C. Sen Gupta, B. E., District Engineer, Berhampur. Thacker Spink & Co. Pages 76 and 6 plates. Price Rs. 3-8.*

This book, dealing with all the circulars and author's experiences on the important question of rural water supply, will prove an interesting reading to District Board Members and new District Engineers. The author has confined his discussions to wells of 4′ and 6′ diameter, but our experience shows, that a 5′ diameter well, is the most suitable and economical and is *freely* used by both the Hindus and the Mohamadans. In the standard plan for tanks (plate No. 5) neither the side slopes nor the depths have been noted. Hence it is quite useless. An outward slope of 1 in 10 in spoil banks is too costly in places where the land is comparatively dear. The population should be taken into consideration while determining the number and size of tanks or wells in a particular village. In a treatise like this, intended for laymen, a table showing the size of a tank or well for a population varying from 100 to 2000, and a chapter on the practical difficulties in sinking wells, would have been very useful. The author's patent Ami-Water-lift, with slight modifications, will render a well free from any pollution, and so is strongly recommended. The author has stated nothing as regards construction of wells and tanks in rocky soils. Hence the book may be more appropriately named a Manual of District Board work *in Bengal*. The price appears to be high.

INDUSHEKHAR BHATTACHARJYA.

MOULTED FEATHERS, *by J. H. Cousins. Published by Ganesh & Co., Madras.*

Mr. Cousins has given to the world his songs, during the present year, with a lavishness that he has never displayed before. India, whose heart he has sought and found, has made him sing; and the dedication of this slender volume to Harindranath Chattopadhyaya may perhaps tell of a personal factor in Mr. Cousins' new-found inspiration.

In a poem, with a very curious title—'The Poet to his Alter Ego'—there is a touch of something which takes one back for a parallel to the group of Crashaw, Donne, Vaughan and Trehearne, in the Seventeenth Century,—the Welsh mystical poets who play such a strange part in English Literature,—

Yet, if you the fire would find
You must pay the price in kind,
Since Life's Tree must hold in dower
Wood for Crucifixion's hour,
Ere the skyward stair is made
For the Soul's high escalade;
And the thorny circlet blows
To the Spirit's living Prose....

It is difficult to refrain from continuing the quotation, but I must leave the beautiful, mystical end of the poem to be read in the book itself. The sonnets on the Taj have, I think, appeared already in the *Modern Review*. They do not move me in the same way (this may be a purely individual thing and in no way representative) as the poem from which I have just quoted, or as the following lines have done,—

His eyes with fresh creation shone.
Before him new-made beauty lay.
Deep wonder-eyed
In art's first smarting joy, he cried:
'I did not think I could have done
So much with such rough clay!'

Master! when our crude lives have won
The stamp that doth Thy hand display,
Perhaps Thou too wilt cry

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(Thou, even Thou, Artist of earth and sky)
'I did not think I could have done
So much with such rough clay !'

There seems to me very little doubt that Mr. J. H. Cousins' period of inspiration lies before him and not behind. There has come something into his verse,—with the new life of the East,—which here and there breaks forth with distinction. It is some truth, if I am not mistaken, that has not yet been fully revealed even to himself. Perhaps his new voyage of adventure to Japan, where he has gone for a short time as Professor of English literature, will reveal it.

C. F. A.

I. THE PHILOSOPHY OF ACTION OF B. G. TILAK'S GITARAHASYA: *by V. Mangalvedkar. Indian Literature Publishers : Madras. 1919. Price Rs. 2. Pp. 305. Neatly printed and bound.*

Madras is to be congratulated upon its publishing houses and printing presses. Neither Calcutta nor Bombay can approach it in this respect. Lokamanya Tilak wrote his Gitarahasya to prove that the object of the Gita is to teach the philosophy of action. His book had a phenomenal sale in Maharastra, and it has been translated into Bengali by the worthy brother of the great poet, Babu Jyotirindranath Tagore. The book under review purports to be a *resume* of Mr. Tilak's book. Not having read the original, we cannot say how far the author has succeeded in his attempt. To rouse India from her age-long torpor, and teach her that retirement from the world is not the *summum bonum*, but a life of self-sacrificing activity is the goal of human endeavour, is the highest benefit that can be conferred on her. Nobody will deny that Mr, Tilak is one of the most outstanding figures in the ranks of orthodox Hinduism. His great learning has been acknowledged by western scholars. That he should have crossed the seas at the call of duty should sound the death-knell of the anti-sea-voyage movement. In this, and in suffering repeated incarcerations for the sake of what he conceived to be the truth, he has shown that he is an ideal Karma-Yogin. The book under reivew is wordy, verbose, and its English is peculiar. The author would have done well to deliver his message in his mother-tongue.

II. RIGHTS OF CITIZENS :—*by S. Satyamurthi, B.A., B.L. Ganesh & Co., Madras. The Cambridge Press. 130 pages.*

The Right to Personal Freedom, Freedom of Judicial Trial, Freedom of the Press, the Right of Public Meeting, Freedom to bear Arms, and to serve in the Army and Navy, Freedom to Enter the Public Services—these are the subjects discussed in the book. There is a chapter on the Rowlatt Bills, and an Introduction and Appendices. In the foreword it is truly said "The rights dealt with in this book are of far greater importance than any privileges which may be exercised by the people's representatives in the reformed councils and in transferred departments of the administration. Whatever small instalment of self-government we may obtain immediately, if these elementary citizen-rights can be secured, we shall have freedom of movement for national development and can work our own progress without them, the most attractive schemes of reform cannot take us near to that fulfilment of national right which is our birthright." In Appendix B we have the Declaration of Rights of the Indian National Congress, and Appendix A gives extracts from a High-Court and a Privy Council judgement showing the utter helplessness of the Indian Press before the whims of an irresponsible executive. It is because India does not possess certain elementary rights of citizens, that the spectacle is seen in India of an Indian High Court Judge, who hobnobs with Governors of provinces, being insulted by a common Tommy in a railway train, or an Indian barrister and leader of public opinion and occupying the highest position in Indian society being sentenced to a long term of hard labour or transportation for life for what the people consider no offence at all. We recommend this highly useful and timely publication to all who desire to have a clear grasp of the disabilities from which we suffer.

III. FOOTSTEPS TO FREEDOM : ESSAYS :—*by James H. Cousins. Pp. 181. Neatly printed and bound. Madras, Ganesh & Co. 1919.*

These are short essays on a variety of subjects, literary and otherwise. They possess the author's characteristic distinction of style, but some of the essays are too sketchy for publication in book form. The following extract will seem apposite to many readers who have followed recent events in the Punjab: "On November 28, 1918, when the "poor [Irish] actor" had served two months out of his two years' imprisonment for singing two Irish songs (one song—one year), Robert Bridges, in celebration of the ending of the Great War, sang :

The good God bless this day,
And we for ever and aye
Keep our love living,
Till all men 'neath heaven's dome
Sing Freedom's Harvest-home
In one thanksgiving !

To which every lover of freedom will say "Amen" and yet wonder whether the poet-laureate to the Government that puts an actor to gaol for singing songs of his native land, has felt the pressure of the true Footsteps of Freedom; or whether the Freedom of which he sings is capable of the paraphrase—"I grant you perfect Freedom to do what I allow you to do." But the Footsteps of Freedom move on."

IX. IS INDIA CIVILISED ? *by Sir John Woodroffe. Second edition. Ganesh & Co., Madras. 1919. Price Rs 2-8-0 pp. 355.*

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The first edition of the book was published towards the end of last year, and the demand for a second edition within six months of the publication of the first proves how greatly the book has been appreciated in India. We can only hope that this ready appreciation is not due to the fact, to which attention has been drawn by an Indian reviewer quoted in the Foreword, that the book has proved "in the hands of the unscrupulously and obtusely orthodox a weapon of offence and defence against the attacks of reason and commonsense"—We doubt whether a volume of recent essays by Rabindranath Tagore, in which the reeking bloodthirstiness and inhuman greed of Western nationalism and the inhuman social abuses and practical materialism and worship of Power in Indian society have come in for equally strong reprobation, would prove half as palatable to Indian readers as Sir John Woodroffe's book. The time has indeed come when we should not be put out by Western misjudgment and abuse, or unduly elated by Western flattery. We should be strong enough to be able to judge ourselves as well as others with sobriety and truth, and this we can do only when we have found ourselves, and have definitely taken our stand on the side of progress and development on right lines. Sir John's book should furnish the necessary corrective to Western misjudgment, and should prove more useful to Western readers than to ourselves. But as it is, we fear few Englishmen will care to go through the book, whereas its popularity in India has proved to be exceptional. In the Foreword Sir John explains :—"The character however of Indian civilisation is distinctly and predominantly religious. But as to its present manifestation, the distinguished Bengali scientist Sir P. C. Ray has recently written *apropos* of those writers who are ever holding up the Europeans as mere worshippers of mammon, that "they forget that the Hindu society *as it is* is thoroughly permeated with materialism..... I was referring to the ideal, not to present facts, which as I have over and over pointed out, are inconsistent with it. I wish to insist on this point, for I should indeed be sorry if anything that I had said was understood as countenancing any of the abuses into which, through a descending scale of degeneracy, Hindu society had fallen."

The bulk of the present edition exceeds the first by nearly 75 pages, and the letter-press and binding leave nothing to be desired. The matter has also been thoroughly revised, and some of the criticisms on the first edition of the book have been attempted to be met in the body of the book, and all quotations have been ackowledged.

X.

THE KING'S WIFE—*by James H. Cousins. Published by Ganesh & Co., Madras, 1919.*

Mr. James H. Cousins has given us, in this new drama, a further exhibition of the great versatility of his powers as an artist in word and song. The drama is of the ideal type, in which historical dates and facts may be left behind and the soul-tragedy alone is regarded. How far such liberties can be taken with success in drama is doubtful, and in this new work of the poet there is to me, an Englishman, something of unreality in the close association of Queen Mira with the Emperor Akbar which is hard to overcome. But the beauty of the language of the drama is unmistakable, and again and again I have come across passages like this, which have haunted me with their cadence :—

Oh ! she has brought strange quiet on the world
The exquisite sadness of things beautiful
That is more sweet than laughter. She has made
The heart's pure conquest lightly as a breath,
Because her hands are eloquent with love ;
While power, that thunders on the stubborn will,
Smites the response,—that leaps to her in joy.

I cannot refrain from quoting another passage which appeared to me among the greatest in the book :—

Ah! me, to have lived
Through love's pure greenness, when the happy rains
Made life a full glad river : to have lived
Into the dry and shrivelled after time,
That were indeed poor ending to our song—
Were it the end ; but past our little reach
I hear invisible compassionate lips
Laugh softly, and in comprehending eyes
Catch a far meaning to the shadow dance
Of children who have hurt themselves in play,
And shall have sleep, and waken, and forget.

This pure form of blank verse (that hardest of all metres) is sustained throughout the whole play, and the words carry music with them as they flow on. I have wondered if the drama could not have been stronger for some roughnesses by way of contrast,—some prose, for instance, when citizens are talking together,—some humour broad and strong, to take away the strain of the sustained idealism. But the dramatist himself knew best and his play has taken an almost lyrical note throughout.

C. F. A.

SIR SANKARAN NAIR'S MINUTES OF DISSENT, WITH CHAMPARAN AND KAIRA APPENDIX. *Ganesh & Co. Madras. As. 8. Pp. 73+55.*

Sir C. Sankaran Nair's well-argued, well-informed, truthful and courageous minutes of dissent have won him the sincere respect of not only all Indians who know anything of politics and love their country, but of some Englishmen also. Messrs. Ganesh and Co. have done well to bring out these minutes in a handy book form. The book-buying public ought to encourage them. There are some misprints in the book; *e. g.*, p. 2, "transaction" for "transition;" p. 3, "Roy's" for "Rhys;" p. 4. "legal" for "regal," "Diadoross for "Diodoros."

R. C.

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INDIAN HOME RULE. *By M. K. Gandhi. Second Edition. Ganesh & Co. Madras. Reprinted with a new foreword by the Author, and a Note by C. Rajagopalachar. Pp. 136+viii+8. Re. 1.*

This is a thought-provoking book. Even where the reader would be disposed to disagree with the author, he would on further reflection find some kernel of truth in the views of the great Satyagrahi. We are ourselves unable to endorse certain things that he says, *e.g.*, on education, but we must say that we have derived much profit from the book by reading it from cover to cover.

The book is in the form of a dialogue between Reader and Editor, Editor being the Author himself. It is natural in the circumstances that Reader is not so acute a controversialist as Editor.

In reply to Reader's question, "When and how did the real awakening take place?" Editor says in part: "what you call the real awakening took place after the Partition of Bengal. For this we have to be thankful to Lord Curzon. At the time of the Partition, the people of Bengal reasoned with Lord Curzon, but, in the pride of power, he disregarded all their prayers—he took it for granted that Indians could only prattle, that they could never take any effective steps. He used insulting language, and, in the teeth of all opposition, partitioned Bengal. That day may be considered to be the day of the partition of the British Empire. The shock that the British power received through the Partition has never been equalled by any other act."

Mr. Gandhi does not see real peace in "the Pax Britannica"; he holds that "the present peace is only nominal, for by it we have become emasculated and cowardly". He thinks that alone to be real peace which is brought about and maintained by the people of a country themselves.

Mr. Gandhi holds that "we were one nation before they [the English] came to India. One thought inspired us. Our mode of life was the same. It was because we were one nation that they were able to establish one kingdom. Subsequently they divided us."

Regarding the need of a third neutral party to decide our quarrels, he observes: "The fact is that we have become enslaved, and, therefore, quarrel and like to have our quarrels decided by a third party."

Anent cow-killing, he very pertinently asks: "Who protects the cow from destruction by Hindus when they cruelly ill-treat her? Who ever reasons with the Hindus when they mercilessly belabour the progeny of the cow with their sticks? But this has not prevented us from remaining one nation."

Lawyers would do well to see themselves as Mr. Gandhi, himself a barrister at law, sees them.

The book should be read by all who can think for themselves.

R. C.

HINDI.

VANITA-VILASA, *by Mahavira Prasad Dvivedi. Published by the Commercial Press of Cawnpore. Pages 83. Price 5 annas.*

This little book is the second of the series which the Commercial Press of Cawnpore have published with the commendable intentiou of making the inaccessible writings of this prince of Hindi writers, whose name is so closely connected with the premier Hindi monthly, *The Saraswati*, easily available to the public. The present volume is a collection of ten essays written at different periods of time from January 1903 to April 1913 in the form of short sketches of the lives of ten famous women, of whom seven are Indian and three British. The language is simple and the book can be safely recommended for both boys and girls.

MANUSHYA KE KARTAVYA, *by Krishnanarayana Laghate, B.A., LL.B. Published by Narayanaprasad Aroda, B. A., Patkapur, Cawnpore. (To be had of the publisher, and also of the author at Hewett Road, Allahabad). Pp. 128. Price 6 annas.*

This is a Hindi translation of Mazzini's *Duties of Man*. It is only the first part of the book, once published in 1909, and the second part is promised soon. The original is well known in this country. The translation is good and the only pity is that the publishers have not brought out the complete book at one time.

HINDI LINGA VICHARA, *by Jagannath Prasad Chaturvedi. (To be had of Chaturvedi Bhola Nath Sarma, 5 Muktaram Row, Calcutta; and The Hindi Books Agency, 126 Harrison Road, Calcutta). Pp. 18. Price 3 annas.*

This paper was read at the ninth session of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan at Bombay (1918). It deals with the genders of Hindi words and contains many points which deserve the attention of Hindi writers. As the author has pointed out, much of the confusion which prevails at present in Hindi in the matter of treating certain words as masculine or feminine would disappear, if proper attention were paid to the rules of grammar and the authority of old writers were duly respected. But when he asks us to use such words as कठोरता, सहनशीलता and दृढ़ता as masculine, he is counting too much upon the credulity of his readers.

"MULA-DEVA."

GUJARATI.

SMARANJALI (स्मरणांजलि) *by Jayasukhrai P. Joshipara, printed at the Sayaji Vijaya Press, Baroda. Cloth bound, pp. 34. Price Re. 0-4-0 (1919).*

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The subject matter of this little poem and the occasion of its composition are so sorrowful that one does not feel oneself at liberty to say all he has to say about it. The death of the writer's wife, in memory of whose last days spent by the husband and their children together, in a bungalow at Visnagar, has prompted him to pour out his feelings in verse, and description of the innocent babble of the young ones, is one of the best portions of the book. To express the sense of the word "topheavy" in Gujarati, we say that the turban is larger than the head. Something like this has happened in this case. The bare text, printed on about 14 to 15 pages, is hedged round with a preface, an उद्घाटन, and a द्योतनिका, where two other writers, have in the spirit in which they have carried the high-sounding headings of their performances, expatiated on the different aspects of a composition, which is cast in no unusual or extraordinary mould. They try to put a factitious importance, and serve more to overload some of the feeling and simple verses, than lift them up to the gaze of the reader. The best portions should be read as they are.

PRASANG RANG (प्रसंगरंग) *by Dr. Natwarlal Fakirbhai Sheth, M.B., B.S., Touring Medical Officer, Dohad. Printed at the Jaina Printing Press, Surat. Paper cover. Pp. 41. (1919). Unpriced.*

There are about 28 small sections in this book, consisting of Gazals (verses) addressed by a pining lover to his Beloved. We find nothing in them, which would take them out of the ordinary rut of such emotional outpourings. Perhaps growing age would mellow the feelings of the youthful composer.

(1) CORBETT NO UPADESH, (कोर्बेट नो उपदेश) *by Chhaganlal Harilal Pandia, B.A., Educational Officer, Junagadh, printed at the Arya Sudharak Press, Baroda. Cloth bound. Pp. 180. Price Re. 0-15-0 (1919).*

(2) KAROLIA, करोलीआ *by Bhanusukhram, N. Mehta, B.A., printed at the Arya Sudharak Press, Baroda. Cloth bound. Pp. 156+4. Price Re. 0-15-0 (1919).*

(3) GIRDHAR, *by Jagivandas D. Mody. Printed at the Jagrati Press, Baroda. Cloth bound. Pp. 126. Price Re 0-15-0 (1919).*

These three books are further additions to the Sayaji Sahitya Mala, whose managers do not seem to be taking any rest at all, since addition after addition is being promptly made to its existing numbers. Mr. Bhanusukhram seems to be a *facile princeps* at the work, because not a batch of books sent to us passes without his having a name in it. This time he has selected "Spiders" (2) (Karolia : करोलीआ). We fail to understand why his choice has alighted on that little creature which is always inviting unsuspecting flies to walk into its parlor, in preference to frogs, or beetles, or bats, for the matter of that, as they are all equally useful (?) members of creation. Of course, this is not his own composition : it is a translation of Warburton's "Spiders", which he has embellished with his own notes and observations. We only hope the reading public would betray as much enthusiasm in reading it as the translator betrays in translating it. Frankly, is the magnificent amount of two lacs meant to be frittered away on such treatises, and or is it meant for a better purpose? Corbett's advice to young men (1) is translated by Mr. Pandia, and it would be presumptuous on our part to find fault with the execution thereof. But what a *role* for the gifted translator of the inimitable *Kadambari* to play? It is said that if Bana had written his unique work in Gujarati, he would have done it as well as Mr. Pandia's translation. For that gifted scholar, now to descend to translate Corbett, or write short stories, fit for juveniles, is something like misapplication of energy and intelligence. Precedents are not wanting. Sir Conan Doyle has also taken to Magazine story writing for children. But surely, looking to the dearth we have in our literature of sound writers and scholars, Mr. Pandia should have been selected for some more sound and intelligent work than translating Corbett. The third book is the biography of an old Gujarati poet Girdhar. There was room for just such a book, and though not an ideal work, still it is sure to be useful. The writer Mr. Mody seems to have a quaint idea. He thinks he has got poetic faculty, and that he traces to a poet, who flourished 200 to 300 years ago, simply because he belonged to his caste and his native place! The book betrays signs of labor and assiduity and is written by one who takes great interest in its subject matter.

K. M. J.

MARATHI.

1. NITISHASTRA PRAVESH OR INTRODUCTION TO THE SCIENCE OF ETHICS *by Mr. V. M. Joshi, M. A., Professor, Indian Women's University at Higne, Poona. Published by the author. Pages 15+527. Price Rupees Four.*

The present is an original work, expounding the several theories on the subject, closely examining them by the scientific method of criticism and establishing certain principles which guide or ought to guide the conduct of an individual as an individual and also as a member of society. The book is divided into 16 chapters, which comprise such valuable and much-discussed subjects as the relation subsisting between religion and morality, Free Will, Conscience, Intuity, influence of Heredity, theory of happiness, Immortality of the soul, etc. The author has dealt with these subjects in a fairly impartial and critical

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manner and has, by means of familiar illustrations, succeeded in carrying home to his readers, several truths, which, when thoroughly imbibed, ought to make him pause and reflect before judging. The special merit of the book is that it is not a mere compendium of Western thought on the subject. The author has taken pains to compare with it, Indian thought embodied in Sanskrit works, and this feature of the work greatly enhances its value. His exposition of the subject of Morals is quite upto-date and leaves nothing to be desired, except that in some places the work of condensation is carried to excess, thus leaving his reader rather bewildered. But I can very well understand the difficulty of the author. To attempt to expound and discuss innumerable theories of thinkers in a volume like this is undoubtedly a difficult task, and I have to congratulate the author on the measure of success he has achieved.

It is a pity that such an important and bulky volume on a subject, which associates with itself hundreds of names of writers, and a fairly large number of divisions, should go without an exhaustive index. When will Marathi writers realise its value and usefulness and make it a necessary adjunct of their works?

Poona. V. G. APTE.

THE PRESENT ABNORMAL DEATH RATE IN POONA *by Shankar Ramachandra Bhagawat, L.C.E. Published by S. B. Sahasrabuddhe, Budhwar Peth. Poona City. Pp. 20; price annas 12, 919.*

This is an address delivered by Mr. Bhagawat at Poona. It is now published in book form with maps, diagrams and charts. The author has taken for the basis of his observation a period of 18 years from 1901 to 1919. During the first half of this period, the death rate in Poona was lower and in the second half higher than that of other cities in the Bombay Presidency. During the first half of this period only in two years the number of annual deaths in Poona was higher than 4000 and during the second half only in two years was it lower than 4000. Then the author considers the sanitary conditions obtaining in Poona before and after 1910. He admits that poverty and consequent low vitality is one of the principal causes of this abnormal death rate but as it is common to the whole country he does not consider it at great length. So far as Poona is concerned there is no marked change in the conditions necessary for the maintenance of the city's health except in drainage. It is the defects in the construction of drainage that have brought about this abnormal increase in the death rate. It must be noted that the work of the construction of new subsoil drainage was begun in 1910 and completed at the end of 1915. Many extracts are given from the opinions of experts to the effect that ordinary gutters are better than ill-constructed subsoil drainage. The reader's attention is drawn to the fact that from 1865 to 1910 (45 years) 8 or 10 different schemes were brought forward for approval and the Municipality spent fifty thousand rupees on them. The total amount spent on the construction of new drainage is rupees eighteen lacs and fifty thousand with the result that the death rate before the construction of the new drainage was 34 per 1000 and after the costruction it came to 40. The author suggests the ways and means of remedying the defects in the new drainage. His estimates for this improvement vary from Rs. 70,000 to five lacs according to its nature, permanency and extent.

The book is brimful of useful information. The charts, maps, etc., in the absence of fuller explanation will not be understood by ordinary readers. A more detailed treatment of the subject is highly desirable. Many misprints have remained undetected. The price is a little too high.

G. K. WALVEKAR.

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH.

THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE HINDUS (*Nos. 109 to 111; July to September 1918*). *Vol. xxii. Part i. Studies in the First Six Upanishads; and the Isa and Kena Upanishads with the commentary of Sankara, by the late Rai Bahadur Srisa Chandra Vidyaratna and published by Babu Sudhindranath Vasu at the Panini office, Bahadurganja, Allahabad. Pp. 152. Price Rs. 4. Annual subscription Rs. 12. as. 12. (Foreign £1. 4s.).*

Of all the classical Upanishads, the *Isa* is the most difficult to understand. The *Anandasrama* edition contains seven commentaries and the views of some of them are diametrically opposite. The interpretation of Sankara and his followers is most unsatisfactory. The book under review gives the translation of the text according to Sankara and Ananta with their commentories in English. The author has also given the summary of the doctrines of the Upanishad as interpreted by the Advaita School of Sankara, the Visistadvaita School of Ramanuja and the Dvaita School of Madhva.

In the notes given by the author, the meaning of all the important words has been discussed.

The book is indispensable to those who cannot read the different commentaries on this Upanishad.

It contains also the translation of the Kenopanishad and of Sankara's commentary. The views of the schools of Ramanuja and Madhva have also been given.

The studies in other Upanishads (Katha, Prasna, Mundaka, and Mandukya) are brief but useful.

THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE HINDUS (*Nos. 112 to 114; Oct. to Dec. 1918*). *Vol. xxii. Part ii. Studies in the Vedanta Sutras by the late Rai Bahadur Srisa Chandra Vidyaratna. Published by Babu Sudhindranath Vasu, at the Panini*

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office, Bahadurganja, Allahabad. Pp. iii+124. Price Rs. 3. Annual subscription Rs. 12-12as. (Foreign £1. 4s.).

In this part, the author has given the translation of 27 Sutras of the 1st Pada, the meaning of all the words of the Sutras and an independent commentary.

It contains also the interpretations of Sankara, Ramanuja, Madhva, Srikantha, Ballavacharya and Nimbarka.

It is a valuable production.

TRUTH REVEALED OR PROBLEMS OF LIFE AND DEATH AND MOKSHA, *by Syamananda Brahmachary, Benares. Published by Govindachandra Mukhopadhyaya, B.A. Munshigunja, Loan office, Dacca. Pp. vii 278+2. Price Re. 1-4.*

Disappointing.

MAHESCHANDRA GHOSH.

Acknowledgments.

(1) AGRICULTURAL JOURNAL OF INDIA, VOL. XIV, PART III.

(2) INDIAN EDUCATION IN 1917-18. Superintendent of Government Printing, India, 8, Hastings Street, Calcutta, Price 12 as. or 1s.

(3) ADDRESS OF THE DEWAN OF TREVANCORE TO THE SRI MULAM POPULAR ASSEMBLY. FIFTEENTH SESSION, 1094.

(4) ANNUAL REPORT ON THE CONDITION AND MANAGEMENT OF THE JAILS IN THE UNITED PROVINCES FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31ST DECEMBER 1918.

(5) THE REPORTS ON THE WORKING OF MUNICIPALITIES IN BENGAL FOR THE YEAR 1917-18.

(6) REPORTS ON THE REVENUE ADMINISTRATION IN CENTRAL PROVINCES DURING THE YEAR 1917-18.

(7) THE SOCIAL SERVICE QUARTERLY REVIEW FOR APRIL 1919.

(8) THE INDO-PORTUGUESE REVIEW-1919.

(9) CEYLON SOCIAL SERVICE LEAGUE Annual Report, 1918-19.

(10) THE BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY Annual Report for 1918-19.

(11) THE PRELIMINARY NOTE ON THE RESEARCH WORK FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDIGENOUS DRUGS OF THE GWALIOR STATE 1918, by Professor M. J. Gajjar, M.A., F.C.S., M.S.C.I.—Really an interesting booklet worth the study of all interested in the subject.

(12) SOME REFLECTIONS TO SUPPORT THE HON. MR. PATEL'S HINDU MARRIAGES (VALIDITY) BILL, by K. R. Daphtary.

(13) A SCHEME OF INDUSTRIAL FELLOWSHIPS FOR INDIA, by M. J. Gajgar, Bombay, 1918.—A highly interesting brochure which will repay a careful reading.

(14) PERPETUAL A.D. CALENDAR, by Ramlal Jiwaram, Accountant, Engineering Department, B. B. & C. I. Ry.; Bandikui, Price As. 4.—This is, as its name implies, a useful publication and should be, for reference, kept on every office table.

(15) IN DEFENCE OF HINDUISM, by Annie Besant,—a booklet written for Hindu boys.

(16) "THE ROWLATT ACT"—ITS ORIGIN AND SCOPE, published by Hamphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, Elphinstone Circle, Bombay, Price As. 2.—It is a defence of the Rowlatt Act, which, however, has given rise to a much controversy throughout the length and breadth of the country.

(17) ANNUAL REPORT ON THE POLICE ADMINISTRATION OF THE TOWN OF CALCUTTA AND ITS SUBURBS, FOR THE YEAR 1918.

(18) ANNUAL REPORT OF THE CIVIL HOSPITALS AND DISPENSARIES OF THE UNITED PROVINCES for the Year ending 31st December, 1918.

THE HISTORIAN SPEAKETH*

"INDIA has done much for me, and now, before my working days come to an end, I should like to do something for India"—these are the words with which Mr. Vincent Smith ushers this little book into the world. One should have supposed that the scholar who has dwelt so much among the past glories of this ancient land would, like Max Muller and others, have discharged his debt to India, which he acknowledges with such apparent sincerity, in the only honourable sense in which the expression in usually understood. But Max Muller did not 'eat the salt' of India and was not a member of the Heaven-born service; so in the name of 'hard facts' and 'a candid statement of realities' he did not treat us, in the words

* *Indian Constitutional Reform viewed in the light of history:* by Vincent A. Smith, I. C. S. (Retired), author of 'The Early History of India' and 'The Oxford History of India,' &c. Oxford University Press, 1916. Price 3s 6d. Pp. 118.

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of Shakespere, to "the equivocation of the friend that lies like truth." The object of Mr. Vincent Smith's book is not the pursuit of truth for its own sake, as befits an eminent historian, but he acts here as the faithful henchman of Lord Sydenham, whose 'powerful support' is often invoked in support of his views, and as the literary champion of the Indian Civil Service, which he extols to the skies, and is never tired of calling a *corps d'elite*, whose 'very existence is threatened' by the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme of Reforms (*vide* the last paragraph of the book). We have read of learned German professors who were not ashamed to prostitute their talents in the service of a godless militarism. It was left to the historian of Ancient India to play a similar role in the cause of bureaucratic rule in India. While unable to deny the existence of popular assemblies in Vedic India which elected kings and 'of nations in Northern India who enjoyed forms of republican government' up to the fifth century A.D., and while admitting that 'the conception of the king as servant of the State was one of the basic principles of political thought in Ancient India', the author lays down that 'the autocracy which even Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford desire to preserve for the Government of India has already a long history' and that "All parties are agreed that nothing like 'responsible government' now exists or ever has existed in India". Mr. E. B. Havell, whose historical insight far surpasses that of Mr. Vincent Smith, shows everywhere in his recently published *History of Aryan Rule in India* how thoroughly false is this view of Indian history. In his very Introduction he says:

> "It will be a surprise to many readers to discover that the Mother of the Western Parliaments had an Aryan relative in India, showing a strong family likeness, before the sixth century B. C., and that her descendants were a great power in the state at the time of the Norman Conquest."

And in the concluding paragraph of his book he speaks of "the Ancient Aryan system of self-government upon which the economic strength and political greatness of India stood firm longer than has been the case with any other empire in the world." Mr. Havell had no axe of his own to grind, no vested interests to serve, nor any *corps d'elite* to save from threatened extinction, and so his truth differs as the poles asunder from Mr. Vincent Smith's brand of the same article. Indeed, Mr. Smith is even prepared to show that 'even in Western communities responsible government has not been an invariable success', 'but', as he puts it, 'there is no need to go into the question'. In this he is certainly wise, for Western communities would make short shrift of our learned historian's arguments, and deal rather unceremoniously with his pretensions, if he were to make the attempt. It was necessary, in the interests of his clientele, to put a most sinister interpretation upon religious differences in British India,—they are seldom heard of in the Native States—and so, in spite of the admission that 'the sentiment striving for political unification ...undoubtedly is a living and potent force', and that 'most indigenous rulers have shown statesmanlike tolerance for all creeds', Hindu-Moslem riots must needs be dragged out of the limbo of oblivion and ancient history ransacked to furnish one or two instances of petty persecution or religious strife. That a countryman of Buckle and Lecky and Sir Hiram Maxim (vide *Li Hung Chung's Scrap-Book*) and one speaking the same language as Draper and Motley, did not feel ashamed to talk of the religious persecution of Indians, which pales into utter insignificance in the presence of the appalling atrocities perpetrated throughout Europe in the name of religion for centuries, is a fair indication of the temper which our historian of ancient India brought to bear on the discussion of his subject. And yet Mr. Vincent Smith does not hesitate to take the authors of the Report to task for having 'shown little regard to the lessons of history'! We do not favour the caste system, and regard it as inequitable and unjust. But when Mr. Smith trots out the bogey of caste and in his anxiety to 'visualise the magnitude of the institution' includes the majority of Muhammadans among the followers of the caste system,

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we cannot help raising a note of protest, in the interests of the same truth to which Mr. Smith appeals. This truthful historian quotes Manu as if his injunctions have now the binding force of the Penal Code, and speaks of the majority of Indians as being 'under the heel of a tyrannous Brahmin oligarchy'. Europeans *professing* Christianity do not follow the social laws and ceremonial rules laid down in the Old Testament, though it is a part of their scriptures. But these same Europeans seem unable to imagine or conceive that among vast multitudes of Hindus in extensive regions of India, the caste rules laid down by Manu and other law-givers are in great part not observed even now, and that even those rules which are now followed are gradually losing their hold. Anglo-Indians also pretend tacitly to believe that caste rules are as rigid in the Punjab, for instance, as they are in Madras. The innocent hope of the authors of the Report—a hope which, in the case of the depressed classes, shows every sign of realisation—'that those incidents of it [the caste system] which lead to the permanent degradation and ostracism of the lowest castes will tend to disappear', is, according to Mr. Vincent Smith, characterised by 'stupendous rashness', and 'a perilous delusion' which 'disfigures' the Report, for, 'when caste distinctions give way Hinduism will perish.' Reading the passages where the learned historian has been at pains to prove the necessity of the caste system for Hinduism to exist at all—a doctrine which, at any rate in the present rigid form of that institution, is denied by a large section of enlightened Hindus—it would almost seem that Mr. Smith is rather nervous lest the hold of caste on the mass of the Hindus should relax in any way; and he seeks to clinch his argument by laying down two propositions, *viz.*, that 'so long as Hindus continue to be Hindus, caste cannot be destroyed or even materially modified,' and that 'its tyranny,' in the words of Mr. William Archer, 'will have to be broken before India can become a nation among modern nations'; but he very generously leaves us to draw the conclusion he so ardently desires from his major and minor premises, to wit, that India will never be a nation. It is wonderful to think of the amount of research work in reactionery literature which the historian has gone through, for he displays an admirable command over the speeches and writings of men like Dr. Nair, Mr. Archer, Sir Harry Stephen, Lord Sydenham, *et hoe genus omne*, and of newspapers like the London *Spectator*, and so acute is his observation that he does not even forget the little affair about the disenfranchisement of the Burdwan Municipality in far-off Bengal, and draws conclusions, so entirely satisfactory to his bureaucratic imagination, from it.

At the very outset Mr. Vincent Smith falls foul of Mr. Montagu for describing the pronouncement of August 20, 1917, 'in grandiose style,' as 'the most momentous utterance ever made in India's chequered history', and he is careful to point out that it has no pontifical character, and 'aroused no interest in the British public and remained practically unnoticed in England', that the 'Report binds nobody,' that 'Parliament and the public should not be juggled out of their rights to free, unfettered discussion of both principles and details.' Mr. Smith's discussion is no doubt unfettered, for he has made the most liberal use of the vocabulary of vituperation, as well as free, in the sense of being totally untrammelled by justice, equity and good conscience, and, like all fossilised Civilians, in spite of his reputation as a historian, he shows an absolute lack of reason and a grasp of the true lessons that history has to teach on reactionary Governments. To take one instance: According to Mr. Vincent Smith, among passages filled with 'platitudinous exhortation or impracticable idealism' in the Report is one where its authors say that in deliberately disturbing the contentment of the masses they were working for their highest good, and that only by suffering will a people learn the faculty of self-help. 'It is difficult,' says Mr. Smith, 'to comment with restraint on such a dangerous doctrine'. And why? Because 'The Prime Minister's ideal of a happy, a prosperous, and a contented people' is the true one for

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India as for England. To borrow Mr. Smith's own language, it is difficult to comment with restraint on such intellectual dishonesty, if not blindness, and transparent subterfuge. In speaking of the placid, pathetic contentment of the masses as the soil on which Indian nationhood will not grow, Mr. Montagu, it is hardly necessary to point out, was not referring to the kind of contentment to which the Prime Minister had alluded as an ideal to be aimed at. The one is the contentment of the lower order of animals who do not even know why and when they suffer, and are totally helpless in the presence of antagonistic forces; their contentment, such as it is, is indistinguishable from apathy or indifference, a certain callousness to the buffets of fortune to which they are accustomed, and proceeds from downright ignorance and sheer despair, being diametrically opposed to the contentment of the full-grown man in complete possession of his inheritance. If Mr. Vincent Smith does not see the difference, it shows that even the most intellectually distinguished members of the Indian Civil Service are innocent of the A B C of political philosophy. And mark the *suggestio falsi* of the quotation from the Prime Minister, as if the present order of things in India makes for 'a happy, a prosperous, and a contented people.' Mr. Montagu, as an astute politician, must have perceived that the isolation of the Indian village community, and the peaceful rural organisation which, all historians tell us, 'let the legions thunder past' and left the Indian peasant unaffected to pursue the even tenour of his ways, had, as a matter of fact, been rudely disturbed by the impact of Western civilisation, and that the villages of India were being more and more drawn into the vortex of world-forces, political and economical; prices had gone up, the villages were feeling the pinch as much as the towns; the schoolmaster was abroad, and vernacular newspapers, inspite of the Press laws, and modern ideas along with them, were slowly forcing their way into the villages, and consequently the ryot was beginning to get discontented with his lot, and to reason, in his own instinctive, blundering way, about the why and wherefore of things. Mr. Montagu, therefore, deemed it wise to take him in hand, educate him, and guide and control his activities, so that he might not burrow underground and bring about a disastrous explosion. It was not in the interest of the Indians alone that Mr. Montagu wrote his Report. He made too much of the difficulties in the way, and with a view to conciliate reactionary opinion at home and in India, subscribed only too readily to illiberal and pessimistic views on the extent to which reform was feasible, so as to draw upon himself and Lord Chelmsford the criticism of the Sydenhamites quoted by Mr. Smith, that "they absolutely admit the most striking facts opposed to their notions, and then ignore them when they come to make concrete proposals."

Mr. Smith is full of contemptuous irony for the 'vain visions' 'in the nature of a dream or mirage' by which the authors of the Report are said to be misled, and their 'fantastic expectations,' 'impracticable idealism,' 'the faith that is in them.' Yet, when it suits his purpose, he does not hesitate to say that 'the magic power of sentiment has been too often ignored by unimaginative statesmen.' He entirely approves of His Highness the Aga Khan's suggestion that the Viceroy should be appointed from among the members of the royal family, in order 'to utilise ['exploit' would be the more appropriate word] the fervent Indian sentiment of loyalty to His Majesty's person;' 'its adoption would go a long way towards abating the natural dislike for foreign rule.' And in this connection—and this only—Mr. Smith says that 'the fact that the heart of India is passionately set on self-expression as a nation should be recognised.' While English constitutional writers like Walter Bagehot may describe the King as an 'ornamental figurehead,' and a popular writer like Mr. Wells in his latest novel, *Joan and Peter*, may preach the most violent anti-monarchical sentiments, while the Tsar of all the Russias may be foully done to death and the Kaiser may be solemnly arraigned before a London tribunal, 'the traditional Indian loyalty to a person'

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'should be sedulously kept open' and 'should not be quenched by the cold water of democratic theory.' The King, as the visible symbol of the unity of the Empire and a sobering influence in politics enjoys a unique position, and while professing sincere allegiance to his Majesty, we decidedly object to the humiliating use sought to be made by the bureaucracy of our personal sentiment in the matter with a view to keep us contented with our chains. Lord Hugh Cecil, in his little book on *Conservatism* in the Home University Library, advocating the participation of the King in party politics, observes as follows :—

"..... if over a long series of years the sovereign takes no share in public quarrels, his office may decline into something purely ceremonial, the splendid centre of all national pageants, but exciting only the temperate interest and half-respectful pleasure which men feel for a stately show.....but though less obvious, the dangers of the monarchy becoming discredited as an inoperative ornament and sinking slowly from being the centre of loyalty to be received, first with good-natured toleration and finally with impatient contempt, is perhaps now the more real menace."

There is little chance of the King's intervention in party politics, as advocated by Lord Huge Cecil, but knowing the little we do of his Majesty's views on India and its people from his public utterances, we have no reason to fear that we should be losers if he did. But Mr. Vincent Smith the historian forgets that in ancient India the sentiment of loyalty was not a hot-house growth and was not artificially fostered by royal portraits and biographies, for the circulation of which 'systematic arrangements' are urged by Mr. Smith, but it was universally recognised that loyalty was the spontaneous expression of the gratitude of a prosperous and contented people for whose sake the greatest of Indian Kings did not hesitate to banish the dearest and noblest of queens that ever lived.

Mr. Smith is glad to note that "All reformers, including Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford, are agreed that the minute control now exercised by the India Office should be materially relaxed, and that the Government of India, however constituted, should be given greater freedom of action than it now enjoys.' He does not even hesitate to call this 'self-government or autonomy in a limited sense,' and has the effrontery to add: 'That kind of 'self-government' is absolutely independent of the internal form of the Government of India, and could be granted if every member of the Government was an Englishman, and if the powers of the Government were autocratic in the strictest sense.' That would indeed be self-government with a vengeance—self-government for the bureaucracy to misgovern the people as they liked. Unfortunately, there is a fly in the ointment and Mr. Smith naively complains: "But such relaxation would not satisfy the demand for 'self-government,' which is understood to imply the Government of India by Indians, so far as may be." How unreasonable and exacting these Indians are, to be sure! In the same vein is Mr. Smith's truculent opposition to the suggestion for the appointment of periodic parliamentary commissions, as an undertaking of that kind 'tends to unsettle men's minds and to stimulate pernicious agitation.'

'Everybody being agreed that changes in the direction of self-government within certain limits must be brought into operation, it is the bounden duty of all true friends of India (God save the mark !) to give what help may be in their power to the high authorities vested with the responsibility of decision.' But "anything like 'responsible Government' in the English parliamentary sense is unthinkable within any period that can now be foreseen." 'The necessity for extensive change in the old fashioned method of governing India is admitted,' but 'the limits of practicable change are narrowly fixed by the barrier of hard facts;' 'the direction of policy and administration by born Indians.....is subject to many limitations, and is difficult of attainment'—chiefly because, we suppose, it would tread to some extent on the toes of the Civil Service. The role of the candid friend hardly conceals the note of special pleading throughout the book, and the concessions 'within certain limits' which this impartial critic is prepared to make

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with one hand are immediately withdrawn with the other, just as in the Reform Bill introduced in the House of Commons, the exceptions take away the pith and the marrow from the spirit of the rules which look so generous and liberal without the proviso by which they are 'cabin'd, cribb'd, confin'd.'

'If the English nation deliberately makes up its mind to grant to India the utmost practicable measure of 'self-government' or 'self-determination', to use a still more fashionable phrase [so the word, so much in requisition among British statesmen during the most trying period of the War, is already being sneered at, though the ink of the peace treaty is hardly yet dry], it is not easy to see how fiscal autonomy can be refused'. This sentence, we suppose, was indited for the special behoof of the Labour members of the Parliament, whom such a prospect may be trusted to scare away from the programme of Indian Home Rule to which they have given their general adherence. Our Muhammadan brethren are sought to be weaned by trotting out the bogey of prohibition of cow-killing—'the boon which', according to this truthful historian, 'Hindus would value above any conceivable reform in political institutions'. (When did the Hindus make Mr. Vincent Smith the keeper of their conscience that he should dogmatise in such cock-sure fashion on their wishes and aspirations?)

But to proceed: 'If india could and should be governed under the conditions of ordinary democracy, which vest supreme power in the majority, it is unquestionable that the prohibition in question would be promulgated at the earliest possible opportunity.'

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya is well known as an orthodox Brahmin. He is so impressed with the vital importance of Hindu-Moslem unity that, as President of the last Delhi session of the Indian National Congress, in the course of his impromptu closing address, he expressed his preparedness, for the sake of such unity, to witness cow-killing, however great the pain it would cause him as an orthodox Hindu. This speech was listened to without a single note of dissent by a vast audience which was preponderantly Hindu. The occurrence of cow-killing riots in a few towns and villages in India annually is generally made too much of. Ordinarily such riots do not occur even in half a dozan places in the vast Indian empire, and even in the case of the notorious Arrah riots perhaps only 50 or100 villages at the utmost were affected. Considering that India contains 722,495 villages and towns, even a hundred or two are insignificant numbers, not to speak of the half-a-dozen or so places where cow-killing disturbances usually occur. Though the author has not failed to note and record so recent an event as the disfranchisement of the Burdwan Municipality, he seems not to have heard of any recent Hindu-Moslem rapproachement.

Everywhere the appeal is for a strong and powerful executive, 'swift and decisive in action'—an executive after the heart of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, whose 'successful' administration of the Punjab will leave an impression in the minds of the people placed under his benign rule not to be forgotten for generations to come.

'The important British community.... rightly demands adequate recognition of itself as...carryiug weight in the national councils far greater than that indicated by its mere numbers.' If the same argument were advanced on behalf of the educated Indians, who are of the people, Mr. Smith would, we suppose, be the first to protest on behalf of the silent masses of India. 'India badly wants the Service with its high standard of ability, its expert training, and its noble tradition' and so forth. But does it really? '...the appalling backwardness of India in education, sanitation, public health, scientific development, and in fact, in almost everything'; 'three hundred millions of Asiatic people, mostly ignorant, superstitious, fanatical, and intensely suspicious'; these are the author's own words, who boasts that his 'whole adult life of fifty years has been dedicated to India': do they look as if they justify his self-confident assertion, that India badly wants the Service? Does it not strike him that India could not very well be worse off without the Service, if after more than a century of Civilian rule, and the expenditure

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of quite a mint of Indian money in pay and pensions, this is all the result that India has got to show? And is it so inconceivable that without the foreign bureaucracy at the top of every department of the administration, the Indians might perhaps by this time have developed sufficient initiative and power of organisation and acquired the necessary experience to play the game entirely off their own bats? But perhaps this is precisely the result which Mr. Smith wants to avoid at all costs, and it is not difficult to read through his observations what is really at the back of his mind, as we shall presently see.

Reforms in the Civil Service are looked upon by our author entirely from the viewpoint of the Service, and not in the least from that of the people, though a learned Oxford historian need not be told that in a matter like this it is the latter alone that count, if officials are to be regarded as the servants, and not the masters of the public. Hitherto, and so long as the door to the Civil Service was practically shut against Indians, Mr. Smith's conscience did not feel any qualms whatsoever; but now that the door is about to be partially opened to them, he is quick to invoke the aid of section 87 of the Charter Act 1833 against racial discrimination in any form in the public service to the disadvantage of Europeans or persons of European descent. The attractions of the Service are said to have lessened considerably 'and first-class men believe that they can do better in other professions.' In fact, 'The difficulties of recruitment have been enhanced immensely by the war, and there is grave reason to fear that the quality of the men engaged has deteriorated.' If that be so, the only reasonable solution, as contended by Justice Sir Abdur Rahim in his dissentient minute in the Public Services Commission Report, is to replace third-rate Englishmen by first-rate Indians, and not to impose fresh burdens on the poverty-stricken masses of India for whom the Civil Service professes to be so solicitous by increasing the fat salaries and allowances already enjoyed by it.

The specialisation involved in the separation of the Judicial from the Executive functions is admitted to be the normal practice in Europe, but it 'certainly would be disliked intensely by the great mass of the people.' This appeal to mass-opinion, we know, is the flimsiest of clap-traps, for the masses suffer most from this unholy combination of functions. The actual reasons for opposing the reform are however soon manifest. 'The existing arrangements provide congenial careers for men of diverse tastes.' If the educated Indians succeed in forcing the change, 'the post of District Officer, which many members of the Service consider the most interesting that a man can hold, will no longer possess any charm.' Similarly, if the recommendation urged by many reformers 'that all judicial appointments should be made from the legal profession as in England' be adopted, 'the attractions of the Service will be very materially diminished, and the judicial type of man will no longer compete for an appointment.' (It may be worth while to note here that Sir Robert Fulton, a former Judge of the Calcutta High Court, once wrote that the Judicial Branch is reserved for 'the slack and the incompetent' members of the Civil Service). It is thus quite clear that it is the prospects of the Civil Service and not the welfare of the people, that Mr. Vincent Smith has all along in mind, in discussing the proposed reforms.

Mr. Smith heartily approves of Mr. Archer's plan of a revived, enlarged, and modernised Haileybury for the training of the probationers for the Indian Civil Service, because 'At the Universities India is regarded as a subject devoid of general interest, and the young men destined for the Indian services who pursue their special studies at a University never learn to feel that India should have the first place in their thoughts. The whole atmosphere of their surroundings discourages such a sentiment, and in fact prevents its birth.' Thus the truth is out at last, and all the gush about the Civilian's care for the masses of India is proved to be pure nonsense.

'The purely technical branches of the public service, such as Telegraph, Forests, Public Works, &c., present easier problems [than the Civil Service], which can be solved by strict

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attention to the principles of fair play without racial discrimination in any form, of selection of the best men, and of offering such material advantages as will attract really good officers, whatever may be their colour.'

In other words, in departments requiring expert knowledge, the best men should be selected, without racial discrimination in any form, and though the emoluments are moderate in comparison with those of the Civil Service, the material advantages offered are sufficient to attract really good officers, whatever may be their colour; but in the Indian Civil Service, which does not require any special knowledge of any kind to start with, the problem is not so easy of solution, that is to say, the above principles of fairplay without racial discrimination and of selection of the best men, do not apply. No greater perversion of reasoning could be imagined, nor could such an argument be advanced by an Oxford historian not trained in the devious ways of the Indian Civil Service and bound by loyalty to the traditions of the Service to defend it against all encroachments on the part of qualified Indians.

But there is balm in Gilead, and Mr. Vincent Smith rightly says of the concrete proposals of Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford (as distinguished from mere pious enunciation of liberal principles in which the Report abounds) that they 'are certain to be largely modified.' The event has shown the correctness of this forecast. Evidently Mr. Smith knows his kidney better than we do, for members of the Civil Service voted solid against the introduction of any substantial concrete reforms, as the Government of India despatch shows. He is also perhaps right when he says that "the 'responsibility to constituents' invented by the authors of the Report obviously is unreal, a mere piece of lip-service to a formula." Mr. Smith is sanguine that 'the almost universally condemned and wholly unworkable Diarchy' must be dropped. In this, too, he may be right; at any rate having regard to the humiliating position assigned to the Indian Minister in the Reform Bill, the introduction of the diarchical principle would be absolutely harmless from Mr. Smith's point of view—it will rather help his cause by proving a failure. And Indians know very well indeed that "If statesmen come to the conclusion that such government, whatever be its merits elsewhere, cannot be fitted to India, and they decline accordingly to force it upon the land, their decision will be readily accepted both by the rank and file of the members of Parliament and by the constituencies, who will not hesitate to follow the guidance on a dificult and unfamiiiar subject offered by trusted leaders." But would Mr. Smith assure his readers of such ready compliance if his sweetly-worded invitation stood little chance of acceptance and instead of being cut down as they have been, the Reform proposals were likely to be further enlarged by the 'trusted leaders' of the nation? The dulcet strain, we know, would at once be replaced by bitter wailing and gnashing of teeth, and the guidance of the trusted leaders would be unceremoniously brushed aside. But even if the worst comes to the worst, Mr. Vincent Smith need not feel so sorely troubled, for the Bill leaves the rule-making power entirely in the hands of the Government of India, where bureaucracy sits safely enthroned, and so good a historian as Mr. Vincent Smith knows quite well how the bureaucracy has, not once or twice in India's inglorious history, but often and invariably, ever since the chequered days of Lord Ripon, succeeded in making the Indians keep to their place with the aid of this powerful weapon of legislation by rules.

July 7, 1919. X.

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THE PRESS ACT AFTER THE BESANT APPEALS

By St. Nihal Singh.

I have been discussing with some legal friends the effect that the judgment of the Lords of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council delivered on May 13th in Mrs. Besant's appeals will have upon the administration of the Press Act in India. They all agree that while that case did not give the opportunity of testing the constitutionality of the Act, it is bound to strengthen and to consolidate the position of the magistrates in India who may be called upon to administer the Act, and of the High Courts in India to which appeals may be preferred against orders made by the magistrates.

Mrs. Besant's solicitor, Major David Graham-Pole, who is a member of the Ancient Society of Solicitors in the Supreme Court of Scotland (incorporated by Royal Charter in 1779), and who has large practice in the House of Lords and Privy Council, must have wished to raise the constitutional issue, for one of the "leaders" whom he briefed was Mr. J. Roberton Christie, K. C., one of the best-known constitutional lawyers. A considerable portion of the case handed in by him to the Privy Council dealt with that aspect of the question.

Mr. William Ingram, the Junior Counsel for Mrs. Besant, who, I believe, has the largest privately owned Indian law library in Scotland and who, in conjunction with Major Graham-Pole, spent nearly two years in working up the case, told me shortly after the appeals had been filed that the Act had been so very loosely drawn up that its provisos practically destroyed the privileges granted. As it stood, it threw the onus entirely upon the person against whom officials chose to proceed, no matter how honest the intentions and how blameless the character of the writer. Indeed so very wide was the wording of Section 4 of the Act that the highest tribunal in India could not afford a writer relief, even though what he wrote was free from taint of sedition, and though it might be too tame to appear in the most Tary of Tory newspapers in Britain.

The special Counsel retained in behalf of Mrs. Besant to deal with the constitutional issue was not, however, given the opportunity of raising that issue. Their Lordships of the Privy Council sat under the Act, and, therefore, they could not consider whether or not it was *ultra vires*.

Had a different course been followed, it might have been possible to test the legality of the measure. A suit might have been filed in Madras by Mrs. Besant against the Magistrate who ordered the seizure of her security, for the recovery of the sum seized. In that case, however, it might have been difficult to take the matter right up to the privy council, which, as a rule, does not entertain appeals involving amounts below Rs. 10,000, while the security confiscated was only Rs. 2,000.

Major Graham-Pole had, however, engaged Mr. W. H. Upjohn, K. C., one of the ablest and most independent leaders at the British Bar, who had taken the trouble to become thoroughly conversant with every detail of the case, and who was able to make the utmost use of every possible opportunity that presented itself. In an argument that lasted several days, he submitted to their Lordships of the Privy Council that grave injustice had been done to Mr. Besant, when, on May 28, 1916 the Magistrate in Madras had thought fit to withdraw the dispensation originally granted to her on Dec. 2, 1914, absolving her from the necessity of depositing security under Section 3 of the Press Act, and required her to diposit Rs. 2,000 as security which she did under protest, and later, on August 28, 1916, declared that the security deposited by her had been forfeited, and

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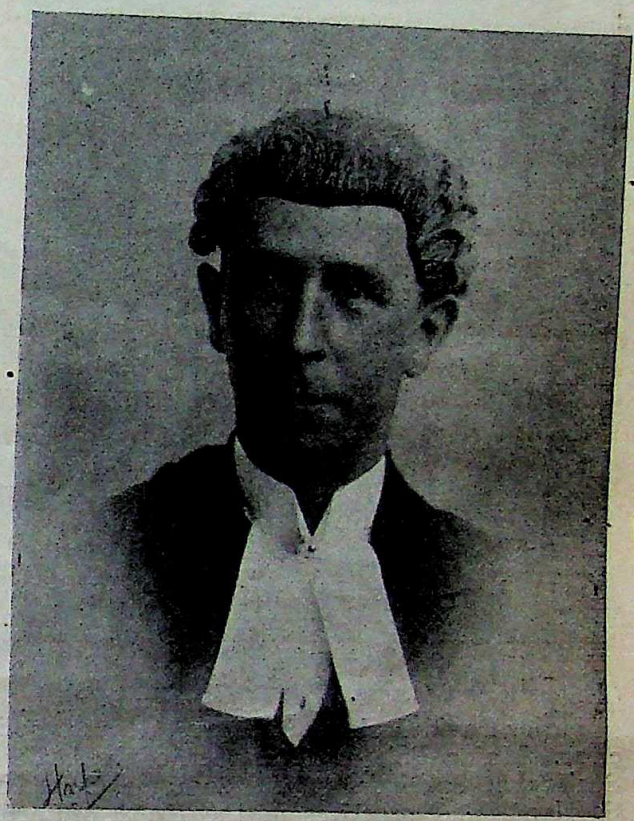
that all copies of her paper, "New India", containing certain articles declared by the Governor-in-Council to contain objectionable passages, were forfeit to the crown. He further submitted that her petitions and applications made to his Majesty's High Court of Judicature at Madras had been wrongfully dismissed. He contended that the act of the Magistrate in cancelling the dispensation without giving her a hearing was "judicially bad".

The last point was really one of the most important raised by Counsel—important not merely for Mrs. Besant, but for the cause of liberty of the Press in India, for which Mrs. Besant was fighting first and last, and not for herself. But unfortunately their Lordships of the Privy Council held that, in the last analysis, the act of the Magistrate was only the "withdrawal of a privilege which need never have been granted." It was not like "a condemnation, in which case justice requires that the person to be condemned should be first heard." It "would have been, however, more discreet, and it would have removed an occasion for comment and complaint, if the magistrate had given the appellant some opportunity for making her observations before the privilege was withdrawn; it might have been a wiser discharge of his duty as an officer." Their Lordships, having said this, declared their inability to go any further.

Time alone can tell whether or not the Magistrates will take the very broad hint thrown out by their Lordships as to the wisdom of giving some opportunity for making observations before the withdrawal of that privilege. But even a layman can see that the expression by the highest tribunal to which Indian cases can be taken of the opinion that it is not incumbent upon a magistrate to give a hearing to such a person confirms and consolidates the powers enjoyed by the Magistrates in India under the Press Act.

In yet another way the judgment confirms and consolidates the powers enjoyed under the Press Act. Their Lordships were confronted with the puzzle offered by the Press Act as to whether or not an article containing comments upon a measure passed by the Government, or an administrative or other action of Government, or upon the manner of the administration of justice, was made without bringing or attempting to bring Government into contempt, and brought the press owner within the wide net of the law.



Mr. William Ingram, who has one of the largest "junior" practices at the Scottish Bar. In conjunction with Major Graham-Pole and others, he devoted more than two years to working up Mrs. Besant's case for the Privy Council.

On behalf of the Crown, the India Office Counsel had urged that in considering whether or not an article or a passage from an article made the press owner liable under the Act, it was necessary to consider: (1) the want of education in India, (2) the existence of numerous vernaculars, (3) that the Government was foreign, (4) that the rulers had no direct responsibility (or even relation) towards the governed, and (5) the resulting difficultty that fault could not be found with a Government so established without making it both hated and contemptible to the immense population that it controlled. He argued that what may be innocent in Britain may be highly

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Major David Graham-Pole, Mrs. Besant's solicitor. Major Pole is a member of the Ancient Society of Solicitors in the Supreme Court of Scotland, and practices in the House of Lords and Privy Council.

seditious in India, because the Indian mind was not developed, and because the requirements of the Government of India were peculiar.

Their Lordships of the Privy Council, while refraining from directly expressing any opinion in regard to these contentions, definitely affirmed that they could not interfere with the conclusion arrived at by the Court in India in regard to the construction to be placed upon the natural tendency of the printed passages complained of by the Government. Their reason for doing so was that "the Judges in India with a far closer knowledge of the character of the people likely to read the articles, have better means of judging than their Lordships in England."

Any one can realize that this is a highly important pronouncement.

When it is remembered that the Press Act is very loosely drawn up, that the judicial has not yet been separated from the executive function in India, that the orders made by the Magistrates under the Press Act are now declared to be made in their executive and not in their judicial capacity, and that the judgment passed by a local Government in regard to the character or intention of a certain article or set of articles carries with it a great measure of prestige, the importance of the judgment delivered by their Lordships of the Privy Council will be realized. We Indians have always believed that in carrying a case from India to Britain, we were able to secure an independent judgment that, in the existing circumstances, could not be expected in India. The meaning of the Privy Council judgment in the Besant Case, unless my lay mind is incapable of comprehending it, is that we shall have to be contented with what we can get in India.

There are, in my opinion, two ways of looking at this matter. One of them is to feel unhappy at the restriction of an opportunity greatly prized by us. The other is to feel that the more India is allowed to be self-contained in regard to her purely domestic affairs, the better it will be for her, at any rate, in the long run.

The reader may, of course, urge that the Government of India is not responsible to Indians, and that, for years to come, there is very little likelihood of its being made responsible to the sons of the soil. That may be true.

But is not that an argument in favour of the organization of the movement to secure full Dominionhood for India with as little delay as possible? We must insist, that, as subjects of the British Crown, we must be given an unambiguously worded charter of liberties, that the anomaly of the combined judicial and executive functions be removed, and that Indians shall have a voice in the appointment and control of the judiciary in precisely the same way that the British have such voice and control. That, I think, must be our goal, and we must press forward to it with firm faith in our destiny, and the British goodwill.

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GLEANINGS

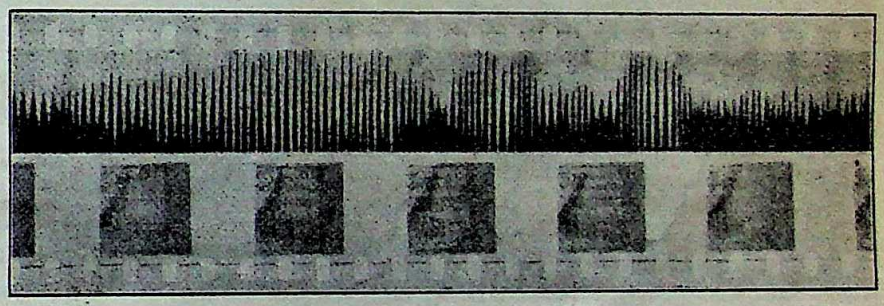
Another step toward the "Talking Movie."

Many thousand inventors, noting that the phonograph and the moving picture have both reached a high degree of perfection, have asked why they can not be combined so that our moving pictures may talk as well as move, and many of them have patented devices to make movies talk. Talking pictures have even held the stage for considerable periods, and have been interesting, if not convincing. But up to date nothing of the kind has been good enough to achieve commercial success. The trouble is in synchronization—making the phonograph-record and the picture register so exactly that one shall never get the least bit ahead of the other or lag behind. The difficulty about this has been that the phonograph-record and the moving picture film are essentially different things, secured by different machinery and exhibited in a different way. A step toward a solution of the problem has been made by Eugene Lauste, a French inventor, who played an early part in the development of the moving picture. Lauste has devised a method of photographing a sound-record directly on the moving-picture film, so that the actor's voice and his movements can not help synchronizing. If this invention reaches the commercial stage, we may have the talking movie in a form where it will be worth while. Says a writer in *The Scientific American* (New York, December 22):

"The problem, simple as it appears at first, is a most difficult one; for one thing, there is the question of evolving suitable means of synchronizing the pictures and the sounds, for it is obvious that they must be kept in step. And even if this question is satisfactorily answered, the amplified sounds from the conventional phonograph are far from realistic. Lastly, how is one going to secure a continuous record for a film 1,000, 2,000, or even 5,000 feet long?...

"The Lauste talking-picture system replaces the usual phonograph with a photographic method of recording sound, and a selenium cell and telephone system for getting the sounds from the photographic record. No stylus of any kind is used; in fact, there are no mechanical movements used in reproducing the sound other than the constant moving of the film in front of the selenium cell. The sound-waves are said to be reproduced with utmost fidelity; and since they are placed on the same film as their corresponding images, the synchronism between the two is absolute and rigid. Furthermore, the sound-records can be made in any length, just as motion-picture films can be made in practically any length.

"In making a talking picture of a scene by the Lauste method the players are not obliged to talk into a horn, as is customary when phonographs are employed. Sensitive microphones are distributed about the scene, either out of range of the camera or suitably camouflaged, to record the sounds; and the players, not being constantly reminded by huge horns that they are being 'registered' for utterances as well as for actions, are naturally better able to do full justice to the respective roles.



A STRIP ON NEGATIVE TALKING-PICTURE FILM.
With the sound-record above the picture images.

"The sound-waves, impinging on the microphones, are transferred to a circuit which includes a storage-battery and a highly sensitive string galvanometer. The string or wire of the galvanometer is suspended in the field of powerful electromagnets, and the slightest fluctuation in the current passing through it causes considerable distortion. A beam of light from a powerful arc-lamp rigidly mounted at the rear of the camera passes through the galvanometer and, in a greatly magnified form, throws a shadow of the wire on the steadily moving film behind a narrow horizontal slot. The wire being so arranged that one side of the exposed film is always in the shadow, the developed film shows a straight edge and a series of 'peaks, quite suggestive of a profile map of a mountain range."

The camera for talking pictures is large and complicated, for it must record both the pictures and the sound. The front is devoted to the usual mechanism, while the rear includes the arc-lamp and the galvanometer. The movement

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of the film is intermittent, at the rate of twenty images per second, while through the sound-recorder it is continuous. It is not feasible, therefore, to reproduce images and sound-records side by side. Mr. Lauste hastens to assure us that this is no disadvantage, and that even splices in the film do not noticeably affect the result. The writer goes on :

"The galvanometer is the heart of the sound-recorder, hence the inventor has given considerable attention to its design. In the earlier form he used a single wire...[but] in a more recent form two wires are used....The resulting sound-record is a double row of 'peaks.'...

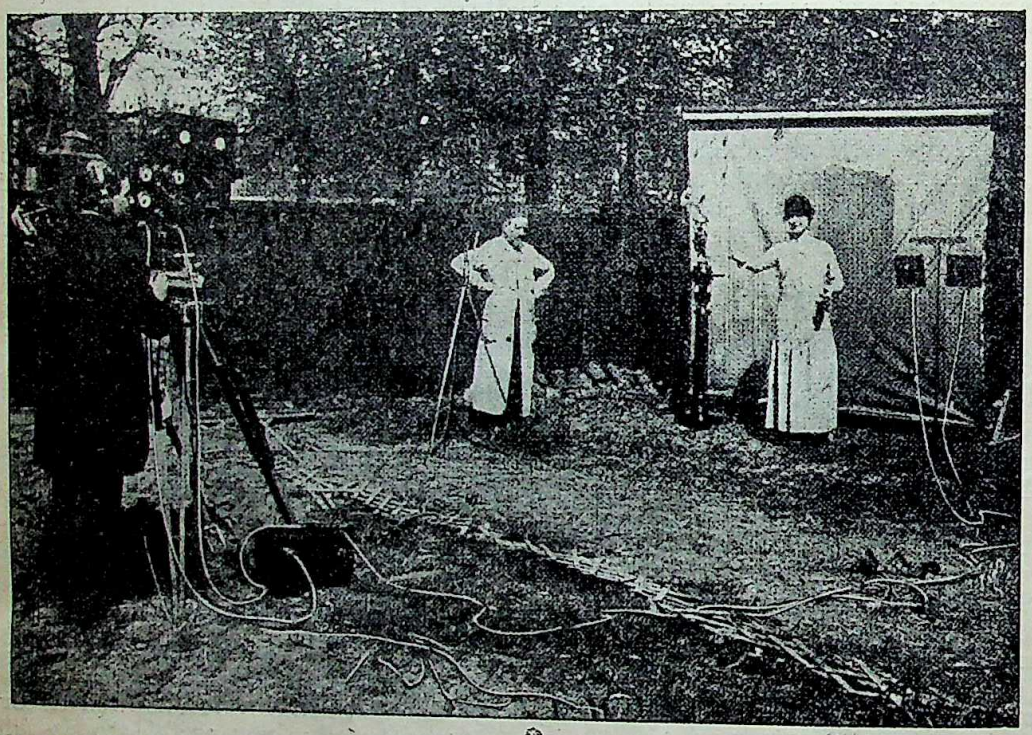
"A strong source of light is gathered into a sharp beam and projected through the sound-bearing section of the film and upon a selenium cell.... As the film is rapidly moved in front of the selenium cell, the resistance of an electric current passing through it is altered in proportion to the amount of light falling on the sensitive material, which, as is well known, has the property of changing its resistance according to the degree of illumination.... By using two rows of sound 'peaks,' the inventor uses a larger area of the selenium cell, resulting in much better results.

"The rest of the reproducing process is simple. A sensitive relay is used in circuit with the selenium cell, while a loud-speaking telephone of special design, and operating on a pneumatic principle which the inventor can not make public at present, receives a current of constantly varying strength from a second circuit. This current is converted into sound-waves, which, in an amplified form, are propagated throughout a large theater.

"Public exhibitions of the new talking pictures were given in England at various times during the past few years, and even the most exacting of English critics have credited Mr. Lauste with a marvelous system of recording sounds. At the present moment the inventor is busily engaged in repairing his equipment, which have been rather badly handled in the journey to America, so that exhibitions are not possible as yet.

"While in its present state of development the talking-picture system just described is claimed to be ready for the public, Mr. Lauste is the first to admit that many refinements remain to be made to bring the system still closer to the ideal. Indeed he has developed an ingenious system of flickerless cinematography which...employs no shutter, yet blends one picture into the next. ...Together with the sound-recorder, these two conributions appear to be a big step toward the ultimate goal of motion-pictures."

—*The Literary Digest.*



Illustrations with this article by courtsey of "The Scientific American," New York.

MAKING A "TALKING MOVIE."

Note the microphones placed about and the receivers worn by the camera-man enabling him to "listen in."

A Crop that makes its Own Weedkiller.

The use of waste material to assist production in the very industry that cast it aside is an interesting feature of sugar-growing in Hawaii. The first stage of this development was the discovery that sugar-cane will push its way through paper of sufficient thickness to choke down weeds. The second was the utilization of the fibrous waste from the crusht cane to make paper for this purpose. In the tropical countries where sugar-cane flourishes, weeds spring up overnight in numbers and strength that will choke off any crop with ease. The expense of keeping them down is by no

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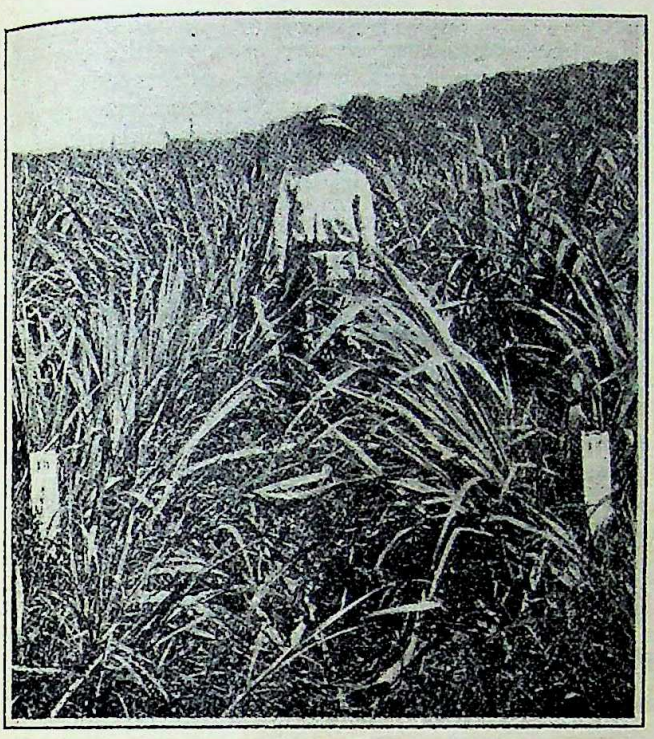
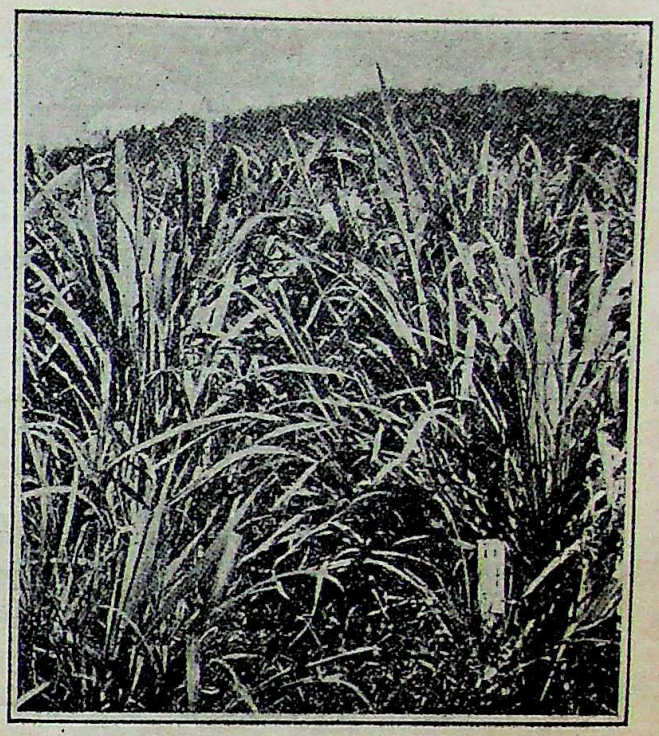


Cane grown in the natural way.



Cane grown with the aid of paper.

SUGAR-CANE FOUR AND A HALF MONTHS OLD, SHOWING HOW THE PAPER INCREASES THE GROWTH.

In each case the man stands at same distance from the camera.

means the smallest item of the cost of production, and their presence or absence often makes the difference between a profitable and an unprofitable year. Mr. C. F. Eckart, of a Hawaiian sugar company, therefore, began experiments looking to weed-control.

"Weeds between the cane rows could be controlled by spraying, after which followed a demonstration that the weeds could be smothered by strips of paper, asphalt impregnated to withstand weather and handling.

"Knowing that cane shoots are tightly rolled up, sharp-pointed and spear-like, Mr. Eckart conceived the idea of using paper over the cane rows, being careful to have the paper of the proper construction to hold the weeds beneath, while the cane, by gentle pressure, could puncture the covering. Considerable acreages have been under experiment and several interesting developments have taken place.

"The paper in yard widths is placed over the rows and kept there by bamboo pegs, stones, and field litter. As the cane shoots come up, those striking the paper at or near right angles puncture the covering and grow vigorously. The other shoots make tentlike elevations, at which points paper is slit after five or six weeks, during which time the cane does not suffer, altho the less hardy weeds are exterminated.

Illustrations by courtesy of "The Scientific American," New York.

THE PAPER SUPPRESSES WEEDS WHILE THE CANE SPROUTS THROUGH.

And the paper is made from the waste fibers of the cane itself.

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"Beneath the paper moisture is conserved and the temperature is from 3° to 5° Fahrenheit warmer than above it, so that under such humid conditions the cane growth is abnormally rapid, while at the same time all weed seeds germinate. The weeds spring up, blanched in the dark, only to smother, since their soft tops provide no means for breaking through the paper. By the time the paper must be slit, the weeds are no more, and as the paper disintegrates the cane is so far advanced as to command the situation.

"This method effects a labor-saving of from 50 per cent. to 70 per cent. and an increase of some ten tons of cane per acre equivalent to more than a ton of raw sugar.

"There is a second chapter to this story affording an unusual example of waste utilization. The paper required in row-mulching, as the use of paper on cane rows is called, had to be brought long distances, while a fibrous material, bagasse, or the cane from which the sugar has been prest, is produced on the spot in excess of fuel requirements. To make a suitable paper from this bagasse presented a new problem; for while many good papers have been made from this raw material, none has had the characteristics required for this special use.

"The problem has been solved by an American chemical research company and a mill is being erected in the Hawaiian plantation which now supplies the paper, exactly suited to the requirements, from the bagasse. This is accomplished with a saving exceeding 50 per cent. of the cost of the paper previously used.

"Summed up, the achievement is the utilization of a wasted material to found a new industry, the product of which reduces the cost of growing sugar-cane and at the same time produces an additional ton of raw sugar on each acre of the plantation in question."

—*The Literary Digest.*

NOTES

To Be and To Have.

In different climes and ages men have had before them two objects or ideals,—to be good and wise, and to have much. History does not show that any nation in any age had before it only one of these ideals to the utter exclusion of the other. But it is equally plain that in different climes or in different ages, very much greater stress has been laid on the one than on the other. It is this difference of stress which characterises the differing civilizations of the East and the West. For it cannot be denied that no country or nation can be said to be without those who value the riches of the spirit above all earthly possessions or those who value worldly greatness and possessions more than the treasures of the spirit.

Plain Living and High Thinking.

Wordsworth's phrase "plain living and high thinking" expresses the essence of the ideal of Indian civilisation. But plain living is not equivalent to extreme poverty. A state of indigence in which no thinking is possible except as to what a man shall eat, is not generally compatible with high thinking. This is very well illustrated by the following paragraph taken from the *Indian Witness* :—

There is little thinking of any kind possible to those who are half-starved, save thoughts of the physical, thoughts of something to satisfy their hunger and sustain their strength. Journalists, professional men, and great intellectuals of many walks in life, confessed that while starving in German war prisons their whole thought and conversation from morning to night was of something to eat. If you would get men to think of the eternal and spiritual things, you must see to it that they are relieved of the dire necessity of thinking continually of temporal things. Recently a preacher in a famine area was greeted by his audience with the statement that they wanted nothing but food.

In India there are millions of men who have not got to go to German war prisons to realise what it is to think and talk from morning to night of only something to eat. With them the process is lifelong. In order, therefore, that we may be able to make the ideal of plain living and high thinking a reality, the material condition of the country must be greatly improved. But while

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engaged in this work of economic improvement, we should never allow ourselves to forget that material progress is only a means to an end. The goal to be placed before the country is that every one should have such food, clothing and housing accommodation as would enable him to lead a healthy and moral life and such means and leisure as would enable him to educate himself and his children and to taste of the pleasures of the intellect and the joys of the spirit.

India's Poverty.

Many Indians and many foreigners have spoken of the poverty of India. Specially convincing must be the testimony of those who, while not taking up the other cries of the politically aspiring Indian *intelligentsia*, agree with them in believing that India is poor. We shall quote two such recent testimonies.

General Sir O'Moore Creagh's recently published work, entitled *Indian Studies*, is not a pro-Indian book. Such a book contains the following paragraph relating to the poverty of the Indian people :—

It is idle to talk of education or other measures of social reform when whole families in those parts of India I know have to work day and night to eke out a bare existence. Even in normal years the grain disappears before the harvest is over, and then the fight with hunger and the illness it causes commences. There are millions who, even in good years, fail to get a full meal, and they would die in droves in a bad one were it not for public relief. The peasant digs, sows and reaps, the rain falls, and the crops prosper and are reaped; but no sooner is the harvest ours than the crop is divided. The landlord, be he government or a great landlord, takes the lion's share, the village shop-keeper and the village servants are paid from what remains, when the producer has nothing left. He again gets credit for his food and seed for the next crop from the village shop-keeper, which costs him dear, and he goes home to plough, sow, and live in hopes of better times, which never come. When, after years of toil and favourable crops, he may have got clear of the village shop-keeper, the settlement officer pounces on him, and skins off all profit by taxing him on a rigidly defined standard, which throws him into the hands of the village shop-keeper once more.

The Indian Witness is an organ of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Its politics are the politics of Anglo-Indians. And missionaries can, if they choose, see the real life of the people of India much more than Anglo-Indian officials or Anglo-Indian men of business. For these reasons what this paper says about the poverty of India should carry conviction. It says :

How poor is India ? Those who are fond of statistics will be most impressed with the statements that India's average daily earning per person is between an anna and an anna and one half, and that the average wealth of India per capita is about ninety rupees. We know that there are many people in India who earn much more than an anna and one half a day, so there must be a great many others who do not earn so much. We also know that there are many in India who possess much more than rupees ninety, so there must be many others who possess much less, otherwise the average of ninety would not be possible. Mark Twain was certainly seeing straight when he characterized India as being "the land of dreams and romance, of fabulous wealth and fabulous poverty, of splendor and rags, of palaces and hovels, of famine and pestilence." The only difficulty is that the fabulously wealthy are comparatively few.

How poor is India ? It will do little good to compare the average earnings of her people and their per capita wealth with the earnings and wealth of the peoples of other nations. "Comparisons are odious." The real meaning of the anna and one half average daily earning and of the rupees ninety average wealth is best understood when they are considered in the light of their purchasing power. The anna and one half will purchase very little more in India to-day than it will anywhere else in the world, and less than it will in many places. Wheat for food and cotton for clothing are just as expensive in India as in prosperous America. Milk in India is as expensive as it is in many other countries that are far more able to buy milk. How many babies will die in India this year because there is no proper food for them ! We know of one wee baby in India whose milk diet costs five or six annas every day. How far will the anna and one half go ?

How poor is India ? Her great infant mortality, and mortality that is not infant, her millions of barefooted people, millions of half naked people, millions of people who have but one meal or less, of the coarsest food, per day ; and her millions in famine relief camps, or suffering without the camps, all bear testimony to the insufficiency of the anna and one half for daily needs, and of the rupees ninety as a fortification against the day of famine, to say nothing of providing capital for productive industry.

The question is then asked, "Why is India so poor?"

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The one big reason for her poverty is that she produces so little. We have been talking of her average wealth and average earning; we may also speak of her average productivity. The average individual in India produces less than the average individual in almost any country on the face of the earth. Why is this so? First, because those who are producers use such primitive methods of production. Here a man uses his centuries old wooden plough and his slow-going oxen and cultivates a few bighas of land, at the most. In Australia and Canada a man will take his modern machinery and thoroughly till his 40, 80, or perhaps 160 acres of ground. Second, because there are so many people in India who are absolutely unproductive. There are millions of mendicants, religious and otherwise; millions of personal and house servants; thundreds of thousands of those who because of physical defects are unproductive; and there is a great host of the idle rich who live off of the toil of the real producer.

Some complain that India is so poor because she has to pay such heavy taxes. We do not know whether her taxes are any heavier than those of other countries or not. We would like to have the word of some expert political economist on that subject. But whether taxed or not, it is safe to say that India will be the poorest of the poor so long as her productivity is so little in comparison with that of other nations; and wealth and poverty are always comparative terms, it must be remembered.

Should any religious movement concern itself with such a thing as poverty? It certainly should. The Master indicated that it was to be taken for granted that men should have adequate food, clothing, and shelter. He had no quarrel with wealth; only with the love of it. Plain living and high thinking are fine things, but there is a great distinction between plain living and plain starvation. There are multitudes in India who would be glad to indulge in the high thinking, if only they could be assured of the plain living.

Increasing our Productivity,

How to increase our productivity? It is a big question, and cannot be answered within the compass of a brief note.

It has to be considered what things we require to produce. First comes food. A strictly scientific enquiry should be made to ascertain whether India produces sufficient food to maintain her population in normal health and strength, leaving a sufficient margin for export. If she does, why are millions of her children lifelong starvelings? If she does not, it is plainly the duty of the people and the Government to increase her food production by the adoption and use of the best seeds, manures, implements and methods. The questions of agricultural holdings and of the fragmentation of holdings as it affects the introduction of agricultural improvements should be considered in this connection. These questions are dealt with in two papers published in the current (July) number of the *Agricultural Journal of India*.

All questions of reform and improvement are interdependent. No wonder then that agricultural improvement should depend on the possession of political power. More than any other government department, the agricultural department has or ought to have to do with the illiterate peasantry. Most of those agriculturists who are literate are literate only in their vernaculars. Those of their countrymen who have received agricultural education should be in a better position to advise, guide and help the agriculturists than foreigners; and it is only the selfishness of exploiters which can deny that Indian agricultural experts are more interested in the agricultural improvement of India and in helping the tillers of the soil than foreigners. But it is foreigners who rule the roost in the agricultural as in other departments. This state of things can be remedied only by Indians acquiring political power.

It is not denied that even illiterate peasants may be made somewhat better agriculturists without being made literate. But it is equally plain that no great improvement is possible unless there is universal free elementary education, were it to be imparted only as a means of giving agricultural education. The official attitude in this matter has always been clear and was made quite clear by the fate of the late Mr. G. K. Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill. The Primary Education Acts recently passed in some provinces, for the most part as the result of non-official zeal, provide, in the majority of cases, for the extension of primary education in urban areas. A great national education Act, giving every child, born in urban or rural areas, opportunity to develop to the full what capacity it brings into the world, has still to be ushered into existence.

Sufficient money will never be spent for

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agriculture and education until the Indian Government is nationalised.

The Choice of Crops.

Those who take interest in such questions know that, as far as that is practicable, influence and pressure are brought to bear on peasants and farmers to grow more of crops which are required for the advantage of exploiters and foreign countries than those which India requires for her own advantage and use. This can be remedied only by the possession of political power by Indians. Our notes on "Mobilization of Indian's Agricultural Resources", pp. 641-643, *M. R.* for December, 1918 and pp. 94-95, *M. R.* for January, 1919, may be re-read to clearly understand what we mean.

Areas under Cultivation.

The figures supplied by the Director of Statistics, showing the total area, area cultivated and uncultivated, area under irrigation, area under different crops, &c., in British India in the agricultural year 1917-18, give food for thought.

The total area sown in the year 1917-18 was 265 million acres (including 37 million acres cropped more than once), the same as in 1916-17. This total area may be classified under the two main heads, food crops (219 million acres) and non-food crops (46 million acres). Of the food-crops, the area under wheat increased by nearly one and a half million acres in 1917-18, that under gram by one million acres, and that under barley by half a million acres. The decreases are mainly under bajra (2½ million acres), jawar (¾ million acres), rice (one-third million acres), and other food grains (one million acres). Among the non-food crops the main increases are under cotton (1½ million acres), linseed (¼ million acres) and rape and mustard (one-third million acres), while the area under sesamum decreased by about two-third million acres and groundnut by one-third million acres. The total area irrigated decreased by 2 million acres, as compared with that of 1916-17. As compared with the pre-war year, the area under food crops at the end of the last agricultural year, June, 1918, was 8 per cent more than in the pre-war year owing to the increase *on account of war demands for wheat and gram.* In regard to non-food crops the increase in the same period was 5 per cent. chiefly on account of the demand for *oilseeds, indigo, and fodder crops.* The per capita acreage of foreign countries is also of interest. The figures for the United States of America, Canada, the United Kingdom, France, and Germany before the War were as follows: United States of America 2·97, Canada 5·98, United Kingdom 0·39, France 1·49, Germany 0·94. The figures for India before and at the end of the War were 1·02 and 1·10 respectively.

Every country should in the first place produce what it requires for its own consumption, and then produce, if possible, what other countries require for their consumption. And out of what a country produces, only the surplus after reserving its estimated consumption should be allowed to be exported. But in India both the production of particular kinds of crops and their export are controlled with greater regard for the requirements of foreigners than is just and humane, the consequences being scarcity, famine, malnutrition, wide-spread disease, and ignorance. Only self-rule can remedy these evils.

One of the economic causes of our inability to keep in the country a sufficiency of the food we produce, is our want of money. Foreign manufacturing peoples have more money and can pay higher prices for food-grains than we can. Unless, therefore, we develop manufacturing industries, we shall never have enough food, though we may produce enough. But manufacturing industries can, in the circumstances of India, be developed on an adequate scale only if we have self-rule.

The Question of Export.

In normal times, and in abnormal times, too, like the present, of high prices and of famines, food is allowed to be exported out of India, *without attention being paid to what Indians think of India's requirements.* It is pretended or believed that we do not even understand whether we are hungry or how hungry we are;—and, of course, we do not understand how the export and import of food should be controlled! A recent letter contributed to the *Bengalee* by an official incidentally placed the public for the first time in possession of the information that Great Britain had undertaken to supply Sweden with large quantities of Indian wheat! Was not the War fought for making the world (*minus* India, Egypt, etc.?) safe for democracy, and was not this undertaking, given without the

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knowledge and consent of the producing country, in right democratic style?

The remedy lies in self-rule.

Production of articles other than food.

In addition to food, India should produce also her clothing, and all other things which are necessary for leading healthy, beautiful and enlightened lives. No doubt, no country can produce *every* thing which its inhabitants may require; but India is so large a country and possesses such a large variety of climates, fauna, flora and physical features that it is possible for us to produce almost everything we require. And our productive activity should have this wide range not only to remove our poverty, not only to add to our wealth, but in order also that we may be better and more perfect men by developing all our capacities and in order that we may acquire and keep up that feeling of self-respect which economic independence and interdependence-on-equal-terms with other countries can produce.

Without manufacturing industries we cannot even conserve our stock of food. So long as wealthy manufacturing countries can pay higher prices for the food we produce than we can pay and so long as we are obliged to sell part of our food stock for the money wherewith to purchase foreign cloth and other necessaries, the food we produce must in great part find its way to foreign countries, leaving us hungry. These considerations prove that we can not do without the Swadeshi movement.

Flourishing manufacturing industries presuppose technical and industrial education, control over customs duties, tariffs, railway freight, &c., state encouragement, banking facilities, and organisation of capital. Most or all of these conditions depend for their fulfilment on the possession of self-government.

Mysore Iron Scheme.

We are glad to learn that the work in connection with the Mysore iron scheme is being pushed through at Benkipur. The sites for the location of the workmen's quarters, offices, factories, etc., have been selected under the guidance of Mr. Perin, the American expert. An informal conference of the Mining Engineer, the special officer of the Iron scheme, the Conservator of Forests in Mysore, and the District Forest Officers of Kadur and Shimoga and one or two others, is now threshing out at Bangalore the problem of the fuel supply required for the works. This problem of the fuel supply will be understood from what appeared in our last December number, p. 641. There we gave an extract which said that an interesting experiment was being tried in Mysore, and that the government of that progressive state had decided to erect a charcoal blast furnace and appointed Mr. Perin as their consulting engineer. It was further stated:

"He has placed orders for the equipment in America, and the undertaking is to be constructed and managed by the Tata Iron and Steel Company. It is proposed to fell and transport timber from the vast forests of Kadur and Shimoga, and convert it into charcoal at Benkipur. Iron ore will be mined at a distance of twenty-five miles, and a high-grade charcoal iron produced. It is also intended that acetate of lime, alcohol and other by-products be extracted. Calcium carbide may also be manufactured, with the breeze or such portions of the charcoal as cannot be used in the furnaces."

There will thus be considerable wood distillation industries.

The Mysore Durbar has provided more than Rs. 21,00,000 for this scheme during the current year.

Industries in Gwalior.

The Leader publishes an article on 'Industrial Gwalior,' which is a memoir on the economic position of the Gwalior State and a description of the principal industries carried on there, prepared by the inspector-general of commerce and industry under commands of His Highness.

During the short period that the industry and commerce department has been in existence efforts have been made to prove the commercial possibilities of the dry distillation of wood, thymol manufacture, extraction of turpentine and resin and commercial utilization of indigenous drugs. To the credit of the department we have as many as 115 factories, although, in the beginning strenuous efforts were needed,—'years of hard labour' to quote the official in charge—to popularize ginning factories, presses and cotton

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mills. The success of the Gwalior workshops and leather factory is a record of persevering work carried on, unmindful of expense, with the sole object of establishing an 'example industry' in Gwalior. Workmen were imported from Agra and Cawnpore and paid big advances, and systematic training of the local people was undertaken, with the result that they have now nearly one thousand workmen, all of the state, working in all branches of saddlery, harness, and boot-making. The average annual profit of the concern is represented by half a lakh of rupees. As yet no systematic efforts seem to have been made in starting, on any large scale, the iron and steel industry which is the coming industry of India. Gawlior had, at one time, iron foundries capable of turning out wonderful works like the 24 feet long gun which can now be seen in the Jai Vilas Palace. This gun is described as a magnificent piece of welded metal, made in 1602, and was used in the reduction of the Gwalior fort by the Marathas under their Scindia leaders, and is called Falesh Lashkar. The rocks of the Vindhyan series contain iron in the form of hematite and magnetite. A State with the resources of Gwalior ought to be able to lead the way even for the Tatas at Jamshedpur.

Other activities have also been summarised.

It is a credit to the industrial activities of Gwalior, such as they are, that when during the war, the call came from the munitions department for bolts, nuts and rivets, the Gwalior workshop undertook their manufacture; draught poles, telescopic stands and other articles were also executed. Large supplies of pack mules, saddlery, harness, boots and shoes and other leather goods were supplied by the leather factory. The chemical laboratory in Gwalior, started to analyse and classify the raw and manufactured products of the State, is doing splendid work, laying the groundwork for new chemical manufactures. The results so far attained fully justify the keen foresight and affectionate 'regard for the well-being' of the subjects by his Highness, who realized the potential greatness and value of chemical and technical research for the growth of industries.' Two research scholarships have been sanctioned by the Darbar for the investigation of indigenous drugs. The statistical department, which is a useful handmaid to the industrial department, is rapidly rising in efficiency. Forest industries, which all over India have obtained a great impetus during the war and as a result of the activities of the munitions department, have come in for particular attention. Turpentine on a commercial scale, could be made, as also lac; tanin extracts, rubber, aloe, silkworm rearing, rosa oil, these and other industries await the serious handling of the Government. Sylviculture, in itself, is a vast subject, and the Gwalior State is about to associate a forest economist with the conservator of forests. Reclamation of land ravines, brought into existence by the destructive inroads of rivers, is seriously taken in hand; the areas covered by ravines constitute excellent agricultural lands. Raw materials for the manufacture of cement occur in various parts of the State, and now that the war is over, the State might take up the work.

Aid is given to small industries also.

Korea's Declaration of Independence.

Korea came under the yoke of Japan ten years ago. Ever since that time, she has been ruled by the Japanese military governors with severity. The dawn of peace, however, gave her a new gleam of justice and roused her with the principle of self-determination. So that, imbued with the new idealism of liberty, she drafted her declaration of independence, of which the following is a translation:

"We, the people of Korea, hereby declare the Independence of Korea before all nations, assuming that this would be generally recognised by them.

"We declare this with a united voice of twenty million people in the name of justice and humanity. We are no mean people, having the long history of a distinct and self-governing nation through the course of forty-three centuries. It is a most solemn duty of us to secure the right of free and perpetual development of our own national character and ability, adapting ourselves to the principles of the reconstruction of the world.

"It is nearly ten years since we were for the first time in our history put under the yoke of another nation and made a victim of the cursed militaristic imperialism of the world. Since then, how much our spiritual development has been hampered; our national dignity injured; and how many opportunities have been lost to make a contribution to the civilisation of the world.

"Oh, fellow-citizens! The most urgent and the greatest duty for us is to secure our national independence, in order to wipe off the injuries, to get rid of the present sufferings, to remove the future threatenings, to stir up the national spirit and vitality so long suppressed under the unjust regime of Japan, and to leave our children an eternal freedom and perfect happiness instead of a bitter and shameful inheritance. We shall fight to the last drop of our blood in the great cause of Liberty.

What the Koreans next proceed to say, shows that they were not in a revengeful mood when they made their declaration of independence.

"We do not blame Japan for breaking treaties in which she so often solemnly promised to

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guarantee the independence of Korea. Nor do we complain of her for calling our land a colony and treating us as slaves. Because it is unnecessary for us to find faults in others, but in ourselves. We do not mean to take such measures as to avenge ourselves upon Japan. All we desire to do is to right wrongs done to us not by the Japanese nation, but by the few of her statesmen who were led by the "old" aggressive policy.

The results of the Japanese annexation of Korea are thus described :—

"See the actual outcome of the annexation which was made in 1910 without free consent of the peoples concerned ! A bitter and unreconcileable animosity is growing deeper and deeper between these two peoples, though it has been glossed over with a tranquil appearance caused only by heavy pressure and with series of statistics, most of which have nothing to do with our concerns. It is clear to see that the two nations must and ought to enter into a new relation of good friendship so that they would enjoy a permanent happiness and to avoid further perils on both sides. Moreover, in view of maintaining the peace of the Far East, the independence of Korea is not without a deep significance. It is not only because the unjustly subdued twenty million people of Korea may prove a source of incessant alarm, but any longer occupation of Korea by Japan is likely to provoke more suspicion and fear against Japan in the mind of the four hundred million people of China, whereas the true friendly relation between the peoples is the basis upon which any eternal peace of the East will possibly be established. Could any international peace be expected without the perfect harmony of the eastern nations ?

Babu Bhagwan Das on The Hindu University.

Babu Bhagwan Das, M. A., of Sevashram, Benares, has published two articles on the Hindu University in *New India*, July 7th and 8th, from which we quote below. He is a gentleman of high culture, with as profound a knowledge of Sanskrit philosophy as of modern thought and learning,—an accomplished writer, a deep thinker, and a sane judge of men and manners. A gentleman of independent means, and a student by taste and temperament, he long served the Hindu University in its chrysalis stage of the old Central Hindu College, and has been elected to several of the academic and administrative bodies of the new Hindu University since its foundation in 1916. He has also been twice chosen as *Honorary* University Professor. He has no axe of his own to grind. The opinion of such a man on the present condition of the Hindu University must have great weight. It strikes one that, though the items dwelt upon by Babu Bhagwan Das and "Inside View" are not the same in every detail, the impression produced by the articles of the two writers is substantially the same.

Babu Bhagwan Das first of all proves that "all is not right with the Benares Hindu University." Indeed, he goes so far as to say that "it is not an ideal fraternity of philanthropists requiring only quiet and steady work,...but sodden with intrigues and party politics."

Those who are, in his opinion, responsible for this state of things, have not, he appears to think, forgotten to employ the usual methods for preventing even the attempt at reform. As he plainly puts it :

Indeed, it would be almost truer to say that there has been "a conspiracy of silence" in the Press, as regards the affairs of the B. H. U. I could not get some letters, signed by me in full, published in the U. P. in January, 1918, and had to send them to other provinces, where they were published by the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, *New India*, and *the Bombay Chronicle*. Apparently there was in the U. P. a strong notion that any 'criticism' of the B. H. U. is 'sedition' and 'disloyalty', and that nobody can wish well to the B. H. U. unless he whole-heartedly praises its existing management. Things must have become very bad indeed when even the Press of the U. P. thinks fit to give space to even anonymous 'criticisms' of that management.

Among the *root causes of the mischief* he gives the first place to Mr. Malaviya's manner of doing things—or, more correctly, of leaving them undone and practically, though he does not say or suggest intentionally, standing in the way of others doing them.

It stands to reason, and even to "common-sense," that a "residential" University should have a residential head ; and much more so a residential University in the making, in its earliest feeble infancy, liable to many infantile troubles. But the B. H. U. has dispensed with any and every such thing so far. The first Vice-Chancellor lived a hundred miles away. The second fifteen hundred. He gave clear and fair warning, before election, that he could not give more than a part of the year to Benares, and he did better than his promise. But he failed to make any impression upon the root mischiefs, partly because even the time that he did give

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was not enough, and largely because Pandit M. M. Malaviya could not time his visits to Benares concurrently with the Vice-Chancellor, and could not develop another and even more necessary kind of concurrence, i.e., of views, and of mutual trust, between himself and the latter. As "Inside View" has pointed out with facts and figures, the present Pro-Vice-Chancellor, Pandit M. M. Malaviya himself, is able to give very little time to Benares. He seldom exceeds, seldom even works up to the traditional pilgrim's limit of "three nights at a place", in his visits, and these take place at intervals of weeks. And now that he is the Acting Vice-Chancellor also, since the resignation of Sir Sivaswamy Aiyar, the consequences to the work are so much the more perplexing, for he is not stationary even at Allahabad, his home, (so that work could go to him if he could not come to the work), but is ubiquitous—all over India. No blame to him at all—on the contrary, he is bearing an Atlas burden on his shoulders—but all the blame to our luckless and most miserable Motherland which cannot produce another being fit to be trusted by him to really share and lighten his mighty labours!

Out of the lack of a residential head, then, all the other mischiefs arise.

As regards the imagination and the plans of Mr. Malaviya, Babu Bhagwan Das writes :—

Our guiding spirit, our presiding deity, or at least genius, the soul of the whole concern and its master as its solitary bread winner and holder of the purse-strings, has an exceedingly rich and vivid imagination, which pounces and fastens upon a new idea almost every day and rapidly develops it into a glorious structure of sunset clouds, but then his ardour cools and the idea shrinks back into its inherent diminutiveness and is put aside. It is, no doubt, this very vivacity of imagination which has infected the country with the idea of the Hindu University and made its foundation possible. But the excess of it now is a hindrance. What is wanted now is steady continuous sober plodding on a level, much below that of the bright imagination, let us grant readily and sincerely, but equally indispensable in the total scheme of the universe. If the prime founder of the business would only realise his limitation as well as his capacities, distinguish between what or rather how much he can do (as indeed no other can, at the moment) and what he cannot do, though he insists on doing it (as others realise painfully, though few venture to express their minds frankly to him), then the B. H. U. would progress better, and more quickly.

Babu Bhagwan Das gives direct evidence that Dr. Ganganath Jha's resignation of the membership of the various University bodies was not due to differences with Sir Sivaswamy Aiyar, as has been asserted by some apologists of the present *regime*. "The statement is wholly wrong, as *I know firsthand;* it was due to the general *condition of affairs* which *made it impossible for him to be of any use,* and for which *Malaviyaji's absence from the scene of work* combined with *his disinclination to let anything at all important be...done in his absence is the main cause.*" The following passage from his articles gives one the impression that the various university bodies have made the University a sort of talking machine hall.

At present many are the meetings of many of the B. H. U. bodies which, after three or four hours of industrious talking, simply end in postponements of most, sometimes all of the agenda items. Things are half-discussed and dropped and taken up again and dropped again indefinitely. The shirking of one full and conclusive discussion in the beginning entails a perpetually recurrent waste of time afterwards. See the minute books and the files of notices of meetings and agenda papers.

An illustration is given from the meeting of the Executive Council on the 22nd June, which was adjourned after an "addled egg" meeting on the 14th.

After *three hours*—from 5 p.m. to 8 p.m. and more—of preliminary talking, part of it relating to a matter not on the agenda at all, it was decided that as copies of the budget had been placed in the members' hands at that meeting itself and no time allowed for previous conning over (—it appeared that a week was required by the rules—) the whole thing was postponed to the 12th July. So it goes on. An important question of principle, whose continued mismanagement is likely to aggravate the corruption of spirit from which the B.H.U. is suffering is being shirked in this fashion. And travelling expenses are paid to outside members attending these meetings. One court meeting is estimated to cost about three thousand rupees; and a Council or a faculty meeting may cost hundreds.

Legal quibbles, hair-splittings of words, catch-phrases invented by men engaged in executive office or forensic law or party-politics, to suit their own special purposes, are often heard at meetings of the administrative bodies of this *educational* institution, where the whole atmosphere should be that of the patriarchal joint family, the guru-kula, the Teacher's family-home. At a recent court meeting, a member "pointed out", with reference to an objection raised by another, that the latter's remedy lay in a suit in the law-courts.

Want of space forbids us to give more

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extracts from Prof. Bhagwan Das's exposition of the situation. We shall only quote some of his paragraph-headings to indicate his diagnosis of the case :—

"Haphazard our principle and Drift our policy."
"Our lack of proper head and heart."
"Our ignorance of what we want to do."
"Our safe policy of non-committal."
"Our keeping the public out."
"Our wish to repress criticism."
"Much talk and little work."
"Our waste of public money."
"Our slighting of the missionary spirit."
"Our Red-tapism."
"Our insistence on blind faith and caste nepotism."
"Our penny-wise and pound-foolish finance."
"Our worst symptom—the unrighteous spirit."
"Manipulation of procedure at will."

Our own Impressions.

We have no first-hand knowledge of the affairs of the Benares Hindu University. And it is not possible for us to constitute ourselves into a committee or commission of enquiry. At the same time it is also not possible for us to dismiss as unreliable the statements of men who have been long known as honourable and truth-loving. We can judge of the state of things at the Benares University only from what has appeared in the Press, from what has been brought to our notice and from the results of our inquiry on the few definite and specific points mentioned below.

(*a*) Have the morning periods of work at the C. H. C. been invariably of 40 minutes each and the day periods of 48 minutes each, or were they on some days changed to 45 minutes or any other duration ?

(*b*) Was the starting point of the College work changed during the last year only from season to season and not from time to time as detailed by "Inside view"? Was the starting point changed oftener than seasonal changes would necessitate ?

(*c*) Was sufficiently early notice given to *every* member of the teaching staff of the changes in the starting point ?

(*d*) Did any member of the staff complain of the conditions of his work under the shift system ?

These were questions the answers to which would not be affected by personal equation, because these would be mere statements of fact. We have no desire to enter into details, nor to quote in full the replies we have received. Suffice it to say that on these points, the replies confirm the statements of "Inside View." On other matters we leave the reader to decide for himself.

The Modern Review was, we believe, the first among Indian journals to describe and advocate the Gary plan of teaching two sets of students by shifts. But our support of the plan was conditional. We laid down the condition that neither the staff nor the students were to be overworked or inconvenienced in any way. We have evidence to show that some professors really were inconvenienced by the shift system as adopted by the Hindu University. We have evidence also to show that science students have been placed at a disadvantage by it. The reasons can be guessed from what Prof. N. C. Nag has written in his letter to the *Searchlight* :—

> Oftentimes Chemistry students have to carry on an experiment from one day to another and they have to leave their apparatus, etc., on their table. The coming in of a new batch of students in their place is not possible in the practical class. There must be separate accommodation for the science students in the practical class.

We have independent evidence to show that on account of the lack of this separate accommodation for each science student, unfinished experiments have had to be started anew. This is a real disadvantage. A piece of writing becomes interesting if the writer throws some personal feeling into it. We have tried to write on the affairs of the Hindu University in as cold and therefore uninteresting a manner as we can. For we regret to observe that party feelings and prejudices generally divide those who have or have had anything to do with this University, though we presume there must be some who have been able to keep up a neutral judicial attitude. For this reason, we wish to avoid even the appearance of belonging to any party.

In a new institution, which is also a new experiment, some degree of slowness of progress is inevitable,—it may even be desirable. We cannot say whether the slowness of the Hindu University has exceeded this limit.

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Some appointments, we understand, could not be made, because, for one thing the gentlemen whose services were desired demanded very much higher salaries than the salaries attached to the posts which they now hold. It may seem unavoidable, but it seems to us that the excessive salaries paid to foreign officers have made the demands of our own men higher than they ought to be in a poor country like India.

Ideals and their concrete realisation cannot, there is no harm in bearing in mind, always be made to keep pace with each other. The Peace Treaty falls far short of the idealism of so great a man as President Wilson.

A great reconciler, a high-minded broad-hearted peace-maker, is required. The Hindu University is an all-India institution. It has brought together many and may in future years bring together many more workers with different upbringing and differing University and provincial traditions and predilections. Some one there must be at the head of the University who, while utilising to the full the broadening effect of the good that there must be in those different traditions, &c., would be able to rise superior to their narrowing and dwarfing influence.

A Noble Gift to the Indian Women's University.

Mr. V. R. Lande, Sub-Assistant Surgeon, originally of Nagpur, died two years ago at Jinja, Uganda, East Africa, after serving the Government there for about fifteen years. His poverty compelled him to take to medical studies without completing his secondary education. His property in Africa and India amounts to nearly Rs. 55,000. He executed a will 5 days before his death setting aside a large portion of his estate for educational and charitable institutions. According to the law of Uganda, however, no immovable property can be assigned to charitable purposes unless the will is made one year before death and deposited in some place provided by law for safe custody within six months of the execution. If the two widows and the mother of Dr. Lande had not given their consent, the will would have been inoperative. They have, however, nobly come forward to accept the terms of the will and have executed a release deed relinquishing all their rights over and above what has been left to them in the will. The Trustees of the Indian Women's University are Dr. Lande's Trustees in India. The African Trustees were required to send all the proceeds of the Estate there to the Indian Trustees and Rs. 39000 have been received from them. Indian dues have yet to be recovered. About Rs. 8000 are to be given to four different institutions and after giving to the widows and the mother what is left to them, the Women's University is likely to get Rs. 15000 now and about Rs. 15000 later on. This last sum is to be invested and the allowance of Rs. 30 a month to each of his widows is to be given out of the interest thereon.

The Indian Women's University is deeply thankful to the late Dr. Lande and the noble ladies for the very liberal help they have given to this movement.

Hingne Budruk, Poona City. D. K. Karve, Organiser, Indian Women's University.

The Press Association of India.

The Press Association of India has sent the following cable to the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State for India and Lord Sinha, Under-Secretary of State for India:—

"The Press Association of India begs to invite attention to the repression of the Indian Press under the Press Act, 1910, resulting in the suppression of legitimate expression of Indian opinion and creating a great alarm in the public mind. The Act since its enactment has penalised over 350 presses and 300 newspapers, demanded securities amounting to over £40,000 and proscribed over 500 publications. Owing to the demand of security, over 203 presses and 130 newspapers have not been started.

"Since 1917 the Act has been even more rigorously administered. Leading influential Indian English journals like the "Amrita Bazar Patrika," the "Bombay Chronicle," the "Hindu," the "Independent," the "Tribune," the "Punjabee," and leading Vernacular papers like the "Basumati," the "Swadeshmitran," the

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"Vijaya," the "Hindvasi," the "Bharatmitra," have been subjected to its rigours. Several Indian newspapers are arbitrarily barred from the different provinces. On the other hand violent provocative writings in the Anglo-Indian Press are entirely immune. Government refused last September an open inquiry into the operation of the Press Act urged by Indian members in the Imperial Council. Legitimate criticism on the Rowlatt Act, the Punjab Martial Law and other grievances, is crippled by executive action. Influential journals are disappearing because of the existing Act and its administration. The unventilated expression of public opinion is bound to drive discontent and unrest underground. The extreme and unjustifiable severity to which journalists are subjected is painfully evidenced by the arbitrary deportation of Mr. Horniman, Editor, "The Bombay Chronicle," and President of this Association. The Association presses for the repeal of the Press Act urgently."

The Press Act Supremely Reasonable.

The following telegram has appeared in the daily papers :—

Bombay, July 18.

At the Esplanade Police Court, Bombay, before the Chief Presidency Magistrate, Mr. Mahadeo N. Desai appeared to make a declaration as publisher of "Young India." When asked by His Worship to deposit a security of Rs. 1,000 Mr. Desai submitted the following statement :—"I have been advised not to give any security apart from what has already been taken from the keeper of "Young India", as in the opinion of those, including myself, who are responsible for conducting the journal, extraordinary endeavour has been made to keep its columns pure and undefiled by any seditious or even hostile taint. Every endeavour has been made to serve both the Government and the public fearlessly but with due regard to every interest. I can only express my very deep regret that Government has been unable to appreciate the service that "Young India" has rendered to it during critical periods and has been so ill advised as to ask for any security being given by the publisher." After reading the statement, His Worship said no security was taken from the printers. Mr. Desai said he meant the keeper of the press.

The Magistrate :—You say the keeper of the press has deposited Rs. 1,000.

Mr. Desai :—Yes.

The Magistrate then ordered that Rs. 1,000 should be deposited subject to the proviso of Section 8 (1) of Act I of 1910. *His Worship further ordered that if a change in the place of printing were made he would have to deposit a further sum of Rs. 1,000.*

Mr. Desai's truthful and courageous statement extorts respect.

The last sentence in the above extract, which we have italicised, shows conclusively how supremely reasonable the Press Act is. The Magistrate says in advance that "if a change in the place of printing were made," the publisher "would have to deposit a further sum of Rs. 1000." It is taken for granted that a mere change in the place of printing would make *Young India* more seditiously inclined than it already is in the opinion of the Magistrate! How absurd and ludicrous! And this is Law!

Indian Women's University.

A Few Facts and Figures.

1. This University was formally inaugurated on 3rd June 1916 at the first meeting of its Senate in the Fergusson College at Poona.

2. Dr. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar and Principal R. P. Paranjpye are its Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor, respectively.

3. The Mahila Pathashala (Women's College) and the Mahilashram (Girls' High School), both of Poona, are the only institutions working under the guidance of the University.

4. There are sixteen students in the college and one hundred in the school. The staff of those institutions contains four M.A.'s and 4 B.A.'s of the Bombay University.

5. The first convocation of this University was held on 15th June last, at which Mrs. Barubai Shevade, the first graduate of the University, received her degree of "G.A." (Graduate in Arts) at the hands of the Chancellor Dr. Bhandarkar. This lady has joined the staff of the above-mentioned institutions.

6. The Senate of the University consists of 60 Fellows who are representatives of six electorates. Affiliated schools and colleges elect 15, patrons elect 10, members of Graduates' Electorate elect 15, members

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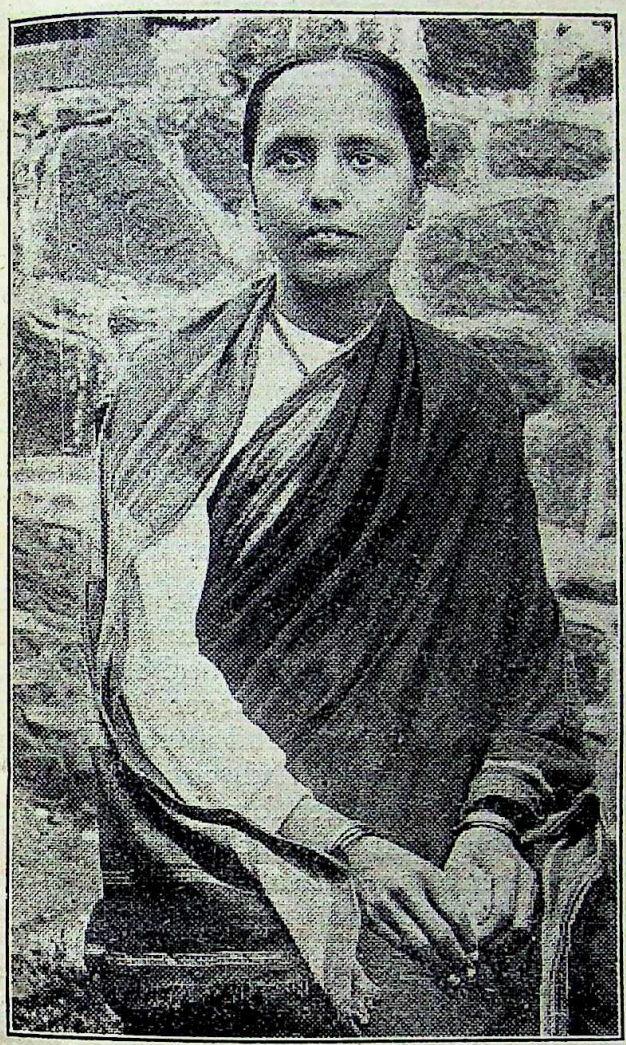

Mrs. Barubai Shevade,
First Graduate, Indian Women's University.

of the Educated Ladies' Electorate elect 10, members of the General Electorate elect 5 and the Senate co-opts 5, making in all 60. Twelve Fellows retire every year automatically and their places are filled up by new elections, retiring members being eligible for re-election.

7. The present Senate contains 6 ladies and 54 gentlemen. According to places 28 belong to Poona, 11 to Bombay, 2 to Gujarat, 2 to Baroda State, 2 to Sind, 1 to Punjab, 2 to Central India, 1 to Bhopal State, 1 to Bengal, 3 to Madras Presidency, 2 to Mysore State, 1 to Carnatic, and 4 to Deccan. According to professions 24 were or are professors of colleges, 13 Head Masters and Inspectors, 8 pleaders, 8 doctors and 7 others.

8. It is a national university. All authority is centred in the Senate which is made up of the representatives of the people. Any graduate can become a member of the Graduates' Electorate by contributing Rs. 10 annually and any person can become a member of the General Electorate by contributing Rs. 5 annually. The list of eligible voters prepared for the election in last April contained 2000 names nearly. People from different parts of India have got themselves enrolled as members.

9. Indian vernaculars are given the first place in the scheme of studies and English is made a compulsory second language.

10. The movement is supported mostly by the educated middle class. The permanent fund of the University consists of 3½ per cent. Government Promissory notes of the face value of Rs. 1,15,000, Annual subscriptions come to Rs. 10,000.

11. Although there is only one high school and one college working under the guidance of the University at present, it is hoped that more institutions will spring up later on. Similarly though Marathi is the only vernacular which has been made the medium of instruction, it is hoped that provinces with other vernaculars will take up the idea. One lady from Gwalior passed the Entrance Examination of this University in April 1918 with Hindi as her medium of examination. Prof. Karve, the Organiser of the Indian Women's University, has expressed his readiness to exert himself to organise a school and college that would give instruction through the medium of Hindi, if no workers in Hindi-speaking provinces come forward either to start an independent Women's University or to found an institution to work under the guidance of this University in the next few years.

Poona, 14th July 1919. A Maratha.

The more truly independent educational institutions of the type of the Indian Women's University we have in our midst, the more hopeful would our future be.

The Meeting of Laila and Majnun.

Laila and Kais were children of two chieftains of wandering tribes in Arabia. They were brought up together like two

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buds growing side by side with affection and love secretly treasured in their hearts. They hoped and dreamed that one day they would be united in wedlock and live only for each other. But this was not to be. They were separated from each other. Laila was married to a wealthy person. The disappointment of Kais was so great that he became mad—*Majnun*. He thought only of Laila, he spoke only of Laila. He wandered into the wilderness till he became a living skeleton and even wild beasts took pity on him and became friendly to him. In the meantime, however, the husband of Laila died and she sought the love-distracted Majnun. But the return of Laila was too late. Majnun did not recognise her. Laila spoke of her insatiable love for him, but Majnun described to her the Laila he adored—his beloved Laila of the past. Then their eyes met and Majnun recognised her. But this was only for a brief moment; instantly his madness came back and he rushed away into the desert, and once more they were separated, to be united only on the other side of death.

The picture represents Laila speaking to Majnun. Two of her attendants are standing behind her. The camel-driver in the foreground is making fire.

Early 18th century; Collection of Mr. S. N. Gupta.

Naturalisation of the Exotic.

It is a somewhat trite though common argument, employed by Anglo-Indians and Tory Britishers, to cry down our political aspirations or to assert that we do not possess certain moral qualities, that there are no current old vernacular words to describe certain liberal and popular political institutions or to express those moral qualities. One might retort that, as the words "government", "democracy", "representative government", "franchise", "parliament", &c., are all derived from languages foreign to the British soil, a time there must have been when the things denoted by these words did not exist in Britain; yet these things have grown up and taken root there. Similarly one might argue that as "gratitude" is not an indigenous British word, the thing originally did not exist in Britain, and it was subsequently that its want was felt, and so the thing and its name was attempted to be transplanted to British soil. Seriously speaking, many exotic animals, plants, ideas and institutions have been naturalised and have flourished in new habitats. This process of conscious and unconscious naturalisation has gone on throughout historical and prehistoric ages. Very often the exotic has partially or completely supplanted what was indigenous. That what has not been or is not, can not merely for that reason be, is a most foolish argument.

Punjab Affairs.

Whatever may have been the case in former ages, at present the English language is so highly developed and its vocabulary is so rich that whatever Englishmen do and think and feel and intend, may be adequately described and characterised in English words. Therefore, it would not be right to say that it is not possible properly to describe and characterise recent events in the Panjab and the policy pursued in that unhappy province by its rulers and the rulers of India. There is quite an abundant stock of words in the English lexicon to correctly describe and characterise those events and that policy. And though English is not our vernacular, our knowledge of it, too, though defective, might suffice for such true description and characterisation. But on account of the Press Act, such true description and characterisation may not seem advisable,—particularly in the case of those newspapers and periodicals which do not possess presses of their own.

The "Pratap" Case.

This is a case in which Lala Radha Krishna, editor of the "Pratap", was sentenced to 18 months' rigorous imprisonment, which has been reduced by the Lieutenant Governor of the Panjab as an act of mercy. Even if he had been released as an act of mercy, the wrong done to him would not have been wholly undone; for he ought never to have been prosecuted at all. In cases of injustice like this, if the accused

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person were set free, if it were declared that he was wrongly prosecuted, and if he were compensated for whatever pecuniary or other loss he had sustained, then alone it could be said that as much justice had been done to him as was possible under the circumstances.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi has subjected the charge-sheet and the judgment in this case to detailed criticism. He says:

"In my humble opinion the judgment is a travesty of justice. The case is in some respects worse even than Babu Kalinath Roy's case. There are no startling headlines as in the *Tribune* case. The accused has been sentenced not on a section of the Indian Penal Code but on a rule temporarily framed as a war measure."

He examines the indictment as follows:—

Let us turn to the indictment. Now a charge-sheet should contain no avoidable inaccuracies and no innuendoes. But we find that this indictment contains material inaccuracies. One of the three statements claimed by the Prosecution to be false is that the accused said in his paper that 'they (the crowd) were fired at in Delhi without any cause.' Now this is a dangerous inaccuracy. The passage in question reads, 'they were, *at least from their point of view*, fired at without any cause.' The words italicised have been omitted from the charge thus giving a different meaning to the writing from the one intended by the writer. From the third item too the relevant portion which alters the accused's meaning in his favour has been omitted. The third count concludes, "the people threw stones and brickbats at the time when the authorities had already taken the initiative." The relevant and qualifying sentences in the article from which the above is extracted are: "*But it is possible that somebody among this huge crowd might have thrown stones on the Police officer (before they resorted to firing).* Even admitting this to be true, we say that the wisdom and prudence of the authorities demanded that some other method than firing guns should have been adopted with a view to suppress this disturbance." This sentence with the portion italicised again alters the whole meaning. If such an omission was made by a defendant, it would amount to *suppressio veri* and he would rightly put himself out of court. Done by the prosecution, the omission has passed muster, but in reality it is far more dangerous than *suppressio veri* on the part of a defendant. The Crown by a material omission, intended or otherwise, may succeed in bringing about an unjust conviction, as it appears to have done in this case.

In the *Hindvasi* case in Sindh, the Prosecution charged Mr. Jethmal with *suppressio veri* for bringing the Government into hatred and contempt, and the trying magistrate observed:—

"What are we to think of the good faith of a writer catering for a considerable body of Sindhi readers, who, having at his hand the materials from which he could have compiled a true and faithful account of the events at Delhi, deliberately set out to garble those materials so as to put the action of the authorities in the worst possible light? It has been proved that he deliberately omitted from more or less responsible accounts of the occurrences, certain statements..... What was his intention in so doing? There can be no doubt that it was to hold up to hatred and contempt the authorities responsible for maintaining law or order."

The application of these observations to the charge-sheet in the *Pratap* case is obvious.

Nor is this all.

The last paragraph of the charge contains an unpardonable innuendo. "The accused has published a number of seditious and inflammatory articles, but the Crown prefers to proceed under Rule 25." The suggestion that the accused has written "seditious and inflammatory articles" could only be calculated to prejudice the defence. I have never seen an indictment so loosely drawn up and so argumentative as this. In a properly constituted court of law, I venture to think that it would have been ruled out of order and the accused set free without having to enter upon any defence.

Mr. Gandhi then criticises the judgment.

The judgment too, I am sorry to say, leaves the same impression on one's mind that the charge does—an impression of prejudice and haste. It says, "The prosecution have also established that each of these statements is false." Now I have, I hope, already demonstrated that two of the statements in the indictment could not be proved to be false, for they are statements *torn from their context* and *incomplete*. No amount of evidence to prove the falsity of such incomplete statements could possibly be permitted to injure the accused. There remain only two statements to be examined. The first statement is, "By the evening of the 31st March forty Hindus and Mussalmans had been killed." Now it would be quite clear to anybody perusing the judgment that even now it is not known how many persons were killed. I suggest that the deciding factor in examining the falseness or otherwise of the above statement is not the number killed but whether any people were killed at all. If anything could then alarm the people, it was the fact of firing, not necessarily the number killed. And the fact of firing is not denied. As to the number, the newspapers including the Anglo-Indian press, had different versions. The learned Judge dismisses the plea that other

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respectable papers contained about the same statements that the "Pratap" did. I submit that it was a relevant plea in order to establish the defendant's *bona fides* with a view to show that he had reasonable grounds for believing the statements he published. The second statement made by the accused is, "It cannot be denied that most who were killed or wounded were innocent." Lala Radha Krishna in his petition pertinently observes "that the Delhi authorities themselves took this view and in order to provide for the innocent sufferers in the riots opened a public fund." Let me add to this that no attempt was made by the Crown to show that even one man killed or wounded among the crowd was guilty of any act of violence himself. The court seems merely to have relied upon the fact that those who were killed were "members of a violent and dangerous mob". That fact does not necessarily prove that those actually killed were guilty of violence nor has the accused in his articles complained that the innocent suffered with the guilty. His complaint naturally was that the firing was at all resorted to.

The rule under which the accused was charged has been also examined.

It is now necessary to examine the rule under which the accused was charged. Lala Radha Krishna was charged under sub-clause (a) of sub-section, I of rule 25. In order to establish the guilt of the accused it is necessary to prove—

(a) That the statement is false ;

(b) That the accused "has no reasonable ground to believe it to be true" ;

(c) That it is published "with intent to cause" or it "is likely to cause fear or alarm to the public."

It has been made abundantly clear in the foregoing that the statements have not been proved to be false, and that even if they were it has not been proved that the accused "had no reasonable ground for believing them to be true." On the contrary the defence statement gives clearly the grounds of his belief and lastly the Prosecution never proved that there was any "intent to cause fear or alarm, or that there was likely to be any fear or alarm caused." The judgment however says, "without going into the question whether he intended to cause fear or alarm to the public, we are satisfied that the publishing and circulating of these false statements did actually cause fear and alarm to the public." Lala Radha Krishna observed on this point, "The prosecution witnesses were unable to cite any specific instances of such alarm having been caused by the articles in question."

Mr. Gandhi concludes :

The judgment takes no note of the antecedents of Lala Radha Krishna, of the fact that although there was not the slightest reason for expressing regret for anything he had written he expressed it in his statement to the court for any unconscious exaggerations and of the very material fact that the error, if error it was, was corrected by him as soon as the official *communique* was published and that he published too the "Civil and Military Gazette" version. This seems to be a question of manifest injustice.

Another fact which shows the action of the Prosecution in a very unfavorable light, has been thus stated in the *Mahratta* :—

The case was launched on 6th June under Rule 25 of the Indian D. O. R. A. against Lala Radha Krishna *after* he was officially *warned* by the Press Advisor to the Punjab Government on the 10th April i. e. some 5-6 days after the statements were published in the *Pratap*. This means that the Government had seen the articles they objected to before the date of the warning, and had then thought that a simple warning would have the desired effect. But not content with what they themselves thought proper and adequate then, they resorted to prosecution in June, and have thus ridiculed their own previous judgment !

Other Panjab Sentences.

The sentences passed on Drs. Kitchlew and Satyapal and some other leading men of Amritsar and on Messrs. Duni Chand, Rambhaj Dutt, Harkishen Lal and other leaders of Lahore are most astounding. The judges who tried these persons had the same peculiar notions of what constitutes conspiracy, rebellion and war as those which actuated Sir Michael O'Dwyer in getting Martial Law proclaimed in the Panjab. They could not apparently free their minds from the influence of their surroundings, and were, therefore, manifestly not fit to try these cases. And in fact such cases ought never to be tried by martial tribunals.

Taking the words rebellion and war in the senses in which they are used and which are found explained in authoritative English lexicons, we must say that it has not been established that there was any rebellion or war in the Panjab. And supposing there were, it has not at all been established that leading men like Drs. Satya Pal and Kitchlew and Messrs. Harkishenlal, Duni Chand and Rambhaj Dutt had participated in that sort of rebellion and war. That these persons took counsel to-

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gether to carry on organised agitation against the Rowlatt Act, was, in the opinion of the judges, a criminal conspiracy! If that be so, then any kind of conference or meeting, private or public, for purposes of deliberation or consultation for settling any programme of constitutional agitation, is conspiracy. We have read the Lahore judgment from the first line to the last, but nowhere could we discover any proof of any criminal conspiracy of which the Lahore leaders were guilty. A conspiracy of a different kind, though not one which the Indian Penal Code can take cognizance of, seems indeed to have been hatched in the Panjab, a conspiracy of which the object, it is presumed, was that, whatever extension of political rights the people of the other provinces of India might have under the Reform Scheme, the Panjab must politically remain what it is. Nay, it is probable that it was intended that the Panjab should make progress backwards by the curtailment of peoples' rights. Sir Michael O'Dwyer was guilty of this conspiracy,—who else was, is not known.

Were it not for the tragic consequences of these trials, some passages in some of the judgments would be considered highly comic. For instance, in an Amritsar judgment, the fact that one of the accused started a platform ticket agitation and wrote "intemperate" letters to the railway authorities in connection therewith, is gravely brought forward as establishing and enhancing his guilt! "He was instrumental in stopping a cricket match." Could rebelliousness go further? The opening of *langarkhanas* or free kitchens for the poor during the shopkeepers' strike in Lahore, has been pressed into similar service by the Lahore tribunal. It, too, was an act of war! But, pray, in what respect, legally, did it differ from the Strikers' Unemployment Funds in the West out of which the unemployed are helped during strikes and lock-outs?

The Lahore judges have given it as their opinion that the object of the Lahore leaders was to overawe the Government by *hartals*, &c., and thereby bring about the repeal of the Rowlatt Act. Now, the object of all constitutional agitation is to bring pressure on the Government in furtherance of a legitimate public object; and this pressure is justified so long as there is no physical force, no violence, no armed resistance, or any intention or suggestion thereof. It has not been shown that the Lahore leaders either intended to use any physical force, or had any connection with any rioting or other act of violence which might have taken place. Should Government dislike the inconvenience resulting from constitutional agitation, and therefore feel inclined to avoid providing occasions for such agitation in future, surely it must be an abuse of language to describe the object of constitutional agitation to be to "overawe" the Government.

It is too late in the day for any tribunal, military or civil, to try to make out that any form of passive resistance (call it *Satyagraha* or by any other name) is criminal. It is and would remain legitimate and constitutional in spite of what Anglo-Indian or British judges may choose to say. For *British* justice, though often the best, is not always the best or the only variety of justice. The ideal and standard of justice and the ideal and standard of what is legitimate and constitutional are independent of what some British judicial and executive officers may think or say.

Hartals (shopkeepers' strikes) and every other similar form of self-chosen and self-inflicted loss, suffering and mode of public mourning are immemorial rights of the people, which no British or other man-made pronouncements or laws can abolish or deprive of their legitimacy. Surely it would be intolerable slavery if we could not have even the liberty to suffer for a cause!

Much is made in the Lahore judgment of the fact that the crowds were dispersed by firing on more than one day. But, that a crowd was fired upon, does not in itself show that the men forming the crowd were violent and dangerous, were in the wrong, or constituted an unlawful assembly. On the contrary, what has to be proved first of all is that (a) the crowd was violent and constituted an unlawful assembly, (b) that other means had been tried

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to disperse it, and that, these failing, (c) they had to be fired upon. The Lahore tribunal has reversed the process, and, partly from the fact of the crowd having been fired upon, appears to have taken the conclusion for granted that there was rebellion and war in Lahore. And if there was, the Lahore leaders were guilty of waging war, though there was no direct or indirect proof of their complicity.

The Case of Babu Kalinath Ray.

That a man who ought never to have been prosecuted at all, and, if prosecuted, who ought never to have been convicted and punished, has had his sentence reduced *as an act of mercy*, does not, from the public point of view, in the least lessen the injustice done to him. Of course, so far as he is personally concerned, the reduction of his sentence is a relief to him and to his relatives and friends. But in the interests of justice and of popular rights, an endeavour should be made to get the sentence pronounced on him reversed by a higher tribunal. The appeal to the Privy Council must, therefore, be pressed. Not that we expect that his conviction would thereby be certainly quashed. But all legal means must, if possible, be tried to obtain justice. We would, therefore, urge all lovers of justice to contribute to the Kalinath Ray Appeal Fund and send their subscriptions to Dr. Prankrishna Acharji (56, Harrison Road, Calcutta), who is the treasurer.

Appeals to the Privy Council.

We do not know whether any appeals to the Privy Council have been preferred in any of the cases of conviction of the popular leaders in Amritsar and Lahore; but it may be presumed that there will be a few. Should any appeals be successful, even then the price of such success must be considered. If it were absolutely certain that Privy Council appeals always ended in the vindication of justice, it should not be lost sight of that the expenses which have to be incurred are a very heavy fine. But the prospect of obtaining justice by such appeals is by no means certain. In the first place, to err is human, and those to whom appeals are preferred in England are human beings. In the second place, they are not all above racial and political bias.

Nevertheless, where pecuniary circumstances permit, Privy Council appeals may be advocated as part of our publicity campaign.

P.S. We are pleased to learn in this connection that the Privy Council has granted leave of appeal to twenty-one Indians convicted by Court Martial at Lahore in connection with the riot at Amritsar on April 10th. The appellants contended that the alleged offences were committed before the establishment of Martial Law, therefore they should have been tried by the ordinary courts. Lord Haldane in announcing the judgment said that without expressing any opinion on the facts of the case they were bound to advise the Sovereign that there should be a scrutiny of what had been done in order to avoid chances of miscarriage of justice.

The "Independent" understands appeals have also been lodged or are about to be lodged in the Lahore Conspiracy case (K.-E. *Vs.* Harkishen Lal and others), Amritsar Conspiracy Case (K.-E. *Vs.* Kitchlew and others), and Gujranwala Leaders' Case (K.-E. *Vs.* Amarnath and others). It is expected leave will be granted in all these cases. Sir John Symon, leading Counsel, has been retained on behalf of the appellants.

The Hon'ble Pundit Motilal Nehru has received a cable from his solicitors in England informing him that Messrs. Bugga and Ratanchand's petition in the Amritsar National Bank case for special leave to appeal from convictions and sentences passed by the Martial Law Commissioners was heard by the Privy Councillors on the 23rd July. Their Lordships granted leave.

An Addendum.

After the article entitled "Some Thoughts on the 'Yellow Peril' had been printed for the present issue, we received the following note, to be appended to the sentence on page 129 ending, "we trust and believe that Mr. Montagu's 'great deed' will not be too great for the age in which we live":—

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"The text of Mr. Montagu bill has come to hand since this article was written. Though not satisfied with several features of it—notably the handling of the question of the Budget, and a curious vagueness in other matters which it would have seemed safer to define—the writer is still convinced that Mr. Montagu is standing courageously for that spirit of justice in which lies the hope of the world, and that any defects are due—not to his intention, but to the forces with which he is forced to contend. S.E.S."

The Crewe Committee's Report.

The Crewe Committee's Report on the re-organisation and re-constitution of the Secretary of State's Council, &c., has been published. We have not received a copy, but find the greater portion of the majority report with the minutes of dissent submitted by Prof. A. B. Keith, Mr. B. N. Basu, and Sir J. B. Brunyate, published in the daily papers.

Some of the principal recommendations of the Committee with which we find ourselves in general agreement are embodied in the following passages of the Report :—

"It appears to us that the conception of the Reform Scheme leads naturally to the acceptance of the principle, which we here state in general terms, that where the Government of India find themselves in agreement with a conclusion of the Legislative Assembly their joint decision should ordinarily prevail."

"Following the phraseology of the Joint Report, we recommend that the Governor-General should be instructed that save in the case of absolute necessity no measure should be certified for enactment by the Council of State without previous approval of its substance by the Secretary of State on the ground that the legislation proposed is essential in the interests of the peace, order, and good government of India. We note that the words employed in clause 20 (4) of the Government of India Bill, regarding certification by the Governor-General in Council, are "the safety, tranquillity, or interests of British India or any part thereof," which appear to be of somewhat wider import than those in the Joint Report."

"In order, therefore, to give proper emphasis to the legislative authority of the Assembly, we recommend that whenever legislation has the support of a majority of the non-official members of the Legislative Assembly, assent should be refused only in cases in which the Secretary of State feels that his responsibility to Parliament for the peace, order, and good government of India or paramount considerations of Imperial policy require him to secure reconsideration of the matter at issue by the Legislative Assembly."

"In examination of the Budget, and in criticism of general administration, the Legislative Assembly can express its views only by means of resolutions; and these will continue to be advisory in character, without legal sanction. The Government may accept a resolution either because they agree with it from the outset, or because they decide to defer to the opinion of the Assembly. Where for any reason reference to the Secretary of State is considered necessary, we recommend that a joint decision of the Government of India and a majority of the non-official members of the Assembly, reached by discussion of a resolution, should be given the same degree of authority as similar decisions on legislative proposals, and that the principle we have stated in paragraph 15 should be applied in these cases also."

".....in so far as provincial action comes under the cognisance of the Secretary of State, either directly or through the Government of India, he should regulate his intervention with regard to the principle which we have sought to apply to the working of the central Government, namely, that where the Government find themselves in agreement with a conclusion of the legislature, their joint decision should ordinarily be allowed to prevail."

"The principle that we would lay down is that, in addition to the salary of the Secretary of State, there should be placed on the Estimates (a) the salaries and expenses (and ultimately pensions) of all officials and other persons engaged in the political and administrative work of the Office, as distinct from agency work, (b) a proportionate share, determined with regard to the distinction laid down in head (a), of the cost of maintenance of the India Office; the exact sum payable under heads (a) and (b) to be determined by agreement between the Secretary of State and the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury from time to time. Any arrangement made under this scheme would supersede the adjustment agreed to between the India Office and the Treasury as a result of the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure, over which Lord Welby presided. The India Office building and site and other similar property paid for in the past by Indian revenues and now held by the Secretary of State for India in Council, would continue to be Indian property."

We support also the recommendation advising the abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State, but we cannot support the appointment of an irresponsible and merely Advisory Committee in its stead. The reasons for opposing such a Committee have been ably put forward by Mr. Basu

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in his minute of dissent. He concludes his observations on this subject by saying :

I am therefore opposed to an Advisory Committee with no responsibility and no statutory functions. If it should be decided that for some time at least a Council or an Advisory Committee is necessary, I should prefer a Secretary of State in Council and to make it easy for the Council to disappear when the time comes, without having to wait for a Parliamentary Statute, I should accept the recommendation of Professor Keith, that the King in Council, whenever he is so advised, may make an order transferring the functions of the Secretary of State in Council to the Secretary of State and abolishing the Council. Nor do I see much objection to accept as an alternative the suggestion of Sir James Brunyate, that the Council should at the end of the 1st period of 10 years cease to exist unless the Parliamentary Commission reports in favour of its continuance.

We think there is great force in Mr. Basu's contention that the power of veto at present possessed by the Council should be retained.

If the final Parliamentary decision now be in favour of an Advisory Committee distinct from the Secretary of State, the Committee should have statutory powers, so that the difficulties I have suggested as likely to arise may be avoided ; and so long as the revenues of India are by Statute vested in the Secretary of State and can be dealt with by him irrespective either of the Government of India or of any popular control in India, I would not abolish the veto of the Council : the veto has, it is true, never been exercised, but its existence must have a restraining influence and must strengthen the position of the Secretary of State as against the Cabinet. The abolition of the vote may create unnecessary suspicion in India as an attempt to remove the last obstacle to the inroad of the British Treasury on Indian revenues, especially in view of the fact that the non-official Indian element in the body which would advise the Secretary of State is about to be strengthened.

As regards the composition of the Council or the Advisory Committee, we endorse the views of Mr. Basu. Regarding the Indians to be appointed Mr. Basu says :

The Report recommends that not less than one-third of the body should be Indian public men selected from a panel, and leaves it open to the Secretary of State to appoint other Indians representing special interests or possessing administrative experience. In my opinion, having regard to the altered circumstances, the necessity of restraining the officials when they may be tempted to overstep the limits of their spheres, of stimulating, advising, and guiding the popular governments, of harmonising the relationship between the official and non-official Provincial Governments and between the Government of India and its Legislative Assembly, the authority which will have the final decision cannot be safely constituted with less than half its members as Indians. I would, therefore, recommend that half of the number should be Indians, and I am prepared to concede, though this is neither desirable nor essential, for I am sure Indian electorates will elect men possessed of the requisite qualifications, that not less than two-thirds of this number should be selected as recommended in the Majority Report, the rest being nominated by the Secretary of State.

Half the number of members being thus suggested to be Indians, regarding the other half Mr. Basu observes :—

As regards the other half it must be evident from the nature of the duties that the Council or Advisory Committee will have to discharge, that it should not consist wholly of officials. The official experience will be primarily and efficiently represented in the despatches that will come from the Government of India, and also in the permanent departments of the India Office ; this experience, while essential in matters of ordinary administration in which the Secretary of State will interfere less and less, is not of the same value when he has got to deal with important matters of policy or constitutional usage involving decisions of critical questions between the official governments and the popular elements. Under these conditions it is not only not desirable, but may even be embarassing to have a preponderatingly official element in the Council of the Secretary of State. What is wanted is not a reduplication of the Indian official point of view, but a broadened outlook from the Indian and British points of view. The Indian point of view will be secured by the increased representation of the non-official Indian element. The British point of view can only be secured by the introduction into the Council of a new element, namely, Englishmen taken from the public life of England. I would therefore recommend that room should be provided for such association by laying down that not more than one-third of the members should be officials who had held office in India, the rest being men of British experience nominated by the Secretary of State. To my mind a Council so constituted will be an ideal flywheel for the new machinery we are setting up. If we revert to the old constitution of an overwhelming official preponderance in the body which will advise the Secretary of State we shall be courting grave risk. I see no sufficient reason why the members of the Council of the Secretary of State should be as now, excluded from sitting in Parliament. There would be obvious advantages if they were allowed to do so, especially if they become a merely advisory body.

The majority of the members of the Committee have opposed the proposal to establish a Select Committee of the House of Commons on Indian affairs. We are in favour of the establishment of such a

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committee, and of its retention until India gets full Dominion government. The fears of the Crewe Committee of excessive parliamentary interference in the affairs of India are entirely groundless. Hitherto, what has been every M.P.'s business has been no M.P.'s business. The actions of the Indian Executive in India and Great Britain must be subject to scrutiny, control, and reversal, if need be, somewhere and by some persons. Seeing that it is proposed to keep the supreme Government in India practically autocratic for an indefinite period and that even in the Provinces popular control must, if the Reform Bill passes as it is, be for an indefinite period more nominal than real, parliamentary control must be made more real than it is at present. And the only way to do so is to appoint a Select Committee of the House of Commons on Indian Affairs. The observations of Mr. B. N. Basu on this subject are so statesmanlike that we quote them in full inspite of their length.

PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE.

16. This is a feature of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report which has met with universal and unqualified approval in India. The Majority Report has raised an objection to it which it considers fundamental, namely, that an increasing interest taken by Parliament in Indian affairs might encourage a tendency to interfere, and might militate against the object of the reforms, which is gradually to transfer control to the Legislatures in India. We have to bear in mind, however, that this object, specially in the Central Government, is remotely in prospect, and we shall have a long way to travel before reaching it. In the meantime all the more vital concerns of Government will remain vested in an official executive. This executive will have a very difficult part to play. It is casting no slur upon it to say that it is not properly trained or constituted for its new 'role'. Hitherto, it has held all the threads of administration in its hands; it has been alike the source of power and the instrument of its effective use in all directions. Henceforth, while it will still exercise the paramount functions of government, and consequently retain its position of unchallenged supremacy in what are justly regarded as the attributes of power, namely, the enforcement of law and order, it will have in other branches of administration to take a subordinate place as executant of the will of the people whom it is controlling and governing in a different sphere. The Civil Service has shown great adaptability in the past, and I hope its fabric will respond to the new conditions in a spirit of loyal co-operation. But the whole situation requires careful supervision and guidance, not alone by the Secretary of State but by Parliament itself. Parliament is now deliberately transferring some of its power to the Indian legislatures and has reserved to itself the determination of the future stages of further transference until India has secured self-government within the Empire. Therefore, until that goal is reached, India would not only not fear any tendency in Parliament towards taking an increasing interest in her affairs, but would urgently want it, and would welcome any means to secure it. We cannot at the present moment give Parliamentary representation to India, though India, which is still governed by Parliament, stands on a different footing in this respect from the Dominions; and therefore the only way to secure in Parliament some knowledge of and interest in Indian affairs is by means of a parliamentary Committee, which will be annually constituted with importation of fresh blood, and will thus in the course of a few years give the House of Commons a fairly large number of members with some acquaintance with Indian affairs. Even if this Committee, like the Committee of Public Accounts, deals with the preceding year, it will be able by its annual reports to place before Parliament a resume of some of the most important aspects of administration in India, in a form essentially different from the present official reports on the moral and material progress in India. The British public will have the inestimable advantage of having a picture of India in outline, presented by an independent body of men who are dissociated from both the official and non-official elements in India and are the chosen representatives of the British people, and the Indian public will have access to an authority which it will regard more or less as impartial.

In his remarks on the India Office staff also Mr. Basu makes clear the Indian point of view.

17. As regards interchange of the superior staff between England and India, I do not appreciate any very great difficulties. The higher officials in the India Office may and should from time to time be sent out to India to serve or assist in the Secretariat and their place taken here by Indian officials, who should be of Indian descent, if available. I would not claim any special privilege for the Indian; but it is only fair that when the Indian is equally qualified, he should have preference, not because he is an Indian, but because the British element will, in the very nature of things, be preponderatingly represented in the India Office staff. This will be a matter of arrangement which will grow into a system and so arranged as not to affect the prospects of the home officials. As regards Indians being allowed to take a responsible part in the higher control of the Office, I think it should be definitely laid down that there should always be an additional Indian permanent Under Secretary of State. Ordinarily he should not be an Indian official. With an Indian non-official member in all the Provincial Executive Councils, and probably more than one minister in all the provinces, with also not less than two members in the Executive Council of the Government of India, it will be easy to combine non-official training with administrative knowledge in a non-official Indian selected for the post.

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In the above, we demur to the words "not because he is an Indian." Where general qualifications are equal, an Indian should be preferred to a Britisher, *because he is an Indian and because the India Office is meant for the management of Indian affairs*. Until the whole world is internationalised, or, at least, until throughout the British Empire only merit is taken into consideration but not race or nationality, a fully qualified national must everywhere have preference in the affairs of his country.

Sir James Meston on Democracy in an Eastern Country.

In Reuter's cabled summary of Sir James Meston's evidence before the Joint Committee, we find him stating "that the Government of India fully appreciated the gravity and magnitude of their responsibilities of creating for the first time in history a democracy in an eastern country." What is the exact meaning of this claim of creation ? Does it mean that it is the Government of India who are creating a democracy for the first time in any eastern land ? That would be clearly a wrong claim. For Japan, China and the Philippines have all had for years more or less developed democracies previously created. If it is meant that it is the British Government which is establishing a democray for the first time *in the eastern land called India*, that also is not historically true ; for even Mr. Vincent A. Smith can be quoted to prove that democracies, not less developed than those of any ancient land, existed for centuries in ancient India.

And what a democracy it is which the Indian Reform Bill proposes to establish in India !

Work of India's Delegates in England.

Readers of Indian newspapers know what the different bodies of delegates are doing in England to press on the attention of Englishmen what powers over their country's affairs Indians want. It would have been of great advantage if they could have presented a united front. But it would seem as if that was not to be.

Could not the delegates agree to make their demand identical in respect of one thing at least, namely, as regards at least the introduction of the principle of popular control over some subjects under the Government of India ? In other words, in addition to provincial affairs, the principle of diarchy should be applied to all-India affairs also, Indian ministers being in charge of transferred subjects, and executive councillors in charge of reserved ones, and all the subjects being transferred in a decade or two to Indian ministers responsible to the representatives of the people. If in affairs of the gravest moment to the people, touching their lives, liberties, health, and economic condition, they are to be subject to an autocracy, we do not see why they should go into raptures: because, in the provinces Indian ministers may be appointed and dismissed at the pleasure of the Governor; because, their salaries are to be a matter of bargaining; because, their advice may or may not be accepted by the Governor; because, the revenues are first of all to be commandeered by the Government of India and by the Provincial Governments for their reserved subjects, and only the crumbs left are to be given to the ministers for their transferred subjects, to be supplemented by fresh taxation if the provincial Governments agree to it ; because, the Indian and Provincial Governments are to have full power and machinery to pass whatever laws they like and to prevent the passage of whatever laws they dislike ; because, the Government of India would continue to have arbitrary power to make use of the old Regulations relating to deportation, declaration of martial law, &c.; and so and so forth.

The Indian Daily News is quite right in observing,

> There is no one, apparently, there to get information as to precisely what is meant by the Reforms, except that there is to be a so-called democracy to be driven in blinkers by the Government like ticca gari tats. No one asks Sir James Meston whether he proposed to give the country the control of the Press Act or of the tariff, or of the police, or of the introduction of Martial Law at any moment, and though we know inferentially that all these subjects are to be reserved, these are precisely the matters over which the mind of India has been so perturbed and the main cause of the unrest, apart from the economic causes.

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What we want.

Both Moderates and Extremists agree in holding that in the long run India must have full self-government in all provincial and all-India affairs. The parties differ only as to what should be demanded now and as to the steps which should lead to complete self-rule and the period which the gradual attainment of self-rule should occupy. There is also another point of difference. If the kind and degree of self-government proposed to be given to us for the present do not appear satisfactory to us and if the givers practically say, "Take this or you get nothing," should we run the risk of losing the little that is offered by standing up for a substantial measure of self-rule as the first instalment, or should we make a very respectful *salaam* and say: "Garib-parwar, you are very merciful"? We confess we are not adepts in the arts of political bargaining or of political begging. But our natural inclination is to demand something substantial, something which will lead inevitably to full self-government within a definite period. We believe that the "Take this or you get nothing" attitude is camouflage, that it is not really optional for the British people to give us political liberty or withhold it from us, and that if we really deserve a thing and mean seriously to have it, we must get it. It is also our belief that whatever little may be given to us now may be used by our opponents for about a generation to prevent our getting more, by these opponents continually demanding, "Prove by your performance that you deserve even what you have got before you agitate for more." Therefore, from this point of view, it is better to have nothing than to have something inadequate, something which will not irresistibly and within a definite period lead to autonomy both in the provinces and in the whole of India.

Both Moderates and Extremists have too readily agreed to exclude the Army and the Navy (which does not yet exist) from the sphere of the self-government which we want. We know this readiness has sprung from a desire to pervent and allay all suspicions of our harbouring separatist or rebellious intentions. But can Home Rule ever be a reality without the opportunity and the power of Home Defence? So long as the Indian Army is not both manned and officered mainly by Indians, the taunt will be flung in our face that a people who cannot protect and defend their hearth and homes certainly do not deserve Home Rule and cannot keep it if given to them. But if we be content to exclude the Army and the Navy from the purview of our political demands, how and when are we going really to nationalise the Indian Army and Navy? And what about the financial aspect of this exclusion? Out of 86 millions sterling budgetted for the current year by the Government of India, 41 millions are for the Army (and 24.2 millions for railways). These items absorb 75.38 per cent. of the total revenues. From the remaining 24.62 per cent. we can safely challenge even a legislative assembly and ministers to whom all subjects have been transferred to adequately improve sanitation, irrigation, agriculture, industries, education and science.

Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar.

On this the 29th day of July Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar breathed his last. To-day we remember him with love, gratitude and reverence, for all that he did and suffered for Hindu widows; for all that he tried to do for *Kulin* Brahmin girls and women, the victims of a polygamous system of marriage; for all that he did to rouse the social conscience of the Hindu public; for all that he did for famine stricken men, women and children; for all that he did for the education of girls; for all that he did for the cause of Sanskrit and general education; for all that he did for Bengali literature; for the manhood that was in him and the tender heart of a woman which lay concealed within his tough exterior. It is a great pity and a shame that the most courageous and humane thing which he did in life—the re-introduction and legalisation of the re-marriage of child-widows—continues to be looked upon with disfavour most of all in the province of his birth.

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Peace Treaty Has Not Brought Peace to Europe.

Though "military war" has ceased between the Allies on the one hand and the Central European powers on the other, the Peace Treaty does not contain any provisions for the prevention of economic war between them; on the contrary, some of the terms are in effect a declaration of economic war, which, when the parties are ready for it, may lead to "military war." This is not all. Actual fighting is still going on between different parties in Russia, in and on the borders of Poland and Rumania and Hungary, &c.

Besides this, there is disastrous class war in England and other countries, as in the coal-mine areas in Yorkshire in England, resulting in the flooding of mines worth millions of pounds. Other industries have also been affected.

Where the essentials of peace are not in the heart of man, external machinery and arrangements can not bring it about.

Death of Dr. T. M. Nair.

By the death of Dr. T. M. Nair, the "Non-Brahman Movement" of Madras loses its bulwark, and India loses a strong personality—a man who, during the greater part of his public career served her well and right manfully and who only latterly gave up to party what was meant for all his countrymen. He rendered effective service to his fellow-citizens in connection with the Madras Municipal Corporation. It is generally believed that his taking up the cudgels against Mrs. Annie Besant led her to deflect her almost unsurpassed energies to the field of Indian politics. If this belief be correct, Dr. Nair's active campaign against her produced a good result which he did not intend it produce. No sane man, no lover of humanity and of India, can approve of the virulence and hatred of Dr. Nair's anti-Brahmin campaign. At the same time, no fair-minded man can fail to observe that it is the unjust, unrighteous and inhuman character of the Hindu social system in the South which is primarily responsible for this virulent hatred. The non-Brahmin movement will not have been brought into existence in vain if it leads the Brahmins and other high-caste people in the South to recognise in practice the common and equal humanity of themselves and the so-called low-caste and non-caste people.

"Hindus" in America.

By now several natives of India have become naturalised citizens of the United States of America. Naturalisation in a free democratic country can give our countrymen there that fullness of opportunity to show what stuff they are made of, which is denied them in their motherland. In a free country like America it is practicable, too, to speak and write the whole truth about India, which is not possible in India. For these reasons naturalisation in America ought to receive an impetus.

We are glad that the political ardour of our countrymen in America has found an outlet and an embodiment and organ in "The Indian Home Rule League of America", and *Young India*. Revolutionary propaganda is unwise and futile, and unrighteous, too, when it advocates murder. The mature and wise judgment of Lala Lajpat Rai could not have taken shape in any other kind of united political activity than a Home Rule League. In connection with the League Dr. Hardiker has been delivering lectures in many states and cities and forming branches and enlisting new members. His activity, as described in *Young India*, the monthly organ of the League, is very praiseworthy.

Colonel Yate recently asked a question in the British House of Commons relating to Lala Lajpat Rai's socalled misrepresentation of British rule in America. *True* representation is as Britishers and Anglo-Indians see themselves; *mis*representation is as patriotic Indians and impartial foreigners see them.

Many of our readers are writing to us to know the address of the Hindusthan Association of America. It is 116 West 39th Street, New York City, U. S. A.

Dr. Sudhindra Bose's circular letter to the Press, printed elsewhere, suggests a duty which we owe to our country. As in many other things, so in this, the progressive Indian states, like Mysore, Baroda, Travancore, &c., may take the lead.

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Gwalior has been forging ahead in industrial activity. There is much to learn in America about industrial education and enterprise. Why not send a deputation there to observe, enquire and report ?

Mr. Shafi's Appointment.

As the immediate cause of Sir C. Sankaran Nair's resignation was the Government's Panjab policy, it is in the fitness of things that his successor has been found in Khan Bahadur Mian Muhammad Shafi, whose ardent and whole-hearted admiration of and homage to O'Dwyerism found public expression in the banquet, &c., given to the outgoing Panjab satrap. It does not much matter that his appointment has not been hailed with delight even by his own community, and that he has never given any proof of zeal for the improvement and spread of education, the subject of which he is to be in charge. He opposed Mr. Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill! The surprise is not that a Shafi has been appointed but that a Sankaran Nair was appointed. Some people have observed that if according to the principle of turn and turn about a Musalman was to follow a Hindu, why was not Sir Abdur Rahim appointed ? But it is forgotten that that gentleman wrote a very patriotic and very just minute of dissent to the Public Service Commission Report. And Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla and Sahebzada Aftab Ahmed Khan, too, were not quite safe men. Government could not take any risks.

China and Japan.

Since the signature of the Peace Treaty, Japan has reiterated her promise to the Allies to restore Shantung to China and only retain the economic control of the railways and the Kiaochao concession. It is believed that the Chinese delegates in Paris will eventually sign the Versailles Treaty. It is stated that the late Austrian concession at Tientsin will revert to China.

The Chinese Government is expected soon to sign the Peace Treaty, after the explanation from the Peace Conference that Japan's pledge to restore Shantung to China was not given to China alone, but to all the Allies. The Japanese will withdraw troops from Shantung, but will retain the economic control of railways and the peninsula. She will also receive the possession of the German concession of Kiaochao.

We are sure the Chinese are able to see through this economic camouflage. Economic dependence is not less injurious and humiliating than political dependence. And the protection of economic interests has, in the history of empire-building nations, not rarely furnished the occasion and excuse for military enterprises. History may repeat itself in China in this respect. And why is Kiaochao to go to Japan ? China was and is an Ally. Why is she to be treated like a conquered enemy country in any matter ?

Influenza and the Paucity of Doctors.

The recrudescence of the influenza epidemic has led the provincial and Indian Governments to issue communiques and suggest the taking of precautions, &c. But there is no mention of the need of increasing the number of doctors. Of course, it takes years to train up young men and women into doctors. But influenza is not going to disappear this very year, nor is it the last and only epidemic afflicting India. Plague has been here for well-nigh a quarter of a century. Influenza may follow suit. It is imperatively necessary to immediately establish a good many medical colleges and schools. But unfortunately they are not pet bureaucratic or imperialistic schemes or hobbies. So the treasury is empty.

Indians in South Africa.

It is with pain and resentment that Indians have learnt that their countrymen in South Africa have again to face the necessity of another strenuous passive resistance campaign. They are about to be deprived of the trading and land-owning rights which they enjoyed even under the Boer regime. Representations made to and by the Government of India have up till now proved ineffectual;—because India is not self-ruling. As the community is thus threatened with pauperisation and ultimate destruction, a session of

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the South African Indian Congress has been convened for the 3rd instant to confer on the taking of some concerted action. Meanwhile the Indians are signing the agreement to disregard the civil laws in South Africa as long as any law imposing any class distinction or disability upon the British Indians remains on the statute book. Our sisters and brethren there have our deepest sympathy.

We are pained to learn that in East Africa, too, attempts continue to be made to injure the trading and other interests of Indians, though it is their efforts, from before pre-British days, which have made East Africa what it is.

Famine Prices Everywhere.

Famine may not have been declared everywhere, but famine prices rule throughout the country. Prices were very high last year, too; but this year there has been a further rise, as the following figures, compiled by *Commerce*, will show :—

The wholesale prices of food grains and pulses in India at the middle of March, 1919, increased by 63 per cent. (unweighted average), according to a return issued by the Department of Statistics, as compared with this time last year. The weighted average price of rice in India advanced by 60 per cent. The increase in the great rice-producing provinces was 68 per cent. in Bengal, 96 per cent. in Bihar and Orissa, 51 per cent. in the Madras Presidency, and 39 per cent. in Burma. Among the minor provinces, the rise of 78 per cent. in the North-West Frontier Province, 73 per cent. in Assam, 67 per cent. in the Central Provinces and Berar, 64 per cent. in the United Provinces, and 59 per cent. in the Punjab is noticeable. According to the figures that have been issued by the department for May, 1919, the wholesale prices of cereals and pulses in India at the end of that month were more by 3 per cent. as compared with the previous fortnight. The price of wheat rose by 4 per cent.; but there was no fluctuation in the unweighted average price of rice, the weighted average showing a rise of 3 per cent. Of the inferior grains, maize advanced by 10 per cent., barley by 4 per cent., and jawar and bajra by 1 per cent. each. Gram showed a rise of 6 per cent. and arhar dal 1 per cent. There was a rise of 5 per cent. in raw sugar (gur) and 1 per cent. in ghi, while the price of salt showed a fall of 1 per cent. The marked provincial fluctuations are an increase of 11 per cent. in wheat in Bengal, 13 per cent. in barley in Bihar and Orissa, 34 per cent. in maize in Burma and 18 per cent in Bihar and Orissa, 21 per cent. in gram in Bengal and 15 per cent. in the North-West Frontier Province. On the other hand, there was a noticeable fall in the price of rice in Bombay (12 per cent.) and Madras (11 per cent.) and in the price of salt in Bihar and Orissa (16 per cent.). At the end of May, 1919, wholesale prices of food grains and pulses in India advanced by 85 per cent. (unweighted average), as compared with the average of the prices which ruled at the corresponding date in the last three years. The weighted average showed a rise of 97 per cent. The price of rice rose by 61 per cent. The increases in the chief rice-producing areas were: 70 per cent. in Bengal, 121 per cent. in Bihar and Orissa, 49 per cent. in Burma, and 35 per cent in the Madras Presidency. Wheat prices increased by 63 per cent. In the principal wheat-growing provinces the Punjab showed a rise of 58 per cent., the United Provinces 69 per cent., the Central Provinces and Berar 90 per cent., and Bihar and Orissa 99 per cent. The price of barley rose by 64 per cent. (unweighted average), the weighted average showing a rise of 85 per cent. The noteworthy increase was in Bihar and Orissa (133 per cent.) and the United Provinces (85 per cent.). There was an advance of 119 per cent. in the price of jawar and 116 per cent. in that of bajra in India. Gram prices showed a rise of 95 per cent., the noticeable percentage increases being 126 in Bihar and Orissa, 121 in the United Provinces, 115 in Bengal, and 105 in the Bombay Presidency. The price of arhar dal advanced by 89 per cent. in India; it rose by 187 per cent. in Delhi, 152 per cent. in the Central Provinces and Berar, 138 per cent. in the United Provinces, and 103 per cent. in Bihar aud Orissa. There was an increase of 38 per cent. in the price of ghi and of 65 per cent. in that of raw sugar (gur). The rise of 168 per cent. in raw sugar (gur) in Sind-Baluchistan is striking. The price of salt rose by 5 per cent. in India, although it declined in the Bombay Presidency (18 per cent.), Bengal and the Madras Presidency (6 per cent.), Delhi (5 per cent.), and in Assam (2 per cent.) The marked rise was in the North-West Frontier Province 55 per cent. and in the Punjab 35 per cent. Prices in the United Provinces remained unchanged.

The situation is very serious, and calls for not only temporary palliative measures, but for lasting remedies as well. First of all the causes have to be studied dispassionately, and then remedies thought of. As to the causes, non-official Indian opinion is not likely to coincide with official views. Those amongst our public-spirited persons, famous or obscure, who are interested in economic inquiries and competent to undertake them, are earnestly invited to study this vital problem. It is a question of life and death for our people.

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But it is to be hoped no one will follow the example of Maharaja P. K. Tagore, who said at a recent conference in the British Indian Association rooms:

"We have all seen, how about two months ago Col. Frank Johnson at Lahore had succeeded, by virtue of the exceptional powers conferred upon him under Martial Law, in bringing down by a stroke of his pen the prices of meat, wheat, milk and even vegetables. Gentlemen, if the choice lay between Martial Law and semi-starvation, I am sure, the great majority of the population of this Presidency would gladly and gratefully welcome the former without a moment's hesitation."

Was it a joke or was it merely the animal in man that spoke?

A. B. Patrika Security Case.

Though we are not surprised, we are sorry that the bench of three High Court Judges who sat to hear the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*'s appeal against the forfeiture of its security of Rs. 5,000, have upheld the order of forfeiture. We are not competent to call in question the correctness of their judgment from the legal point view, but we have no doubt that if the law has been correctly expounded, it is a bad law, going against the spirit of political progressiveness. Laws should be such as would allow all speaking and writing which do not suggest or directly incite to the use of physical force against Government. There can be no effective criticism of any system of government or its officers and measures, which does not directly or indirectly produce some dislike or repulsion. What degree of dislike or repulsion may be styled contempt, or hatred, it is not always easy to say.

Commendable Industrial Plans.

It has given us pleasure to learn from the papers that the honorary secretaries of the Indian Industrial Conference are making efforts to extend the usefulness of that body in three important practical directions.

It is intended shortly to publish a revised edition of the Directory of Indian Goods and Industries, which was compiled by Messrs. Mudholkar and Chintamani some years ago. *A list of Indian and foreign experts who are capable of rendering assistance to the capitalists and others in starting new industries or reviving old ones is also being compiled.* Thirdly, it is intended to organise a commercial museum in Bombay to display samples of indigenous and foreign industrials products, models of machinery, raw material, and art ware. About Rs. 12,000 only are stated to be needed to achieve the objects in view and an appeal is made to the public for help.—*The Bombay Chronicle.*

A Labour Meeting in Madras.

Madras has been making headway in one democratic direction, leaving behind backward provinces like Bengal. When the Calcutta postmen struck in order that their grievances might be remedied, they received no help from their "politically minded" countrymen, but on the contrary Boy Scouts and members of the Calcutta University Infantry Corps were encouraged to work as strike-breakers. In Madras they do things in a different way.

Under the auspices of the Central Advisory Labour Board, a public meeting was held at the Gokhale Hall, to enlist public sympathy with the cause of labourers in general and with that of the labourers thrown out of employment by Messrs. Addison & Co. and Hoe & Co. in particular.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari proposed the Zaminder of Kumaramangalam to the chair and in doing so observed that it might seem curious that a Zaminder should be asked to preside over a labour meeting but it should be remembered, that in this country Zaminders were near relations to workmen on the soil. The Zaminders were the feeders of the country. It was a peculiar feature of social arrangements in this country, unlike in any other country, that in the midst of barriers of castes and position, the greatest and best democracy prevailed.

We only call attention to the significance and the vital need of such meetings. For details, one should read *New India* and the *Hindu*.

Mr. Gandhi Postpones Civil Disobedience.

It has often been urged in these pages that armed fights for freedom are out of the question in India. Two of the chief means recommended to be adopted for winning freedom are intellectual and moral suasion, and civil disobedience. The best means is, of course, to make ourselves physically, intellectually and morally equal to any class of men in the world.

There is in India no greater master of the art of civil disobedience than Mr. M. K. Gandhi. As he thinks it necessary in the present circumstances of the country to keep civil disobedience in abeyance, there is nothing more to be said. Some Anglo-

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Indian papers have insinuated that the warning of grave consequences conveyed to him by Government may have made him nervous. They do not know of what metal he is made. Some Indian papers have exhorted him to give up thoughts of civil disobedience for good. We think that is a futile, unnecessary, and rather panicky and officious exhortation.

Report of the Sadler Commission.

The Report of the Calcutta University Commission has "leaked out." Some of its recommendations have appeared in a Madras Anglo-Indian paper, from which other papers have copied. It is greatly to be hoped that this "leakage" does not prove the unfitness of any class of men to govern themselves or any other persons.

As for the recommendations which have been published, as all the recommendations are most probably inter-related, comments on any of them had better not be made till the Report itself is before us.

Scholarships for Oriental Women at the University of Michigan.

The scholarships for oriental women at the University of Michigan, U. S. A., are known as the Barbour Scholarships. They were established in June, 1917, through the generosity of the Honorable Levi L. Barbour of Detroit. The income of $100,000 is devoted to these scholarships and the income is such that the University maintains ten scholarships of the annual value of $500 each. (A dollar is equivalent to a little more than 4s.) Their purpose is to provide for the care, support, maintenance and schooling in the University of young women from oriental countries, including Japan, China, India, Russia, the Philippines and Turkey. No exact number is allotted to any country. Applications for these scholarships should be made in writing to the President of the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, U. S. A. Accompanying the applications, certificates of character and certificates showing scholastic attainment and fitness for university work should be filed. The scholarships are awarded by a committee consisting of the President of the University, the Dean of the College of Literature, Science, and the Arts, the Dean of Women, and the Dean of the Medical School. There is sharp competition for the scholarships. Many more applications are filed than can be granted. The amount of scholarship ($ 500) does not include travelling expenses, "and," adds President H. B. Hutchins in his letter, from which the above particulars have been taken, "I think it advisable that one should have some money in addition to the $ 500."

In a letter to the editor of this *Review* President H. B. Hutchins says that "these scholarships have already been awarded for the coming University year, 1919-1920." If any Indian ladies "desire to become candidates for them for the year following, 1920--21, I would suggest that they forward to the President of the University credentials showing their training and fitness for work in the University."

Danger of Leaving "Revolution" Undefined.

The Mahratta has brought to notice the danger to the public of leaving the word "revolution" undefined in the Rowlatt Act. When the Rowlatt Bill "was under discussion in the Legislative Council, many a member pressed the Government to define what is called 'a revolutionary movement', but the Government refused to do it on the ground that the meaning of revolution was perfectly plain....." It is rightly contended that though the dictionary meaning of "war" and "rebellion", too, are perfectly plain, yet in utter defiance of these meanings and of common sense as well, it has been held that there were rebellion and war in the Panjab and on that assumption martial law was proclaimed there and terrible sentences pronounced on many men which give a shock to the moral sense and the sense of justice and humanity and take one's breath away. What guarantee is there that in spite of the meaning of "revolution" being plain, regions will not be officially declared to be in a state of revolution without there being any revolution there in the usual sense of the word.

Printed and published by Abinash Chandra Sarkar, at the Brahmo Mission Press, 211, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.
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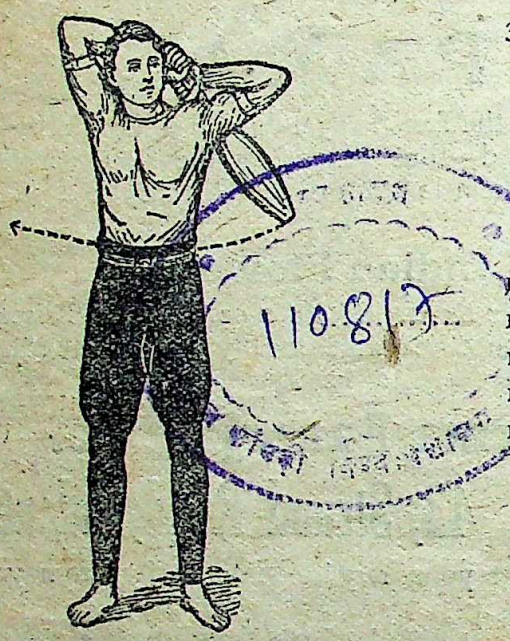

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